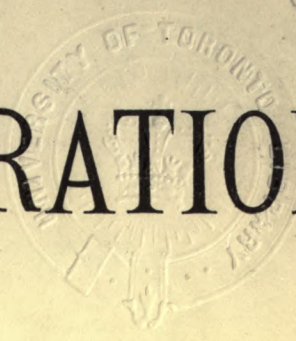


IMPERIAL FEDERATION



1886.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.



The Journal

OF THE

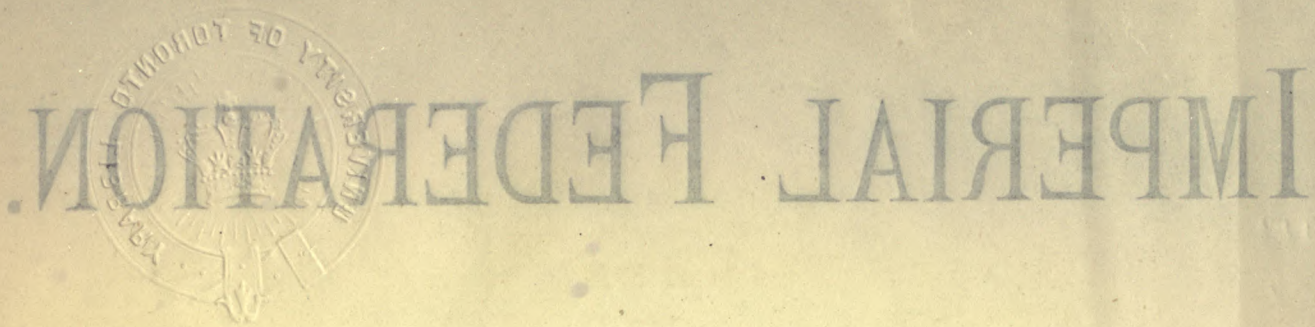
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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE RIGHT HON. H. C. E. CHILDERS, who, we regret to observe, is not a member of the new House of Commons, has declared in favour of Imperial Federation, and has expressed the hope that the approaching Colonial and Indian Exhibition will facilitate the discussion of the subject among leading colonists. There is every likelihood of MR. CHILDERS's hope being realised. The coming Exhibition will, without doubt, not only facilitate the discussion of the subject among leading colonists, but among leading Englishmen at home. It will so accentuate the value of the Colonies, and the importance of constituting them as fully as possible integral parts of the Empire, as will inevitably impress the minds of Englishman both at home and in the Colonies.

THE *Sussex Daily Telegraph*, in referring to the Exhibition, says:—"From all parts of the world men will be gathered to witness this grand display of the resources of the Empire. Would not the occasion be a proper one for the COLONIAL MINISTER to invite the Colonies to send their delegates, or representatives, in order to take counsel together on the subject of Imperial Federation? The Empire is vast enough and varied enough in its productions to be self-supporting if firmly welded together, and the time seems opportune for such a conference. With a really united Empire, what a prospect opens before us! For it means hope in our future—so sadly wanting now—and a return to our old feelings of self-reliance and faith in ourselves—very rudely shaken in late years—it means increased power, and wealth, and happiness for all classes, and above all it means peace." The suggestion that a conference should be held is a good one, and will, we hope, be acted upon.

WE are pleased to note the large majority which the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER secured at Bradford, polling 5,275, while his opponent, notwithstanding the fact that he had Conservatives and Parnellites both working hard on his side, only polled 3,732. Considering the fact that MR. FORSTER, in consequence of his recent severe illness, was unable to appear personally on the scene, and that there are about a thousand Irish electors in the constituency, who, having an unreasoning and unreasonable animus against the EX-SECRETARY for IRELAND, may be trusted to have obeyed MR. PARNELL's mandate, and voted "solid" for the Conservative candidate, such a result must have been exceedingly gratifying to him and his friends. MR. FORSTER's grasp of sound principles, his comprehensive views, and statesman-like action on several occasions, and in regard to several great questions of late, have done much to raise him in the opinion of such as have most political knowledge.

SEVERAL prominent Imperial Federationists, besides MR. FORSTER, have won signal victories at the polling stations. Besides those who sat in the last Parliament, we may mention MR. HOWARD VINCENT, who has been returned as one of the members for Sheffield; MR. J. HENNIKER-HEATON, late of Sydney, who sits for Canterbury; SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK, who is member for South Kensington; MR. O. V. MORGAN, who has been returned for Battersea; COLONEL SIR W. CROSSMAN, K.C.M.G.; SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E.; MR. C. BADEN-POWELL, C.B.; MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LEWIS PELLY, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.; COLONEL McCALMONT; MR. E. STAFFORD HOWARD; MR. C. J. VALENTINE; and not a few others. These gentlemen are to be congratulated on their success, which, doubtless, was in part secured by their advocacy of enlightened views as to

our Imperial position and duties. We hope at another time to present our readers with a complete list, as far as it can be made so, of those members of the new Parliament who have declared in favour of the federation of the Empire.

UNFORTUNATELY several Federationists, who would distinctly have contributed to the wisdom and ability of the House of Commons if they had been elected, were rejected by the constituencies they wooed. The HON. HAROLD H. FINCH-HATTON, who did much during his candidature to educate the working men of Nottingham in the politics of federation, failed, nevertheless, in the division he contested, to head the poll. SIR CHARLES WARREN, who has rendered such splendid service to his country in South Africa, did not succeed at Sheffield; and CAPTAIN COLOMB, who made a plucky fight in one of the Tower Hamlets Divisions, failed by some six hundred votes. The latter has rendered most important service to the Imperial Federation League, being one of its most active members, and well deserves to be styled, as a contemporary has styled him, "the energetic CAPTAIN COLOMB." It is probable that the gallant CAPTAIN could, at present, do more for federation outside the House than in it. What is possible, doubtless, he will do, and—better luck next time.

ONE of the most startling events of the past month has been the report, through the National Press Agency, of the declaration of Mr. GLADSTONE in favour of Home Rule, and the publication of a scheme, which is said to be his, for giving legislative independence to Ireland. As yet it is uncertain how much of truth the report has in it, as Mr. GLADSTONE declines responsibility both for it and everything beyond his own public utterances. It is, however, generally believed that there is "something in it;" and consequently disturbance of the public mind and much writing in the newspapers have been the result. For the present we refrain from taking part in the discussion. Many federationists, no doubt, look with favour on the proposal with which the ex-Premier is credited, believing that it would be a step towards that Imperial Federation which we desire; but many others regard it with disfavour, perceiving in it a threatened danger to the integrity of that very Empire which we wish by federation to preserve and consolidate. The former, of course, assume that when Ireland has Home Rule she will be as friendly and loyal a part of the Empire as any other part; but that is assuming a vast deal.

MR. MARTIN J. GRIFFIN, the Librarian of the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, is a warm friend of Imperial Federation, and, apparently, a well-informed and able advocate of it. He has been writing to the *Week*, a Canadian paper, on the subject, justifying it, and arguing for it, against opponents. We are pleased to know from MR. GRIFFIN, who certainly may be regarded as being in a position to express such an opinion, that in any audience in Canada there would be "a more swift and ardent response to an appeal in favour of the idea of Federation than to the corrosive criticism" of its opponents. MR. GRIFFIN expresses his conviction that "the movement even in Canada, towards Imperial Federation has in it a force which cannot be checked by criticism," and further declares "It is sustained in its silent progress by sentiments, opinions, convictions, which find no vent in the Press, but which animate a large part of our people." It is satisfactory to find that a gentleman occupying a position like MR. GRIFFIN's, who cannot fail to be acquainted extensively with public opinion and the march of events in Canada, can write in this emphatic way in regard to this great question.

WE refer in another column to the question of an Imperial Penny Postage. The matter is one which from the point of view of Imperial Federation is of the very first importance. We have already taken steps to collect and classify the statistics bearing upon the matter, and so far our readers will be glad to learn that our conclusions are most satisfactory and encouraging. In the first place, it is plain that the amounts granted by way of subsidies in aid of the various Colonial mail lines need not be increased to a very extravagant amount to enable them to inaugurate this desirable reform, even upon the very limited basis of our present exchange of correspondence. When, however, we consider the fact that, in the case of Australia alone, we are dealing with a country whose internal postage, reckoned per head of the population, is in advance of that of any other country of the world, we cannot fail to perceive that we have reason to anticipate that the abolition of the present ridiculous and excessive rates between the southern extremity of the Empire and the home country will be followed by a great and rapid increase in the correspondence. So serious, however, are the complications of the present system, and so anomalous are the various arrangements for the carrying of the mails at the present time, that nothing short of a Parliamentary return can give us the full data that we require. It is our intention at an early date in the ensuing session to press for such a return; meanwhile, one difficulty ahead must be foreseen and avoided. Already steps have been taken to bring the various Colonies within the Postal Union. In one sense this is a step in the right direction—it is a reduction of the present rates. In another sense it is a mistake. What must be aimed at is to put Victoria and Canada upon the same footing as Cornwall and Cork. It will be a grave mistake if we fetter ourselves by any postal convention with Continental powers which will prevent us having a perfectly free hand in settling our own domestic arrangements.

“IMPERIAL FEDERATION” will, we trust, fall into the hands of many Colonial readers, and it is perhaps well that in this first issue of the paper we should take the opportunity of assuring all our readers across the sea that we realise as fully as they do, that the one and only condition upon which we can ask their co-operation is that of perfect equality, both now and in the future, between all parts of the Empire. We do not mean, of course, that from a material or political point of view all parts of the Empire now are, or can for a long time be, equal; but it is only on the basis of equality of treatment that this great movement can ever be carried to a successful issue. At the present moment even the great colonies of Canada and Australia probably owe more to the home country than the home country does to them. But this is not a condition of things which can continue. The time is not very far distant when the home country will and must owe more to the Colonies than she can confer. There is no reason to regret this; on the contrary there are many reasons for anticipating it with satisfaction. Moreover, it is inevitable. Our hope and desire are that one by one each of the great Colonies may enter into line according to its wealth, population, and power. So long as London is the first city in the Empire, it must, perforce lead; meanwhile, it is our hope that every other city, wherever it be, may take its rank in succession and in importance, quite apart from any considerations of latitude and longitude. We have said this much because we are aware that neither this journal, nor the cause which it represents, can prosper for a day without the co-operation of colonists. If we take the lead in the movement, we are none the less ready to be outstripped by any who can overtake us. Let our Colonial readers bear these facts in

mind, and let them give us the help and encouragement which we so earnestly desire.

To assert that the administration of the Colonial Office, during the last five or six years had been hopeful or helpful from the point of view of either Great Britain or the Colonies, would raise a smile on the face of anyone acquainted with the acts or omissions of our public servants. It is unnecessary to enter into details, but it would almost seem as if some malign genius had, with exhaustive discrimination, applied the principle of the selection of the unfittest in filling up the important posts of SECRETARY and UNDER SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES. *Prima facie* it would certainly seem as if tact, courtesy, a warm sympathy, and a keen interest, were the essential qualities required for the offices of Colonial Minister and his subordinate. If the recent occupants of those offices had been chosen for their entire freedom from any of the characteristics named, it would not be hard to account for their respective appointments. On any other supposition the problem of “how they got there” is almost incapable of solution. But it is not much use to cry over bygones. The mischief, and it is incalculable, that has been done by official ignorance, official apathy, and official incapacity, has to be atoned for and remedied. The public must insist in the future that Colonial Ministers and Under Secretaries shall remember that they are the country’s servants, employed to administer, for the advantage of the Empire, an important and responsible office. The officials must be made to get rid of the notion, which appears hitherto to have had possession of them, that they are members of a Parliamentary majority who have been rewarded for their services by a place, which unfortunately is connected with those tiresome, and, from a party point of view, unprofitable Colonies. We want, and for the future we must determine to have, men at the Colonial Office who will display at least as much courtesy towards the spokesmen of the great self-governing Colonies of the Empire as they would towards the representatives of Portugal or Bolivia.

THE JOURNAL OF THE LEAGUE.¹

SURELY it is no insignificant event that the Federation of the British Empire is to be numbered henceforth among movements which have an organ. Since the time when this question began to attract attention it has been easy to perceive that the chief difficulties lay near the commencement, and that if once the public mind could be awakened, and their attention, once roused, could be fixed for a certain time, the movement was likely soon to gather speed, and to advance without interruption. But the subject lay outside the fixed and sacred groove of public discussion, and when this difficulty was overcome, a forum for discussion was needed. The establishment of the League, and the formation of branches of it in many towns, have already contributed something considerable to this end, but we may hope that the movement will enter upon a new stage by acquiring a literary organ.

There are plans which are excellent, but do not lend themselves much to discussion. Their merits are soon displayed, and the advocate speedily finds himself driven to empty repetition. To this class IMPERIAL FEDERATION certainly does not belong. It is, in fact, so large and fruitful of topics that it may be said to contain a whole system of politics and social philosophy. To begin with the countries immediately concerned, Canada, Australia, South Africa, not to speak of India, are of far vaster extent than the whole scene of civilised history has been in most periods. A whole world of travel and geography belongs most intimately to our subject. And these boundless territories have an interest for us which is as far as possible from being merely speculative. The whole question of emigration is wrapped up in the closest imaginable manner with Imperial Federation. And who does not see that

¹ The writers alone are responsible for the opinions expressed in the signed articles.

emigration is a subject which will soon occupy us far more and more anxiously than it has done hitherto? Now that the whole question of pauperism is thrown open, and that we have grown accustomed to the most audacious proposals, it becomes urgent to make ourselves as familiar with the whole subject of emigration as we have already made ourselves with the various contrivances for supporting a vast population at home. Then come the prodigious questions of food, of imperial defence, and, in general, of the position to be taken by the Empire in time of war.

These topics are interesting, not to our own public only, but to the public of the whole Empire. This organ will belong to that new sort of English literature which, instead of sending some slight overflow of its home circulation to the colonies, deliberately addresses Greater Britain itself, and says to all at once what concerns all alike. In literature and culture this new development may be expected to have great consequences.

I have spoken elsewhere of the vast importance, in English history, and the history of the world, of the great development which now forces us to think of Imperial Federation. Students have scarcely yet begun to grasp the last great chapters of England, that catastrophe of the story which less than a century and a half ago had been foreseen by none—the exodus from these islands. To describe it is to write the history of England in Hanoverian times. It will never be properly described until we learn to value properly the Empire which was the result of it. Only when the true feeling of unity runs through the whole mass, and we learn to think of ourselves as belonging together, and destined always to belong together, shall we be able to see the eighteenth century of England from the true point of view. Students and historians, not journalists, will write that description, but an organ like this will educate the public that shall read it. It falls to this organ to begin to create that atmosphere of common feeling, common thought, common patriotism, in which alone national history can flourish.

It seems unnecessary to pray that this organ may succeed; surely it will succeed!

J. R. SEELEY.

PRESENT ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DURING a very few years, even within the last few months, the question of Imperial Federation has been rapidly ripening. It is no longer necessary to dwell upon the advantages to the old country and the Colonies of the permanent unity of the Empire. For some time the friends of the union had almost exclusively to devote themselves to the task of laying down this fundamental truth as the basis on which to construct their policy; and it may be well still, from time to time, to look upon the splendid picture, of real benefit blended with matchless prestige for our British race, which the prospect of a United Empire presents. The advantages of unity having, however, been proved and so generally accepted, it is as needless that we should always, in speaking of Imperial Federation, hark back upon them, as that when we have reached the advanced propositions in Euclid, we should always start to prove everything from the beginning, although by doing so some people, who as yet can get no further, may be helped over the *Pons Asinorum*.

THE PROBLEMS WHICH REMAIN TO BE SOLVED

are not those of principle, but of detail. The formation of the Imperial Federation League demonstrated the extent to which, beyond all the expectations of its earliest advocates, the principle of federation has been accepted by all parties in this country; and the speedy establishment of the League in Canada and Australia proved that the feeling in favour of Imperial Federation was as strong in these great dominions of the Empire. That the first list of the committee of the League in Canada should have contained no less than forty-seven members of the Dominion House of Commons, and that the League should have been first introduced into Australia at a great public meeting presided over by the Mayor of Melbourne, are facts the importance of which cannot be over-rated. Mother-country and Colonies have so far kept abreast of each other in advancing the movement; and it is most important that they should thus

continue in line, without any one part of the Empire outstepping the others or appearing to make the cause more particularly its own. The manner in which many of the members of both parties, returned at the recent General Election, have declared themselves on the question is one of the latest and most satisfactory signs of the times.

No doubt certain difficulties have to be overcome, some merely theoretical, and others practical.

THEORETICAL OBJECTIONS

to Imperial Federation have been raised by Professor Freeman,¹ who goes back to the colonies of ancient Greece for arguments and illustrations against her colonial empire being retained by modern England; he fears that Imperial Federation might excite the jealousy of the United States, and he devotes considerable space to verbal criticism in an endeavour to prove that, so far as what is advocated is "Imperial," it cannot be "Federal," and *vice versa*. He also expresses regret that the words "Empire" and "Imperial" were ever applied to anything but the old Roman Empire. No doubt Mr. Freeman could produce an equally learned and practical disquisition proving that the word "military" should never have been applied to anything but the legions of Imperial Rome. We must, however, get on as well as we can with existing terms until our learned men, in the depths of their studies, invent better forms of expression.

THE PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES

really only exist in so far as a feeling of provincial exclusiveness and an unwillingness to submit to a small percentage of taxation by a federal parliament may extend. As to provincial exclusiveness, it is this feeling which, if sufficiently strong, would prevent the present British Parliament from admitting the Colonies to a voice in Imperial affairs. It finds expression in such language as that of Professor Freeman, when he suggests that federation would cause Great Britain to "sink to become a canton or three cantons of Greater Britain," or of Mr. John Morley, when he says that if a federal authority became supreme, "the mother of parliaments would sink into the condition of a State-legislature."

If there were no need for considering Imperial Federation, the question would have to be faced, how the

PARLIAMENT IN THIS COUNTRY

can get through the increasing business cast upon it. Conservatives as well as Liberals feel that some changes must take place, and obviously there must be some division of labour. The simplest mode in which this can be effected will be by handing over the control of Imperial affairs to one legislature and executive, and the domestic concerns of the British Isles to another. A second parliament and executive would therefore have to be formed; and it would be better that it should be entrusted the affairs of these Kingdoms, so that the existing British Parliament should never have to part with the control of Imperial affairs. It would have, however, to be adapted to its new functions as an exclusively Imperial legislature. Half the present number of members would be quite sufficient for the House of Commons, with a due proportion of them allotted to the Colonial Empire. The peers of the United Kingdom, though retaining their seats in its House of Lords, could not all be members of an Imperial Upper House, in which there would have to be a fair proportion of colonists. Considering the advantages the mother-country would derive from federation with the Colonies, it would, for the sake of securing it, be well worth her while to make such changes as have been indicated, even if they involved some sacrifice of mere provincial sentiment.

It would be

A REAL GAIN

also to the people of this country if its foreign and external affairs were no longer dealt with by the parliament which has to manage the domestic concerns of these Kingdoms; for the sympathies of many people are doubtless often with one party in its foreign policy, and with the other party in its home policy. In a single week in the session of 1884 the fate of the Ministry was involved in one question about Egypt, and in another about the Franchise Bill. The House of

¹ In *Macmillan's Magazine* of last April.

Commons could not have dealt with these purely upon their merits. Many members may well have had to weigh in their minds whether they should sacrifice domestic or external policy, and then vote so as to keep in office Ministers for the sake of the one, when they would have perhaps wished to have turned them out on account of the other. Such a state of things may often happen. It is, moreover, impossible to determine at any general election how far votes are given upon considerations of external or of internal policy. How much more satisfactory it would, therefore, be if these were placed as distinct issues before electors, by their being called upon to choose representatives to one legislature to deal with one set of questions, and to a different one to deal with the other set.

The admitted advantages to the Colonies of the unity of the Empire ought to be sufficient also to prevent them from allowing any

PETTY PROVINCIAL SENTIMENT

to hinder the adoption of Imperial Federation—the system of organisation whereby alone the strength of the Empire can be effectively gathered up and wielded for the perfect security of all its dominions. A narrow provincialism, either in old country or new, may proclaim in tones of the most decided “Jingoism,” “We are strong and mighty enough to stand alone. Let us have the honour and glory of doing everything for ourselves. We want no help from any of our British kinsmen beyond the seas, or even across the degree of latitude or longitude which forms the boundary between us.” It is only such a spirit of provincialism that could object to the very slight control which a Federal Parliament, in which they would be duly represented, would exercise over the Colonies. Such a legislature would not interfere with their complete management of their internal affairs. That it should not do so is a cardinal principle with all real federalists, and a prominent proviso in the programme of the League. In at first thinking of federation people may not keep this sufficiently in view. Thus, the Working Men’s Society of London, in a manifesto issued a few months ago, set forth “the complete abolition of all tariffs in restraint of free trade throughout the Empire” as a condition of federation; and this formed the chief basis for the very contracted view of the question taken in an article in the *Melbourne Review* of last July, entitled “An Australian Protest against Imperial Federation.”

The Imperial Federal Government would really interfere less with the Colonies than the existing Imperial Government does, and, in so far as it did, the interference would be that of a government in which they were represented, instead of one in which they are not. The provincial governments could see, before joining in adopting it, that the federal constitution fully secured their rights of local self-government in all respects, including the complete control of their fiscal policies.

With such guarantees, which could be so easily given, is it likely that, if the Provinces and Dominions of the Empire believe in the advantages of permanent unity, and that that unity would be made most effective by Imperial Federation, that they would be so narrow and impractical as to object to a Federal Parliament, in which they were fairly represented, being empowered to raise revenue from all the Dominions of the Empire, for all its common purposes? Of these the cost of the navy and other defences would be the chief source of expenditure.

IMPERIAL TAXATION

could be easily adjusted so as not to interfere with provincial fiscal arrangements. If thought necessary, the Imperial constitution could limit the Federal Parliament, at all events in time of peace, to certain sources from whence to draw revenue; and these might be ample even to meet a war expenditure. For instance, Sir Alexander Galt has shown what a large revenue might be drawn from a very small tonnage duty upon all ships entering the ports of the Empire. In a conversation on this subject, in which I took part not long ago, a suggestion was made that an income tax raised throughout the Empire would be sufficient to yield the revenue required; but a well-known member of Parliament, who would wish to be called a Radical, observed that Imperial taxation should be levied so that all classes in the Empire should contribute to it.

Even to-day, a penny-in-the-pound income tax would bring in a good round sum from the whole British Empire. How much fifty years hence? Then, light taxes on wines, spirits, tobacco, and other luxuries, as well as small stamp and succession duties, would produce large totals. A low uniform rate of postage throughout the Empire would soon yield a profit, to go into the common exchequer. In fact, if the Parliament of the Empire were limited by the constitution to a dozen well-chosen subjects of taxation, they would produce more than it would require.

We shall most assuredly prove ourselves far from being the practical people we consider we are, if we allow this question of raising an Imperial revenue to prevent our great policy from being carried out.

There are two other methods by which an Imperial revenue might be provided, namely, by the provincial governments paying, out of revenue raised by themselves, annual subsidies to the Imperial exchequer, or such subsidies might only be payable in the event of the taxes raised by the Parliament of the Empire failing to yield sufficient revenue. This latter system is provided by the German Federal Constitution. The most complete federal system is, however, that of Canada and the United States, which enables the federal legislature to raise by its own taxation whatever revenue it may require.

It is not, however, for any man or society to lay down any particular system of Imperial taxation or

FORM OF FEDERATION

as indispensable for our Empire. It will be for its governments, having accepted the principle and decided that the time has arrived for practically carrying it out, to settle all details. These the existing federal constitutions of the world have already arranged, to the satisfaction of several states which at present enjoy security and power, and a position among the nations which without federal union they could not possess. Theorists may invent other modes of federation and variations of existing systems, but with those working so well in the United States, Canada, Germany, Switzerland, Austro-Hungary, as examples to copy from, all practical federalists may be well content. They may answer those critics who assert that no practical form of federation has been suggested for the Empire—a statement which is incorrect—by advising them to study federal government in the past history of the world, and to observe its working at the present day. From the experience and examples so ready to hand, the governments of the mother-country and of the Colonies may easily frame an effective system to their own liking, whenever they choose to confer with each other upon the subject, either by official correspondence or by convoking a meeting of delegates to be appointed by themselves. It will probably be better that such a conference should meet without, in the first instance, any detailed scheme of federation being prepared beforehand. All that would be essential would be a general basis of agreement upon leading principles. These would be found ranged under two heads:—1st. The constitution of the Imperial Parliament and executive; 2nd. The extent of its powers of taxation. As to the former three points would arise:—1st. Whether there should be one or two Houses in the Imperial Parliament; 2nd. As to the number of members; and 3rd. As to the system upon which they should be apportioned to the different divisions of the Empire. This being settled, it might be left to the dominion or provincial Parliaments to regulate, as they pleased, the franchise and constituencies by which their members should be returned to the Imperial Parliament. Surely these points would present

NO VERY SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES

to practical statesmen. We have seen that a well-adjusted system of Imperial taxation would impose no heavy burden; and it would grow relatively lighter with the growing wealth and power of the Empire. There would be no difficulty in defining which questions should be treated as Imperial and which as provincial. This has been easily done in existing federal constitutions, and the ocean would more clearly mark the distinctions in our Empire.

The more the difficulties respecting its permanent unity have been discussed the more have they disappeared; and so it will be with regard to those now urged against its complete federation.

FRANCIS P. LABILLIERE.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

FIRST ARTICLE.

IMPERIAL Defence is a prime factor in Imperial Federation. This is so manifestly true, that it is scarcely necessary to affirm it; other factors—such as customs unions, oceanic communication, postal and telegraphic arrangements, questions of copyright and patents—may be trusted, during times of peace, to adjust themselves to the wants and wishes of those concerned; but they will not bear the strain of war unless upheld by some comprehensive scheme of federation, in which defence occupies a first position; and so, to many, Imperial Defence, with which is bound up External Policy, is, if not the sole, at any rate the main, object in Imperial Federation, towards which, as towards all other leagues, the component units are impelled—first, by their individual weakness, and then by the strength they will acquire, and the respect they will command in their federate entity.

Looking at this subject of Imperial Defence we at once perceive that no

DEFENSIVE MEASURES

which Great Britain may undertake can, if they are adequate and sufficient for her necessities, be other than Imperial; for the defence of Great Britain is not limited to the defence of her Capital and her shores, but extends, for the protection of her commerce, to every sea, and to the security of her Colonies, or, as I prefer to regard them, British territories beyond the seas.

So long as Great Britain maintains her present connection with these British territories beyond the seas it cannot be otherwise. There is in these islands no man, worthy the name of man, so lost to the promptings of patriotism, so regardless of the ties of brotherhood, as to wish it otherwise. From this aspect of the matter we will not suffer ourselves to be led away by considerations of material well-being.

At one time some politicians—politicians, indeed, scarcely worthy the position of vestrymen—assuming to speak as statesmen, did not hesitate to promulgate the fallacy that her territories beyond the seas not only were of no value to Great Britain, but were a burden from which she would do well to be relieved. That fallacy, however, has been exploded; promulgation was all that was needed to ensure its explosion.

Happily, time has brought to us a clearer perception of

OUR TRUE INTERESTS,

and we now see clearly that, whereas as separate bodies we could exercise but little influence upon external affairs, united we are in a position to exercise a most commanding influence upon the affairs of the world.

Perceiving, then, where our true interests lie, we are resolved that our Empire shall be one and indivisible; and it is well that we should be so resolved. Numbers in the present day count for so much, that Great Britain, with a population less in number than, and yet twice as dense as, the populations of the great Nations of Europe, must eventually sink into insignificance beside them if confined to the limits of these four seas.

Other things being equal, such as bodily physique, arms and skill in the use of them, it is evident that numbers must prevail. This truth first found expression in the saying that Providence was always on the side of the strongest battalions; and recently found more forcible expression in General Grant's saying, when satisfied that the preponderance of numbers was with him, that he meant to keep pegging away.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the more purely defensive part of our subject, it may be well to examine this

MATTER OF NUMBERS

a little more closely.

Some say that in the past we were in respect of numbers weaker in comparison with Continental nations than we are now; that, nevertheless, we held aloof from, or interfered in, Continental matters as seemed best to us, and that, whether we interfered or whether we abstained from interfering, we prospered, and were regarded by our neighbours with respect if not with liking; and the inference they would have us draw from this is, that a similar course in the future will be attended with similar results. Now, without stopping to consider how far such statement of the case is correct, it may be

confidently asserted that such inference is absolutely misleading. Whatever we may have done in the past, we can no longer rely upon our *insular position*; steam and electricity, with the facilities for intercommunication which they have created, have rendered it impossible that the affairs of our neighbours should be no longer of concern to us; we cannot longer exist in a state of insular isolation, we belong to the society of nations, and must take our place therein, with all its responsibilities and with all its duties. Our *insular isolation* has vanished, and with it has vanished also our *insular security*.

If, then, we can no longer depend for security upon our *insular position*, of what value is the argument for doing nothing which is based on our immunity in the past? If the course of time had left other matters relatively equal this argument would be valueless; but the course of time has not left them relatively equal, and it is worse than valueless. Time, indeed, has done much for our advantage, but it has also imposed upon us one great disadvantage—it has rendered us absolutely dependent upon our neighbours; and so in everything we do we must count upon having to reckon with our neighbours.

In saying that our insular isolation had vanished we did not go far enough. We might have said that our *insular position* had vanished, that Great Britain is no longer an island.

And we may be thankful that it is no longer an island. We may, indeed, be thankful that there are Britons in every quarter of the globe, that every sea washes British soil; for it may seem to us (not without reason) that in the future pre-eminence of the English-speaking race rests the true hope of permanent peace, rests the only possible fulfilment of the millennial union of mankind.

Imperial Defence then rests, not with Great Britain alone, but upon the

BRITISH EMPIRE AS A WHOLE,

each portion of the Empire contributing to the defence, according to its ability and its needs.

This is so rational a view of Imperial Defence that it must commend itself to every impartial understanding; in it is no element of unfairness. Whatever difference hereafter time may work in the relative positions of the mother-country and her territories beyond the seas, the latter are at present the gainers by the Imperial connection, and will continue the gainers so long as the measure of the burthen they assume is limited by their ability to assume it.

Imperial Defence is not only a prime factor in Imperial Federation, it is the main burden which Imperial Federation takes upon itself. Let us see, then, what that burden is? What is Imperial Defence?

Imperial Defence is the measure of precaution by which our territories here and over seas are maintained inviolate, and by which the commerce of the Empire is enabled to pass in absolute safety over every sea.

Imperial Defence, as we have seen, is not limited to these islands, or to the seas which encompass them, but extends to every sea and every part of the world; in short it is *world wide*.

Being *world wide*, it must be a measure of considerable magnitude, and, therefore, of much costliness. Our endeavour should be to minimise the costliness, stimulated by the conviction that in proportion as we succeed in the endeavour we shall add to the efficacy of the measure.

In approaching this subject of Imperial Defence, it is necessary to have a clear understanding both of what we should defend, and the manner in which we should defend it. It is absolutely necessary to place clearly before ourselves a policy which we shall be prepared to maintain consistently everywhere, and under all circumstances. Without such a policy we shall never succeed either in working upon a uniform system or in establishing an effective organisation.

First of all:

WHAT SHOULD WE DEFEND?

We should defend these islands and every Imperial territory, and we should maintain the communications between them by such arrangements, naval and military, as shall oppose our fleet, with a reasonable certainty of success, to any hostile fleets which may threaten our shores or menace the communications.

Next :

IN WHAT MANNER SHOULD WE DEFEND IT?

We should defend these islands by fortifying our Capital, our dockyards and arsenals, and the vulnerable parts of our coast; by fortifying our principal commercial ports; by constructing strategical harbours of refuge; by fortifying the principal stations and places of importance in our territories beyond the sea; by constructing and maintaining ships of war sufficient in numbers and in strength to patrol the Lines of Communication and Trade Routes, and to aid, as occasion may offer, in defence of the naval stations and places of local importance; by establishing and fortifying Coaling and Refitting Stations at convenient points upon the Lines of Communication; and by raising and equipping sailors and soldiers in numbers sufficient to man the ships, to garrison the fortifications, and to oppose in the field the enemy wherever he may appear.

This is an extensive programme, but it is by no means beyond our capability. Money and time will provide the ships and the fortifications, but the *man* portion is not so easily provided. It is not that either we or our kinsmen beyond the sea are so wanting in patriotism that we are disinclined to serve our country; but military service is with us matter of inclination, and there is naturally little inclination to engage in it when there is no immediate prospect of the service becoming active; still less must be the inclination in young and struggling communities, where the supply of vigorous manhood is insufficient, or, at best, barely sufficient, for the needs of the community.

HOW IS THIS PROGRAMME TO BE CARRIED OUT?

Great Britain will provide the defence of these islands and the ships of war for all purposes; she will provide also the men, either in the form of regulars or in the form of auxiliary forces, which, by foresight and careful organisation—organisation which is sadly deficient at present—may be rendered equal to take their place alongside the regulars when the stress comes.

The territories beyond the seas will undertake their own local defence, providing for the purpose fortifications, guns, submarine mines, coast defence vessels, and men; and will contribute rateably, *as far as their means will admit*, to the fleets set apart for patrolling the Trade Routes: how this contribution might be assessed will be discussed hereafter. Of the will of these territories to take their place in Imperial concerns, there is, happily, no doubt. Those among us who had doubt of the will, were astonished and gratified at the extent to which our kinsmen were able to give effect to the will, not as evidenced only by the contingent of 800 fully equipped and excellent soldiers, furnished by New South Wales to the Egyptian campaign of 1885, by the offer of a similar number from Victoria, and of 1,500—three battalions—from the dominion of Canada, both offers declined regretfully because there was no occasion for their services; but by the offer of 5,000 volunteers from one of these Colonies alone, which a few days later—a war with Russia seeming imminent—was increased by telegraph to 50,000 men.

In this there is much

GROUND FOR SATISFACTORY REFLECTION.

The old English spirit of self-reliance, which over and over again prompted our forefathers to contribute in their localities, and with no stinted measure, men, and ships, and money, for the defence of the realm, whenever its integrity was threatened, still survives with undiminished vigour in their descendants beyond the seas. While the more modern spirit, which recognises that a great nation can under no circumstances abandon the position among the nations of the world due to her greatness and civilisation, and take refuge in a policy of selfish isolation, flourishes with even more vigour among them;—they at least have given practical proof that, whatever fortune betide, they are prepared to cast in their lot in upholding the dignity and integrity of the Empire.

Upon this side of the water many of us hail with intense satisfaction this spirit of local independence, for many of us here are endeavouring to arouse the inhabitants of our sea-coast towns to some perception of the condition of danger in which they are content to rest, are endeavouring to spur them on to take some measures for their own

security. We are impelled to this because we perceive, and we perceive it with shame, that the military government of this country, no matter which party is in power, have not the spirit to look this question fairly in the face; that such is the want of unity between the two military services, that the naval service is loth to see money allotted to the military for this purpose, lest the amount so allotted may lead to a diminution of the votes for naval purposes, notwithstanding that the money so allotted, if properly used, must tend to the offensive strength of the navy by leaving it free to act everywhere upon its own element; and the military service is loth to undertake such an expenditure, which must show an increase in the votes for military purposes, so long as by implication it can induce in the Public the belief that sea-coast defences are matter more properly of naval, than of military concern; each service seeming anxious, not so much primarily for the well-being of the Empire, as that the onus of expenditure shall fall on the other.

C. H. NUGENT, Colonel.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN ITS COMMERCIAL ASPECT.

AMONGST the many aspects in which "Imperial Federation" is viewed, the one which is presented less frequently than others is that of the commercial intercourse it would promote between the several Colonies, as well as with the mother-country. The advantages of a closer union for the purposes of defence, and the assistance to be rendered by one portion of the Empire to another in the event of war, together with the arrangements to be entered into for raising and expending the sums contributed for the good of the whole, are the first to occupy the thoughts of those who seek an answer to the question, "What does Federation mean?" But England has risen to her proud position mainly as the result of her trade and commerce. It was in pursuit of this that she in most instances became the occupier of the soil, and created the several dependencies of the Crown; and it is to this that she must look for the maintenance of that supremacy amongst the nations of the world, which is now so sorely tried, and can only be consolidated through a closer connection with the various communities—some of them large enough to be nations in themselves—which she has called into being. To show how this is to be done with Colonies differing so widely in geographical position and political condition, may demand an investigation into their distinct circumstances and needs, to which, as all that can be done on the present occasion, a few general remarks applicable to all may be a not unfitting preliminary.

Leaving out of the question at present all existing or prospective relations with other countries, it may be safely affirmed that, as between every portion of the Empire, there ought to be

NO RESTRICTIONS UPON PERFECT FREEDOM OF TRADE.

It is no infringement of this principle to except from its operation the manufacture or the trading in anything which is forbidden by the highest consideration of morality, or public safety. As, for instance, the supply of intoxicating liquors to untutored tribes, or restrictions where there is a certainty of their being misused. In like manner, the sale of arms, or instruments of offence, which are to be used in the promotion of fratricidal warfare, or destruction of constituted authority, and injurious to the public weal. In all these cases the higher claims of religion and justice must be held supreme, because whatever is for the good of the several members of the one body, and not inconsistent with the restraints which society rightly puts upon the liberty of individuals, must override the right of every man to do what he wills with his own. Subject to such limitations, it is clearly for the general benefit that whatever advantages, whether natural or acquired, exist in any one place, should be equally at the service of those in other localities, unhampered by protective duties. If these advantages, notwithstanding the extra cost of transport, which must always be borne by the more distant consumer, are so great as to outweigh those of rivals on the spot, it is false economy to subject one member of the Empire to

an unnecessary charge, for the purpose of fostering a more costly manufacture nearer home. The mother-country has fully recognised this in dealing with her home and Colonial subjects alike; and if federation is to take place, it would seem but just that all the federates should follow her leading. Even admitting that Canada is justified in creating Custom-house barriers on her line of contact with the United States, the same justification cannot be accepted from Victoria, for a like maintenance on the border line which separates her from New South Wales. No real parental or fraternal union can exist under such circumstances.

It is an utter mistake to allege that the exigencies of the Colonial chest, which may possibly require

THE IMPOSITION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES

for revenue purposes, sanction the unfriendly act of levying duties which protect the local producer against those of other Colonies. The home Government has solved this supposed difficulty by imposing an Excise duty on all goods manufactured within its own borders, exactly equivalent to the Customs duties which she levies on those goods when brought in from outside; and she makes no difference at all between English, Scotch, Irish, Indian, or Colonial suppliers. The products of the soil, and the industry devoted to manufacture, should be open to such a perfectly free market wherever customers can be found, who are either unable or unwilling to raise for themselves.

Admitting, for the sake of argument only, that a different course should be adopted with goods imported from foreign countries, it would be very desirable that whatever duties are levied should be of

EQUAL INCIDENCE IN ALL THE PORTS OF THE EMPIRE,

that is, that the fiscal regulations everywhere within its territories should be the same. In the United Kingdom the Irish consumer pays the same as the Scotch, and the English fares the same as both the others. It is possible that local difficulties in the imposition of other taxes, may render this difficult, or even impracticable; yet it would have the effect of making the trade between one colony and another a coasting one, and so free from harassing Customs inspection. Thus, for instance, the commerce between Sydney and Melbourne would be as untrammelled as that between Dublin or Leith and London. If it should follow, upon complete federation, that certain expenditure, say for defence or other purposes, for the benefit of all alike, came to be defrayed out of a common fund, there could be no more equitable way of raising it than by means of Customs duties, which must fall upon each community just in the proportion which, according to its numbers and wealth, it was able to bear. In such a case it would be a matter of utter indifference whether the tax were levied in one port or another, and the transport of commodities from one place to others should be unfettered by troublesome regulations. If federation did lead up to such results, the commercial benefits it would confer would be undeniable.

But there is another way in which a more liberal and uniform treatment of the imports from the mother-country would increase the commerce and serve the

INTERESTS OF THE COLONIES.

The great wants of the United Kingdom are, established customers for her manufactures, and fresh homes for her superabundant children. So long as England was mistress of the markets of the world, she was well able to meet the necessities of her increasing population; but now that she has rivals in the manufacturing industries of other nations, and her output of goods is, if not less in quantity, yet shrunk in the prices they obtain and the profits they secure, she needs to spread abroad both her sons and her wares. On the other hand, the outlying portions of the Empire, north, south, and west, if not the east as well, all require hands to till, and mouths to eat the bounteous supplies that there reward the labours of the husbandman. Many of the Colonies have lavishly expended borrowed money in laying down the iron roads, forming accommodation for shipping, and bringing into cultivation tracts of land, which still need a surplus of labour to render the sunken funds reproductive. This England can well supply, but not, as she has hitherto done, as a free gift. Every

adult who leaves this country has cost some one his maintenance and education, all of which is lost to the State if he ceases in his new home to render any return for what he has received. When, however, he raises food or raw material for those whom he leaves behind, and takes in payment that which they can produce for him, but cannot manufacture so cheap as they can, the advantage is mutual. Then the money spent upon him in childhood becomes a good investment, and the mother-country may for years go on breeding and rearing those who shall utilise the abundant resources to be found in her possessions abroad. The community of interest between the two is that on which each so greatly depends for employing the property of both, and this requires freedom of exchange for the commodities which each produces. The contrary course cripples the productiveness of both. Look, for instance, at what is happening in Canada at the present moment. Lancashire spins and weaves cottons far beyond the wants of her home customers. Supported by the sale of these, her operatives bring into the world, and train up to maturity, lads and lasses for whom there is now a lack of employment. The youths may go to the far West, now thrown open by the railway which traverses the country from east to west, there they plant fields and tend herds to supply the wants of the body they have left. The maidens in due time ought to follow, and become the wives and mothers who are to fill the solitudes of the homes and prairies there; but they remain at home to glut the labour market or to swell the pauper roll. Why so? Because every article of clothing the would-be husbands and fathers wear, every tool they use, all that they consume beyond the products of the soil they cultivate, is enhanced in price by protective duties, to foster trades which otherwise could not compete with the manufactures of the very men who have been at the cost of providing the skill and labour thus turned against themselves. This is neither Fair Trade nor Free Trade; it wastes the wealth of productive power on both sides, and a Federal union which should unite the interests of both would surely be a great means of commercial benefit all round. It would help to fill the harbours with ships, crowd the trains with passengers and goods, enlarge the borders of the towns and cities; for there is scarcely any limit to the population, now stunted and destroyed, which it would not fail to create, and furnish with the means of sustaining in comfort.

If considerations such as these may to the minds of some seem to be reasons against such a federation as has been contemplated, there is

ANOTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION

which cannot fail to commend itself to those who are disposed thus to think. England has for a series of years set the example of the only policy which can best employ the producing capacity of the whole world—by causing every article of consumption to be grown or manufactured with the least expenditure of power, and to the attainment of this end she must still direct her energies and frame her fiscal regulations. Other nations on both the European and American continents have so framed their laws as to embrace for themselves all the advantages which are given, without rendering anything in return. Secure in a market for their own produce, they have closed their own ports to ours, or so far impeded trade as to curtail the operations of those who would supply them with goods. The belief is fast ripening into conviction that a continuance of this state of things cannot lead to such an extension of home manufacture as will provide for our rapidly-increasing population. What is called Fair Trade can be at best but a temporary expedient, difficult and uncertain in its application, and of necessity utterly unfair to the producer of goods which have to be sold abroad. For whatever benefit he might derive from increased prices to be obtained on home sales—to counterbalance the advanced cost of the implements and labour employed in manufacturing processes—would be altogether wanting on those made for foreign markets. It may be, however, that the time is coming when the mother-country will be forced to rely more upon the products of her own Empire, and to so stimulate her dependencies that they shall be able to supply all her wants. In them she has every character of climate, and could obtain from them all she now gets from other lands. Indian tea is rapidly sup-

planting that from China, Colonial wheat that from United States and European growers, whilst New Zealand meat is supplementing deficient home supplies, and there seems no reason why these processes should not be greatly extended. We have an example in the United States of the enormous amount of internal, when compared with external, traffic which can be carried on within a country covering an extended range of soil and climate, where perfect freedom of trade exists between its several portions. But her capacity in this respect is nothing to that of the British Empire. Our natural productions are infinitely more varied than hers; our capital seeking investment far beyond anything she possesses; and in our powers, whether manual, mechanical, or mental, we need fear no comparison. We have, then, the further advantage that our own insular position at home, and in so many of our outlying portions, permits of removal by water, which is so much cheaper than that by land, thus, to a great extent, compensating for increased distances over which carriage has to be made.

THE ISSUE OF THE RECENT ELECTIONS,

unsatisfactory though it must be to all parties, inasmuch as it gives to neither that absolute majority which is essential for a firm and stable Government, need in no way be discouraging to the cause of Imperial Federation. Colonial interests will be as fully and ably represented in the new Parliament as they were in the past; and the discussions which must take place on the Irish question will serve to bring out more plainly the extent and influences of union as opposed to separation. Perfect likeness to each other, or rigid uniformity in the different constituents of the united body, is not essential to power or combination. On the contrary, if every stick in the bundle, so oft quoted as the symbol of strength, had all been hewn or polished into the same shape, they would have required a tighter cord to prevent one or another slipping out of place and so weakening the whole. It must be in the contact of knots and the interlacing of twigs that cohesion is effected, remembering always that if there be one or more of the number so twisted or crooked as to resist closeness of union, gentle and long-applied pressure may reduce it to a comely shape, and probably make it the most binding one of the lot.

STE. BOURNE.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

AT HOME.

BODMIN.—Mr. Silvanus Trevail has been lecturing in this town on "England and the Colonies and Federation." The *Western Morning News* of the 3rd ult., in reporting the lecture, says:—The chair was taken by the Mayor (Mr. T. Baron), and the hall was crowded. The lecturer read several letters and telegrams from gentlemen regretting their inability to be present, and among them one from the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, who is now at Torquay, in which the writer stated—"I am very glad you are starting a federation movement in Cornwall. The more all classes, and especially the working men, are informed on the matter, the more support we shall get:—the right hon. gentleman being the president of the Imperial Federation League that was inaugurated in London last year. Mr. Trevail opened his lecture by quoting the following passage from the election address of Sir John St. Aubyn:—"I desire to knit still more closely the ties that bind England to her Colonies, seeing, as I do, in such a union the most powerful means of advancing the power and prosperity of the Anglo-Saxon race," which very aptly and briefly summarised the position in which he stood before his fellow-electors of that division that evening, and as a protest to those who were inclined to treat the Colonial connection with coldness and indifference. The history of the colonial expansion was carefully treated, from the acquisition of the Bermuda Group to the American Revolution, and subsequently our colonisation of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Indian Empire. The progress of the English-speaking race in America was described, and the expansive political system that has admitted of such astonishing development, which Mr. Trevail showed to be mainly owing to the "thorough separation" that was carried out there between domestic and imperial matters—the former being under the control of each individual State, the latter under the Federal authorities at Washington. That a federal system of some sort was needed between England and her Colonies to-day, by which the latter could come in and claim their share in the privileges as well as the responsibilities of full citizenship, so that, on the one hand, England could enter into no quarrel without each portion of the Empire having

some means of making its voice heard, and, on the other, taking its fair share of responsibility, and contributing to the common object of defence. Mr. Trevail next detailed the steps that had already been taken by the Federation League, reading extracts from the opinions of our chief statesmen on the subject, both at home and in the Colonies. He also stated that branches of the League had been formed in many of the great centres at home and in Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The lecture was ably sustained from the beginning to the close, and frequently applauded. After some questions had been put to the lecturer and answered, a resolution was proposed in favour of Imperial unity as opposed to disintegration, and carried unanimously. Votes of thanks to the Mayor and lecturer terminated the proceedings.

CAMBRIDGE.—A vigorous branch of the Imperial Federation League has been formed here. The distinguished Professor of Modern History in the University, Professor Seelye, has identified himself with the movement, as was only to be expected of the author of "The Expansion of England," which has done so much to excite the earnest thought of Englishmen as to the meaning of this stupendous fact of the British Empire, and what are the duties it imposes. The Vice-Chancellor, too, assisted in the formation of the branch, as well as the Mayor of the town; while His Royal Highness Prince Edward of Wales, has given it his countenance. The membership includes some of the most distinguished members of the University. A most important work is being done by this branch, and will, without doubt, be much more largely done, among the large numbers of young men who at Cambridge are seeking to equip themselves for worthily acting their part, and discharging their duty in the great Commonwealth to which they belong, and whose welfare must be largely influenced by them in future.

CREDITON.—Mr. W. J. Dart has greatly interested himself in the movement here. He has secured a goodly number of registered members. What Mr. Dart has done in a small town like this is an indication of what might be done by friends of the League in larger places by zealous work.

HARROW.—A branch of the League has been established at Harrow, the Vicar, the Rev. F. Hayward Joyce, M.A., taking the chair at the meeting at which it was formed, and Dean Butler taking part in the proceedings. This great question is, and should be kept above all questions of party politics; and this evidently is the opinion of the Harrow politicians, for the resolution, "That a branch of the Imperial Federation League be now founded, to be called 'The Harrow Branch of the Imperial Federation League,'" was proposed by Mr. J. A. B. Bruce, hon. sec. of the Harrow Liberal Union, and seconded by Mr. F. R. Armitage, hon. sec. of the Harrow Conservative Association. This is as things should be. E. W. Howson, Esq., is the secretary, who, in a recent letter to the League, says, "We are fortunate in having Mr. Labillière among us." Mr. Labillière has been, as all who know him are aware, an earnest and consistent advocate of the movement for many years past.

HAWICK.—At a recent meeting of the Literary Society the subject of Imperial Federation was taken up. Mr. James G. Turner introduced the subject, affirming that it was desirable, necessary, and practicable. Mr. J. A. Henderson took the opposite view, and argued that no practical plan had been advanced which would at all improve matters. A long discussion followed, and on the subject being put to the vote, the affirmative was carried.

LIVERPOOL.—The *Liverpool Mercury* of the 2nd ult. reports that the honorary secretary of the Liverpool branch of the Imperial Federation League (Mr. S. Sebright Green) had an interview with Sir John A. Macdonald, Premier of the Dominion of Canada, who passed through Liverpool the day before on his way to London, and obtained Sir John's consent to attend a lunch which is to be given by the committee of the Liverpool branch of the Imperial Federation League on his return to Canada, which will probably be in about a fortnight.

LONDON: IMPERIAL CLUB, CHANCERY LANE.—The subject of Imperial Federation has been attracting the attention of members of the Imperial Club, Chancery Lane, where a numerously attended banquet was lately held. The chair was taken by Mr. R. W. Davey, who was supported by General Sir Seymour Blanc, Bart., Colonel Duncan, C.B., R.A., M.P., General Pym, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel Lean, Major Walsh, Captain Hamber, Dr. Vincent Ambler, and many other officers of both Services. The usual loyal toasts having been duly honoured, the Chairman read letters expressing sympathy with the movement, and regret at their inability to attend, from His Highness the Maharajah of Johore, Lord Wallscourt, Mr. Murray Smith (Agent-General for Victoria), Mr. Burdett-Coutts, M.P., Mr. J. T. Agg-Gardner, M.P., Major-General Bates, and others. He then proposed the toast of the evening, that of "Imperial Federation," and in doing so said they were there in the interests of the Club as well as of "Imperial Federation," which the Club was desirous of promoting. Some principle of federation, he thought, was absolutely necessary to retain the unity of the Empire. After referring to what was meant by "Imperial Federation," and to the immense commercial advantages which it was hoped would

result from a closer union of the Colonies with the mother country, he proceeded to say that, although the Colonies had the power of local self-government, they had absolutely no power or voice in the foreign policy of England, and he felt that our relations with them could not be permanently maintained upon the basis on which they at present stood. He considered the question was entirely a non-party one. It was requisite that every facility should be given for the discussion of the question, and such facilities were offered at the Imperial Club. The subject would, he believed, in the not distant future command that amount of public attention which it deserved, and in their meetings there, which he hoped and believed would be frequent, he trusted that party feeling would be entirely excluded. Colonel Duncan, speaking to the toast, said he had seen considerable service in the Colonies, and had always thought that "Imperial Federation" would be a most excellent thing, both for the mother-country and the Colonies. Anything which would bring them more closely together would, of course, be of great advantage, and he felt that there was nothing which would so closely cement them together as "Imperial Federation." The question had obtained great importance. He would like to see the Crown Colonies swept away, and the people in all the Colonies intrusted with the government of their own affairs. There were difficulties in the way of "Imperial Federation," but he thought these might be overcome, and if they were not it would be much more due to the blunders on our part than to the colonists themselves. Mr. Eaton Edevcain having also replied, the toast was enthusiastically received. Dr. Vincent Ambler then proposed "The Visitors," which was responded to by Captain Hamber, who in reply spoke of the great interest he had for many years taken in endeavouring to effect a closer relationship between the Colonies and the mother-country. He warmly approved of promoting the discussion of the question at the Imperial Club, which offered special facilities for their meetings. "The Health of the Chairman," proposed by General Sir Seymour Blane, brought the proceedings to a close.

LONDON: THE EMPIRE CLUB.—At a recent house dinner of the Empire Club, the principal guest of the evening being Sir Arthur Havelock the new Governor of Natal, Lord Brabourne, who was in the chair, declared the unity of the Empire to be the object of every right-thinking Englishman. The Marquis of Lorne, in responding to the toast, "Britain one Empire," said that the people of Great Britain were heart and soul in favour of the maintenance of the unity, strength, and glory of the Empire. During the elections there had not been a voice in favour of flinging off any part of our Empire. He expressed a hope that progress might be made with the question of Imperial Defence.

LONDON: NORWOOD.—The question of Imperial Federation has been lately debated by the Debating Association at West Norwood. Mr. Neville, the opener, having adduced reasons in support of the advisability of some such scheme of union between England and her Colonies, proposed that while all internal affairs should be regulated by the Colonies themselves, matters affecting the Empire as a whole should be controlled by a federal council. Mr. Smith seconded the proposition, which was supported by Messrs. Nixon, Wheeler, Hooton, and Lacey. A direct negative was moved by Mr. George Palmer, and Messrs. Carey, H. W. and H. H. Wrench, and W. E. Sandaver (chairman) adversely criticised the motion. The majority, however, were in favour of the proposition, which was accordingly carried.

LONDON: PADDINGTON.—P. V. Smith, Esq., has greatly interested himself in the movement here. At his private residence a meeting has been held at which it was resolved that a branch for Paddington should be founded, and application made to the League for its affiliation as a duly-constituted branch. It was intended that a large public meeting should be held, and the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P., had promised to speak, but the General Election supervened and prevented the intention being carried out. It is to be hoped, now that the all-engrossing General Election is past, the Paddington members and friends of the League will carry out their intention. There are few more important ways of calling attention to this great question than that of holding public meetings.

LUTON.—The Imperial Federation League has a branch in this town. It was established chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Alfred Ewen, who is honorary secretary and treasurer. Other prominent members, who have rendered important help to the movement, are Mr. J. J. Kershaw, who took the chair at the inaugural meeting, Mr. G. C. G. Lockhart, Mr. Michael Cook, and Mr. J. W. Green.

NEWCASTLE.—A strong branch has been established here which promises well for the future. Mr. J. J. Butcher took the initiative, and, having by private canvassing obtained a sufficient number to constitute a branch, proceeded to call a public meeting, which was well and influentially attended. At this meeting the branch was formally constituted. Shortly after another meeting was held, at which the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting desires the secretary to tender its warmest thanks to Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., for the views he expressed

upon the subject of Federation in his address on Saturday last, and to inform him of the unanimous wish of the members that he will consent to act as president of the Newcastle Branch of the Imperial Federation League." At this meeting, too, the secretary was elected in the person of Mr. J. J. Butcher. It was also resolved to advise the Council of the League to communicate with the syndicates controlling the local lecture schemes of the Universities of Cambridge, Durham, Oxford, and London, with a view to the latter appointing lecturers upon the growth, development, and present position of our Colonial Empire. This excellent suggestion was acted upon by the League, and in several instances with success.

PLYMOUTH.—Mr. Silvanus Trevail, of Truro, is a warm friend of Imperial Federation, and has several times lectured upon it in the West of England. The *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* has the following from one of its correspondents, in a recent issue:—"I am not going in any way to remark upon Mr. Trevail's professional abilities or reputation. There is no present need that I should say anything on that score, nor should I think this exactly the right place for the testimony I should like to bear. What I want to do is to recognise that gentleman's public services to the cause of Colonial and Imperial Federation. I see that, in compliance with a cordial invitation, he lectured last week at the Plymouth Institution upon one of the greatest subjects of English history, 'The expansion of the English race,' and that in the course of this lecture he not only showed—and that largely by facts within his own experience in his travels—how marvellous the spread of the English race has been; but that he emphasised in the clearest and most forcible manner the want of a system of Imperial Federation much upon the lines suggested by Mr. W. E. Forster. I believe the rule of the Plymouth Institution, like that of leading scientific societies generally, is not to tender formal votes of thanks; but the success of Mr. Trevail's lecture, and the manner in which it was appreciated, was made abundantly evident, I note, by the lively discussion to which it gave rise, and the almost universal concurrence with the lecturer's views. Good missionary work in a good cause, Mr. Trevail."

RYDE, I. WIGHT.—"Imperial Federation" was the subject of an essay read by Mr. Towell, at the weekly meeting of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society, on Monday evening, December 6th. Mr. Thomas Dashwood, J.P., occupied the chair.—At the close of a well-digested paper, Mr. Towell moved the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable to adopt some scheme of Imperial Federation between England and her great Colonies; and, further, that such scheme would not only promote the prosperity of the whole Empire, but would be the best guarantee for the further peace of the world."—Mr. Harmsworth seconded.—Messrs. Cherrington, Daunton, Webb, and Darling took part in the discussion, and on the motion being put it was carried unanimously.

IN THE COLONIES.

BARBADOES.—Edward Easton, Esq., the well-known engineer, having recently been on a visit to Barbadoes, found a strong feeling there in favour of the movement. It was suggested that this feeling should be expressed by a public meeting, which was done. A large and enthusiastic meeting was held, and as a result a branch of the League was formed, Messrs. Carrington and Sealy undertaking to act as honorary secretaries and solicitors.

BRITISH GUIANA.—In the Court of Policy in British Guiana a motion has been passed in favour of the desirability of a closer union being formed between Britain and her Colonies, and pledging the Court to view with satisfaction any proposals made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to that end. In the discussion on the subject, the Governor, in referring to the suggestion that an Agent-General should be sent to London to represent them, stated that the importance of a representative depended upon the importance of the interests he represented, and that therefore the representative of the West Indies collectively would carry more weight than the representative of any single Colony thereof. But he pointed out that, to have such an influential representative, the Colonies required to be unified; and as he believed them capable of greater union, he trusted that public attention would be directed to the subject. He considered one step in the great project of Imperial Federation would be taken when some closer union sprang up among all groups of Colonies throughout the Empire—between the Australian Colonies on the one side of the world, and between similarly closely-connected Colonies in the West Indies. The unification of the Australian and of the West Indian Colonies would certainly be a step towards the great general aim of Imperial Federation.

CANADA.—The Imperial Federation League in Canada was founded at a large and enthusiastic meeting held at Montreal, on May 9, 1885, the proceedings of which were published by the League in England a fortnight later. A number of earnest advocates of federation, including Mr. H. H. Lyman and Mr. A. McGoun, the treasurer and secretary of the Canadian League, had previously established a branch in Montreal; but the remarkable gathering of May 9, which represented every class, party,

and interest in the Dominion, warranted the assumption of the more comprehensive title. The president is Mr. D'Alton M'Carthy, Q.C., M.P., whose prominent position in the country at once gave weight and authority to the League in Canada. No fewer than fifty-seven members of the Dominion Parliament, belonging to both political parties, had joined the League before the end of May. Subordinate Canadian branches now exist at Montreal, Toronto, and elsewhere.

CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.—Almost simultaneously with the movement in the mother-country in favour of actively promoting the closer union of England and the Colonies by the formation of a society, a similar movement began in South Africa. A society was formed called the Colonial Society, afterwards changed to the more accurately descriptive title, the Empire League. The principles and objects of this society, as set forth in its prospectus, are—(1) Faithful and true allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, her heirs and successors according to law; (2) Imperial Unity; (3) Home Rule, or local self-government, with federal union; (4) due representation of all parts of the Empire in the Imperial Parliament, or in an Imperial Council in London. The principles of the League have been very warmly adopted in South Africa, and the parent society now numbers some ten or more branches. Not long since it sought and obtained affiliation to the Imperial Federation League.

CRADOCK, SOUTH AFRICA.—The *Cradock News* of October 30th, lately come to hand reports:—A meeting was held last Tuesday evening in the supper-room of the Town Hall, for the purpose of forming a branch in this town of the Imperial Federation League, an association formed under the auspices of that friend of the Colonies, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster. The object of the League appeals equally to and is for the benefit of every British subject, whatever his nationality may be. Dr. Lea was elected president of the society, and Mr. J. C. Baker secretary and treasurer, the election of the committee being left over until the next meeting, which is to be held on Tuesday, December 1st, when it is expected there will be a full gathering of good men and true, from whom an influential committee can be chosen.

GIBRALTAR.—A warm interest in the objects and proceedings of the League has been displayed in Gibraltar, and the honorary secretary of the local branch, Mr. W. Lequich, has maintained an active correspondence with the head office. One gratifying feature of this branch consists in the enthusiasm for union with the mother-country which is shown by many residents of non-English descent. A large majority of the members are of Spanish extraction, and such meetings as have been held in Gibraltar prove that these members have shared as warmly as any in the interest connected with the movement.

HOBART.—Mr. John Macfarlane, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Hobart, writes that united action on the part of the Chambers of Commerce, on some general lines to be agreed to by a convention of representatives from the various Chambers of the Australian Colonies, to press upon their respective Governments the subject of federation with the mother-country, would greatly help the matter on. It is, moreover, said that one of the obstacles at present in the way of federation is that the Colonies are not represented in the councils of Great Britain. This matter of representation is a difficult point, and one which cannot readily be settled. Nevertheless, some means of direct legislative representation for the Colonies must be found, sooner or later.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—At a meeting, held at St. John on November 20th last, to select a Liberal candidate to contest the seat vacated by Sir Leonard Tilley, the Hon. C. N. Skinner, who was the candidate unanimously chosen, spoke, among other things, on the subject of Imperial Federation. As reported in the *St. John Globe*, he said:—"The question of Imperial Federation will probably soon call for the consideration of the public men of this country. My personal conviction is that Federation or Disintegration must come to the British Empire, and I hope it will be the former. By the consummation of so great a union, a general assembly, sitting in London, would settle questions of finance, war, commerce, and Imperial rule; whilst England, Ireland, and Scotland, would each have a local Parliament of its own, the existing institutions of the Colonies would be preserved, the Irish question would become settled at once, and the Empire blended into one, with such reciprocal trade regulations among the whole as would compel foreign nations, in self-defence, to so liberalise their tariffs as to make trade fair and even-handed; and then would be presented to the world the greatest Empire it has ever seen, resting upon the foundation of Christianity, the will of the people, and a civilisation perfected by education and intellectual advancement to such an extent that it would become the pride and hope of mankind. But, of course, before any organic change of so important a character as here indicated shall be made, the whole matter should be referred to the people for their approval."

SINGAPORE.—A branch was formed here in the spring of last year. A large public meeting was held in the Town Hall, which was presided over by the Hon. W. H. Read. Many dis-

tinguished residents were present. Sir Thomas Sidgreaves moved the resolution—"That a branch of the Imperial Federation League, based upon the principles laid down in the prospectus of the general committee in London, be formed in this colony, with headquarters at Singapore." This was seconded by Dr. Robertson, and unanimously passed. The next resolution was to the effect that all British subjects, without distinction of race, creed, or politics, be invited to become members of the League. This was also unanimously carried; and our English members will be interested in learning that some of their fellow-members bear the euphonious names of Tan Chin Fook, Tan Beng Grun, Tan Yeak Kim, Tan Tiong Seck, Ong Kew Ho, Syed Mahomed al Sagoff, &c.

TORONTO.—The *Toronto Globe*, in an issue lately to hand, reports the holding of a meeting in connection with the local branch of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. R. R. Dobell, of Quebec, who is a member of the Executive Committee of the parent league, was present, and spoke. In his address he said Canada was the first to start the idea, as in 1878 a resolution was passed by the Dominion Board of Trade, at the annual session at Ottawa, which advocated a commercial union with Britain. This was followed by a circular to all the Boards of Trade in Great Britain and the Colonies. Both sides of politics in England agree that no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs. Mr. Dobell believed that no scheme for federation would carry much weight that does not embrace a comprehensive scheme for the interchange of commodities between the Colonies themselves and between them and Great Britain on sound financial principles. In Canada it was harder to initiate this idea than it was before so much capital had been invested in the manufactories, but if she could manufacture a little cheaper than other countries she would eventually be an advocate of Free Trade. The following resolution was then presented by Mr. Hugh McLennan, and adopted after considerable discussion:—"That the Montreal branch of the Imperial Federation League recommend for the consideration of the Dominion League that in any basis for Imperial Federation suggested should be included a trade interchange between the component parts of the Empire upon terms more favourable than those extended to foreign countries, unless such foreign countries should establish reciprocal trade relations with the proposed Federation."

VICTORIA.—The Victorian branch of the League was inaugurated by a town's meeting at Melbourne, summoned by Mr. G. D. Carter, the mayor, and attended by Bishop Moorhouse, many members of the University, and a large gathering, which filled the Town-hall. The proceedings were published in London as well as by the Victorian Branch itself. The speeches and resolutions were marked by great fervour, and at the close of the meeting the mayor telegraphed in its behalf to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, in London, in order to announce the creation of the branch. Before the end of August the roll of members had reached one thousand, and minor branches have since been formed in the Colony of Victoria.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH.

THE members of the University Branch of the Imperial Federation League held their terminal meeting at the Devonshire Rooms, on Monday, December 7th, under the presidency of PROFESSOR SEELEY.

The Secretary, Mr. J. R. TANNER, of St. John's, read letters from the Rev. J. J. Lias, Professor Westcott, and Mr. Prothero, regretting their inability to be present. He reported that the Branch numbered 144 members, including the Master of Trinity, the Master of Caius, the Master of Sidney, and the Master of Jesus, 13 professors, 81 members of the Senate, and 46 bachelors of arts and undergraduates.

The CHAIRMAN said:—"We have a goodly number of adherents, but we might have many more; nay, I think we might gather almost the whole University into our fold, but for one scruple, which I cannot but consider a prejudice founded on misconception. We constantly receive for answer to our pleadings, 'Oh, I feel with you heartily—no man more heartily; but you have no definite plan, and it does not seem possible to frame a definite plan. That being so, I cannot waste my time in listening to generous sentiments and fine words, which, however I may admire them, butter no parsnips! And I cannot join a Federation League, because I find the word 'federation' too indefinite to express wishes, yearnings, aspirations so vague as mine.' Well, now, is this reasonable? In a country like ours, which, for the last half century has been almost ruled by leagues and associations, which have worked through public meetings and public speeches, it does seem unreasonable to regard such meetings and speeches as unpractical and leading to nothing. Mr. Gisborne, I fancy, will soon show you that we do not confine ourselves to generous sentiments; that we do not shrink from particular inquiries; that we are not afraid of details. 'But if so,' perhaps you say, 'why not bring forward a definite scheme, and stick to it?' We have our answer, which I do think objectors, if they would only take the trouble to examine it, would find satisfactory. There is all the difference between adopting a scheme in the later stages of an agitation, when the party is fully formed, convinced, and educated, and announcing it in advance, when the party is still to make. In the latter case it strikes upon inattentive,

uninterested, cold, sceptical, unreasonable ears; it falls an easy prey to the criticism of those who only want an excuse to condemn. The drawbacks to it—every scheme has its drawbacks—the objections—every scheme is open to objections—are seen clearly, and exaggerated out of all proportion, and in the unawakened, uninspired state of the public mind the definiteness of the scheme has merely the effect of repelling all those who may find something to object to in the details. The scheme that is to succeed with the public must have grown up before their eyes, in their presence, and with their help, so that while the details were taking shape the importance of the end to be gained should be ever more and more deeply felt, and details sink into their proper subordinate place. And do not suppose that the reason why we do not now propound a definitive scheme is that we are conscious of being unable to do so. Not at all. The truth is, we think we could propound several, and we do not wish prematurely to commit ourselves to any one. What! do you think it always a mark of weakness not to have a fixed plan? I remember that when the Duke of Wellington was about to set out for the Peninsula, he was waited upon by a gentleman of the press, who begged to be favoured with an outline of his plan. The Duke's answer was, "Plan! I have got no plan. I mean to beat the French, and if I cannot do it in one way I will in another." Yes; you see, when he seemed to have no plan, the truth was that he had many. I do assure you that in our case too this is the explanation of any indefiniteness you may find in our proposals. We have got no plan. We mean to unite the Empire, and if we cannot do it in one way we will in another.

The Hon. W. GIBBORNE, late Minister in New Zealand, pointed out that a great idea often goes through distinct stages in its growth into a great fact. Sometimes, at first, it is treated as visionary and utopian. At other times the idea awakes and finds itself at once famous. But there is always a stage beset with difficulties and dangers, which a great truth must go through in its transition from theory into practice. This stage undoubtedly awaits the progress of the large question of Imperial Federation. At present the subject is received by many leading representative men with great favour; and has been more or less so regarded in many of the colonies. But the desire, with considerable reason, begins now to be felt by many for further information as to some practical method of giving effect to what they admit, if it could be successfully accomplished, would be a great improvement of the existing system, or rather systems, under which the British Empire is governed and kept together. The Imperial Federation League, as a League, has, I think, exercised a very wise discretion in refraining from any attempt hitherto to put forward any scheme of federation. Such an attempt, under all the circumstances of the very recent formation of the League, would have been presumptuous, and probably suicidal. The suggestion and discussion of schemes should, in my opinion, for some time to come, not emanate from, but gravitate towards, the League. But the responsibility of reticence which rests at present on the League does not rest on individual members. On the contrary, it seems to me that the time has come when different plans, not of course in details, but in principles, formed from different points of view, may be profitably put forward, in the hope that criticism, selection, and combination, may produce some reasonable plan, or plans, worthy of practical consideration by the League, and by accredited representatives of all parts of the British Empire. The speaker then proceeded to show what the British Empire now is and how it is governed, and pointed out that Imperial Federation should relate to and include questions of foreign policy, imperial defence, postal and telegraphic services, commerce, and emigration. With regard to the practical solution of the problem, he said, all I can possibly hope to do now is to submit a few practical principles which should, in my view, be the foundation and skeleton framework of a plan. I am strongly impressed with the necessity of the fair constitutional representation of the colonies in the Imperial Councils on Imperial affairs. This representation should be complete, and fairly proportional to the population, wealth, and general status of the colony represented. As the self-governing colonies would elect their representatives because they are self-governing, so Crown colonies and other possessions, which are not self-governing, could have their representatives chosen by their respective governments. The proportion of representatives granted self-governing colonies, in which the Crown has little direct power, should be in a higher ratio than ought to be given to Crown colonies in which the Crown is a more potential factor. The existing relations of the United Kingdom, and of other parts of the Empire, are not satisfactory. They violate the principles of constitutional government. What is needed is, without interfering with the legitimate action of each individual member, to weld together all the parts and then to form one being instinct with life and energy, and capable in its every movement of unity of purpose, combination of strength, and promptitude of action.

MR. ARNOLD FORSTER, son of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., next addressed the meeting, and said that he was glad to tell them that the Federation League was alive, and that the movement was in a fairer way of making progress than it had previously been at any time in the history of the League. He should like so to bring the matter into the administration of the country, that whenever the question of the separation of the colonies from the mother country came to be suggested, it would foreshadow such an effect on the ordinary practical life of every subject that it could not possibly be brought on. Information on the question of imperial defence should be better diffused; and it also seemed to him desirable that there should be a penny post throughout the whole of the British Empire. He believed nothing would bring it home to the men in that empire that they belonged to one community so effectually as such a scheme. Then there was the question of the civil service, in which their colonists ought to take part, and the question of commercial laws. When they had got information on those matters tabulated they could go to the country and say, this is what you have got, and this is what you might have. Until they put it in that practical form, that there was an advantage to be gained, they could not secure

widespread popularity. It was said that the question could not be altered by Act of Parliament. He did not believe it. It was practically a case in which they had to organise a disorganised mass, and that could only be done by law-making.

A discussion followed, opened by Rev. W. Cunningham, Mr. Langley, Count Bologna Stricklands (Trinity), Mr. J. T. Bell (Trinity Hall), and Mr. J. R. Tanner (St. John's), also spoke; and Mr. Gisborne and Mr. Arnold Forster replied to questions addressed to them by the various speakers. The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Mr. Gisborne and Mr. Forster, proposed by Mr. J. Peiris, of Ceylon, who described the progress of a movement in that colony in favour of a council to advise the Colonial Office on matters relating to Ceylon.

THE FORTHCOMING COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

THE approaching Colonial and Indian Exhibition promises to be a great success, if not the greatest success of all the Exhibitions held in recent years at South Kensington. Several of the Colonies are taking the matter up with much spirit, having a keen perception of the advantage which is likely to accrue to their trade.

The Melbourne *Argus* reports:—"Local arrangements in connection with the ensuing Colonial and Indian Exhibition are progressing favourably. The exhibits of wine promise to be an important feature of the court of the colony. Over 7,000 gallons, representing over 42,000 bottles, have been entered, and, in addition, a practically unlimited quantity will be available for sale during the exhibition. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having expressed his desire that specimens of Australian fish might be exhibited in the aquarium which will be open in connection with the Exhibition, the trustees of the Melbourne Exhibition building have given the matter their consideration with a view of determining if specimens of the rarer varieties might not be sent from the Melbourne Aquarium. It has, however, been found that a very great cost would be incurred in sending anything like an adequate supply of fish, and the project has therefore been abandoned. It has been decided, however, to forward for exhibition in the Victorian court upwards of 100 water-colour drawings of the fishes of the Colony, which have been executed to the order of the trustees by a competent artist, and which, it is hoped, will be of interest to ichthyologists and others. It is also the intention of the trustees to request the Government to assist them in the production of a descriptive work on Victorian fishes, the illustrations of which will be taken from the plates just mentioned. Professor M'Coy has promised his assistance, and Mr. J. E. Sharrard, the secretary to the trustees, is already engaged in collecting the materials for the work."

New South Wales is also actively preparing, Sir Alexander Stuart having been appointed Commissioner to superintend arrangements and care for the interests of that Colony at the Exhibition. As an example of the way in which rumours of a disquieting nature in some instances may be started, and even have a semblance of being well founded in fact, it may be mentioned that at first it was reported that Mr. Stuart had been appointed Agent-General for New South Wales, thus superseding Sir Saul Samuel. An error in transmission made all the difference; but at first it seemed as though Sir S. Samuel was being very summarily dealt with by the Government he ably serves.

New Zealand is determined not to be behind her sister Colonies in Australasia. Her Commissioner is to be Dr. von Haast, and it is believed that he will be accompanied by Dr. Buller, C.M.G., author of a well-known book on the ornithology of New Zealand. Dr. Buller is son-in-law of the late Dr. Featherstone, who at one time represented the Colony as Agent-General. Readers of Sir Charles Dilke's "Greater Britain" will remember "the great Pétatoné" as the Maoris used to call him. Judging from the very creditable display which we are told New Zealanders made at their own Exhibition in Wellington not long since, it may confidently be expected that they will not have occasion to be ashamed of their exhibit. Space has been allotted at South Kensington for a court for Tasmania, but it will not be required, as that Colony is short-sighted and ill-advised enough not to go to the necessary expense. How is it that Tasmania does not see that this is a "penny wise and pound foolish" policy? The "Anglo-Australian in London" of the *European Mail*, says, in reference to this:—"I have had several animated chats with sundry Colonists on the subject of Tasmania and the coming great Colonial Exhibition. I have myself a strong opinion as to the extraordinary parsimony, or whatever it was, that caused the Government of the Island Colony to shrink back terrified at the bare possibility of having to find a few paltry thousands for a cause so dear, one would suppose, to every true-hearted Tasmanian. 'It was a pity,' I began to one Colonist while on this subject, but he interrupted passionately by saying that it was a shame, and that he, as a Tasmanian himself, felt it acutely. So do I, so do all Colonists, whether Tasmanians or not, who see the matter as it really stands. The fact is, the Colony sadly needs adequate official representatives over here—men fully competent to take a

judicious view of things all round, and having sufficient force of character and the necessary standing to be able to impress their Government with the true state of affairs in all such questions as this of the great Colonial Exhibition."

The space which Tasmania declines to occupy will in part be used for a colonial wine bar, at which only wines produced in the Colonies will be retailed. The remainder will probably be allotted to Victoria. Not only, however, will Colonial wines be shown and tasted in a few months at South Kensington, but we are credibly informed that Colonial teas, coffees, and cocoa will be in great force.

Among the prominent Australians whom the advent of the Exhibition has brought to our shores must be mentioned the Hon. Nicholas Fitzgerald, of Victoria, who is staying with his brother, Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, of Egyptian fame. Strangely as it may sound, the Victorian Legislative Councillor is to act as an Exhibition Commissioner for New South Wales.

It is reported that the clerk of the Court of Policy, Demerara, recently read a letter from Mr. E. Cunliffe Owen, assistant secretary of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, enclosing a pamphlet containing the names of the Royal Commission and of the various Colonial commissions that have been appointed by their respective Governments, and asking whether British Guiana had appointed a commission or a committee. If such a commission or committee had been appointed, Mr. Cunliffe Owen requested to be furnished with the list of names. He also transmitted copies of the regulations issued for the guidance of the executive commissioners appointed by the Colonial and Indian Governments. His Excellency said he would bring the matter before the Court at its next meeting.

Speaking for the West Indies in general, and for Grenada in particular, the *Equilibrium* of Grenada says:—"We heartily commend to our readers and to the general public the adoption of vigorous efforts for promoting the object of this Exhibition, so far as our share is concerned, and of bringing Grenada to the front. Of the advantages of intercolonial exhibitions there can be no doubt, and the West Indian press has but one voice on the subject. These great industrial exhibitions have been rightly called the milestones of industrial progress. They bring to the front the various merits and capabilities of those concerned. They promote the development of resources, and enhance the value of products. They widen the sphere of acquaintance, and increase the demand for the commodities exhibited. They keep before the world the merits of past productions, while they afford facilities and stimulate to exertions for improvement and progress."

South Africa has its Committee, which is actively engaged in making the necessary preparations. We understand that Mr. A. Douglass has been applied to by the Committee, and has consented to prepare a very handsome exhibit or "trophy" of ostrich feathers for that occasion. The exhibition will be similar to that shown by Mr. Douglass at the Royal Agricultural Society's Show in Derby, and afterwards in London, some years ago. The exhibit was much admired, and it attracted the interest of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, who was pleased to accept a bunch or two of feathers from Mr. Douglass. The assortment of feathers which will be prepared for the forthcoming Exhibition will, however, be superior to the former one shown by him, and possibly the Prince of Wales will be asked to accept them as a token of the loyalty of South Africa.

PROFESSOR MORRIS ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE Victorian branch of the League, which now numbers upwards of a thousand members, not long since wisely determined to arrange for a series of lectures on the important subject of Federation, not only in Melbourne, but throughout the Colony; and Professor Morris, of Melbourne University, was selected to give the first of the series. Colonial views and treatment of the question must necessarily be interesting to us at home. We, therefore, for the benefit of English readers, as well as for readers in other Colonies and parts of the Empire to which this Journal will penetrate, furnish the following epitome of it:—

Professor Morris began by saying that the League had wedded itself to no scheme, its object at present being to familiarise people with the idea of Imperial Federation. A quarter of a century ago the predominant feeling among English statesmen was that the Colonies were sure to separate from the mother-country, as the United States had done. It is different now. The feeling of England towards her Colonies had changed for the better, and great interest is being taken in them. The present relations between the Colonies and the mother-country might last for some time, but it is unreasonable to expect them to continue for ever. Relations suitable enough when the Colonies were small ceased to be so when they became larger and more important, and the policy of "drifting" was a mistaken policy. Professor Morris proceeded to remark that Imperial Federation ought not to be considered as being in

any way hostile to Australian Federation. He could not understand why the advocates of one kind of federation should oppose the other. The question is which of the two should come first in the order of time? For his part, he would like to see the Colonies united under a single Parliament and a single Government. The natural and the wise method is to proceed from the smaller to the larger. The set of history is now in the direction of unification; and for many centuries to come the tendency will be towards the diminution of the number of separate small governments and the establishment of a few very powerful States. Professor Morris cited De Tocqueville's prophecy that Russia and the United States of America would become very powerful nations, and went on to point out that Germany has not yet reached her full development. She will eventually incorporate some of the territory which is now Austrian; but probably her first expansion will be by taking possession of Holland. Thus, so far as he can see, there will be in the course of a few years three pre-eminently powerful States—Russia, the United States, and Germany. Whether England is or is not to fall behind them will depend on the decision of the peoples of Greater Britain. Some day Australia will be very strong, but even then she would be better off as part of the British Empire. Professor Morris then spoke of the enormous amount of work which is now done by the House of Commons, and pointed out that, some day or other, parochial business must be removed from its control, and that its functions should be made truly Imperial. The Colonies have parliaments for domestic legislation, and so ought England, Scotland, and Ireland. This is a view which has been advocated by Mr. Chamberlain; and it is in accordance with the principles of the Imperial Federation League that the existing rights of local parliaments in regard to local affairs shall not be interfered with. As has been recently remarked, however, in the *Saturday Review*, there are many difficulties in the way of remitting the domestic legislation of the various portions of the mother-country to local parliaments. But, at the same time, there is nothing impracticable in the idea of an Imperial body, charged with the duty of controlling the foreign affairs of the Empire; and if Greater Britain is to be one of the foremost of the world powers, the inhabitants of every part of the Empire must be prepared to bear the burden of common defence.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR ON THE FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, in connection with his candidature for the Southern Division of Leeds—which division he now represents in the new Parliament—dealt with the above subject, and in the course of an important speech said:—Federation means that while different States should retain their separate interests and preserve their local government and autonomy, they should unite into one body for the protection of the Imperial interests of the Empire. Such a federation as that of the United States may in time come about between England and her Colonies, but it is not within measurable distance. It cannot be forced, but must arise as the most needful expression of common interest. A great aggressive war of Continental Powers against the United Kingdom and its Colonies would certainly produce such an intimate alliance between us and the Colonies that it might be followed by Federation. Have we not seen loyal and friendly tokens of the future consolidation of our interests in recent co-operation. When the Colonies thought that we were in straits for soldiers to fight our battles, did not, in one single week, come messages through the telegraphs from Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, offering their blood and treasure to the Queen? Such a feeling of love and loyalty looks very much like a desire for Federation, brotherhood, alliance—call it what you will—that we should all strive to bring about. My friend, Sir Charles Dilke, with many of whose political views I cordially agree, made, I think, a serious mistake the other night when he called colonial federation a Tory policy. Colonial interests are outside the sphere of party politics. The two men who have worked most ardently for federation are my two friends Lord Rosebery and Mr. Forster. They certainly are not Tories. No party of politicians would attempt to force the question under any circumstances, or even to urge it for adoption until the Colonies desire it themselves. But that ultimately some sort of alliance and community of voice must be organised for the protection of this great Empire I am convinced. There have been public meetings in the Colonies on the subject, and the Prime Ministers of several of them have written to their Agents-General instructing them to consider favourably all proposals which are made for drawing the Colonies nearer to the mother-country. This next year we are to have a great Exhibition in London of the industries of the Indian Empire and of our Colonies. Then there will be congregated in London the leading men who conduct our Colonies on the principles of English freedom. If we take that opportunity of showing to them how much we appreciate their efforts, and how much we desire to preserve our family ties of love and affection with them, this gathering may bear its fruits in the continued prosperity of our Empire. It may be long before we

have a Federal Parliament, but we are not far from a Federal Commonwealth. Mr. Freeman's definition of one is not unattainable even now, or I should say it is already attained. He says:—"A Federal Commonwealth, in its most perfect form, is one which forms a single State in its relations with other nations, but which consists of many States with regard to its internal government." We may be said to have that form now, because England preserves to itself the regulation of its foreign policy. This cannot last, however, because the Colonies are growing, and will naturally desire to be consulted about that foreign policy before they are committed to aid us in wars which they may not approve, and which may be directly against their individual interests. If they are to continue a part of the common Empire, they must have a voice in the regulation of Imperial interests, and the mode in which this is to be secured is the question for them and for us. There is no proposal to attain this which yet satisfies me, but difficulties exist to be overcome. A Scotch parson once said that whenever he met a difficulty he looked it straight in the face, and then passed it by on the other side. That is not what you or I care to do. I am sure that the democracy of England will unite with the democracies of our Colonies all through the world to preserve the integrity of our great Empire, and that they will encourage all its statesmen to find a solution of the difficult question how their interests are to be made one both in time of peace and in time of war. I look beyond this vision of a united Empire. Formerly we had colonies which are now parts of the United States. We lost them because we refused them self-government, and because we tried to impose taxes for the benefit of the mother-country. A great English nation, separated from us, exists on the other side of the Atlantic with fifty-seven millions of people. They outnumber already the English race in the United Kingdom and all its Colonies. By the close of the present century it will reach about one hundred millions. How is this great State to stand in relation to our little islands in the northern seas? Political federation with it we cannot have; but brotherly alliance we may secure. Its Government, like our own, is free and democratic. Its people, like our own, rejoice in the glories of the English race. Our great men are their great men, and they erect statues to them in their public places. It is right that we should try to unite the English of this kingdom and the Colonies in the common bonds of one Empire, and that we should seek a firm alliance with our cousins in the United States, who have an equal interest with ourselves in the continued prosperity of free governments in all countries which the English-speaking race is so fitted to found and perpetuate. If we succeed in doing that the foreign Governments of Europe may coalesce and threaten us; but if we preserve the control of the sea, and obtain the support all over the globe of English-speaking races, our great Empire may continue for ages without disintegration, and minister to the peace, prosperity, and contentment of populations, separated by space, but united in the development of free institutions and liberal government.

OBITUARY.

THE Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester, who died on the 15th ult., was an ardent supporter of the Empire, an advocate of Imperial Federation, and a member of the general committee of the League. He was born in 1816, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. in double first-class honours in 1837. He took orders in 1845, and became senior classical master, and, subsequently in 1849 the principal, of the Liverpool College. He held this post with much credit for a period of sixteen years. In 1866 he was appointed vicar of Wisbech St. Peter, and from 1867 to 1873 he acted as examining chaplain to the Bishop of Ely. It was in 1867 that he was appointed by Lord Derby to the Deanery of Chester. He was a voluminous writer, but is best known as such on account of a work which he undertook in conjunction with the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, entitled, "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul." He was an able preacher, and, as a Churchman, wide and tolerant in his views, belonging to that school usually denominated "Broad." We deeply regret to have to announce his loss.

AN IMPERIAL MÈNU.—Our contemporary charges nothing for the idea, so we present it to our readers, and ask them to take it for what it is worth.—"Now that every one—our politicians in particular—is talking about the Imperial Confederation of the Colonies, would it not be a good idea for one of our enterprising caterers in the gastronomical line to get up a public dinner, to which each of our Colonial dependencies contributed one or another of their favourite delicacies? The improvements accomplished in the refrigerating process, by which fish, flesh, and fowl may be safely transported any distance, would enable such an idea as the above to be carried out successfully. Thus the *mènu* might contain such delicacies as the following:—

Elephant's foot, à la *Hottentot*.
Giraffe steak, à la *Zulu*.
New Zealand mutton, à la *Maori*.
Kangaroo tail soup, à la *Loubra*.

Moose Moofie, à la *Chippeway*.
Cariboo chops, à la *Huron*.
Labrador salmon, à la *Esquimaux*.
Hudson's Bay grayling, à la *Trapper*.

The above certainly looks a queer collection of dishes, all coming from places far enough apart, but they are within the possibility of being placed upon the same table. We charge nothing for this idea."—*Land and Water*.

AMERICAN VIEWS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE following article is from the *Detroit Tribune* (Republican):—

Lord Salisbury said one thing in his speech at the National Conservative Conference, on last Wednesday, that points towards a policy which ought to be approved by every patriotic British subject. He said he favoured the Imperial Federation movement, and that he desired a closer union between England and the Colonies.

Imperial Federation may yet be the salvation of the British Empire. The question of the future with England is, whether it shall lose its Colonies and drop back to the rank of Holland, or whether, retaining the Colonies, it shall move on as one of the leading nations of Christendom. He who would look into the future of England must judge correctly as to the drift of events, and in the effort to do so he can study with profit the history of the Netherlands. Once the Dutch Republic was one of the great powers of the world. Its navy swept the seas, and its Colonies brought it a profitable trade. But the Colonies were nearly all lost, and by internal dissensions the Republic was destroyed.

If England were to lose its Colonies, there would be nothing to prevent its falling back into the rank of Holland and Belgium, and the present relation between the Colonies and the mother-country is one not likely to last. The ties which now bind the several parts of the British Empire together are too frail to endure much tension. There should, therefore, be a closer union between them all. Great Britain may learn a lesson from the history of the United States. This Government, now held together in an indissoluble union, is but the result of a federation between thirteen English Colonies. Before the rebellion from England the Colonies were as distinct as are Australia and Canada, South Africa and India. After the close of the Revolution they retained their local governments, but formed a confederation among themselves. This being found to be insufficient, they met together, and, "in order to form a more perfect union," they established the federal republic which we call the United States.

If Lord Salisbury's policy of Imperial Federation means anything, it means the establishment of a federal relation between England and the Colonies, similar to that which now exists between the several States of this Union. India, Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, and all the other Colonies and dependencies of England would retain their local governments, and all Imperial matters would be determined in a parliament composed of representatives from each division of the Empire. This would be remodelling the British Government in a most radical manner, but it would place the Empire upon such foundations of greatness that no Russian intrigue would be able to move it. Such a Government would differ very little from that of the United States, excepting that the executive power would retain the monarchical form, instead of being elective. There was a Cavour for Italy, a Bismarck for Germany, and there may be in England a statesman who will follow their example in the reorganisation of the British Empire.

The *Toronto Daily Mail*, having lately had one or two articles discouraging the idea of federation, received the following letter, dated at Cincinnati, which is inserted under the heading, "An American on British Confederation":—"Sir,—I am wondering if the young men of Canada 'on the high road to the United States' have studied the last election in Ohio and the speech of Senator Sherman, of Mansfield, on the result? One million voters disfranchised by a bitter disposition—as bitter a disposition as ever existed. That is the verdict of Sherman, who is capable of judging. I talked yesterday with an Englishman, who said: 'I have no business here. I can do better in any British colony. Times here are horribly bad. And, sir, the violence of vituperation, badness, malignity, calumny against religion, and every noble thing, leads me to resolve to leave this country. I cannot pass through such another campaign under so-called American methods.' I see, sir, that you do not come up to Imperial Federation with the stomach that you ought. Your article is too glitteringly general as an advocacy for British dominion, and your closing sentence on letting well enough alone is in the nature of hopelessness as to strengthening the hope for unity among the British of the earth. I trust that you will not lower the high destiny of British Imperial dominion. It deserves your very warmest advocacy. If you will read Mr. Grant's article in the *October Century* on the Canadian Pacific Railway you will see that he closes the article with a hearty Imperialism which commands respect and the ministry of loyal lives. The talk of annexation on your side and this might be aptly met by your wish for all land one hundred miles from the great lakes and the western fringe of States which border your territory. Is one not as fair and as good as the other? It is the improbable, but not the impossible. To-day in this land there are two nations. The civil war was one of races as well as ideas. It is not to be forgotten that it may come again. In Virginia to-day Gen. Lee is conducting his campaign on the memories of the Southern Confederacy. No American flag is displayed, and the bands play Confederate airs. The independence of these States was wrested from Great Britain when exhausted by long wars elsewhere, and the States have always chosen the battle hour when England had her hands full elsewhere.—Yours, &c., A."

ANNOUNCEMENT.—At a meeting of the executive committee of the League, held at the offices on December 17, it was resolved to hold a public meeting in London immediately before or after the assembling of Parliament for business in February next. The Annual General Meeting of the League will be held either on the same day or previously. The exact date and place of meeting in each case will be fixed by the executive committee, which will be summoned for this and other purposes on Wednesday the 13th instant. The committee has been considering the propriety of holding a conference on Imperial Federation during the continuance of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition of 1886, at which delegates may be present from the branches of the League throughout the Empire, and definite arrangements on this point also will probably be made before we go to press with our second number.

PUBLICATIONS

Having Reference to Imperial Federation.

The following are suggested as works which treat more or less directly of the subject of Imperial Federation. They are given for the information of readers, and without committing the League to the views contained in any of them:—

- ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.** A Speech by the Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, delivered in the Nova Scotia Legislature, 11th March, 1854; and a "Letter to the Hon. Francis Hincks," written in London, March, 1855. Both published in vol. 2 of "The Speeches and Public Letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe." Boston, 1858.
- A COLONIST ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION.** By JEHU MATTHEWS, of Toronto. London, Longmans, 1872.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P. An article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February and March, 1885, pp. 201 and 552. Re-published by the Imperial Federation League.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By the Right Hon. the MARQUIS OF LORNE. London, 1885. Price 1s.
- A NATIONAL SENTIMENT.** Speech of Hon. EDWARD BLAKE at Aurora. Ottawa, E. A. PERRY, 1874.
- THE STORY OF OUR COLONIES.** By H. R. FOX BOURNE. London, James Hogg & Son, 1869.
- ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES.** By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, in "Short Studies on Great Subjects," vol. ii., p. 180.
- THE COLONIES ONCE MORE.** Ibid., page 348.
- THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF CANADA.** Papers by JEHU MATTHEWS, in *Canadian Monthly* for July, August, and December, 1875.
- THE DEFENCE OF GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN.** By Captain J. C. R. COLOMB. London, Edward Stanford, 1880.
- THE FEDERAL STATES OF THE WORLD.** By Rev. J. N. DALTON, in *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1884, p. 96.
- A SCHEME FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By Sir SAMUEL WILSON. Published in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1885, p. 590.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION FROM AN AUSTRALIAN POINT OF VIEW.** By JOHN DOUGLASS, late Premier of Queensland. Article in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1884.
- OUR GROWING AUSTRALIAN EMPIRE.** By Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1884, p. 138.
- AUSTRALIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONNEXION.** By Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1884, p. 867.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.** Reprinted from the *British Colonial World*, 26, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.
- A WORLD EMPIRE.** By J. S. LITTLE. Radstock and Caslake, 2, Cross Lane, St. Mary-at-Hill, E.C.
- IMPERIAL UNION.** By the Hon. Mr. JUSTICE SHIPPARD, M.A., D.C.L. T. H. Grocott, Grahamstown.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.** By F. YOUNG. S. W. Silver & Co., Cornhill, 1876.
- THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.** By PROFESSOR SEELEY.
- INDIA FOR INDIA AND FOR ENGLAND.** By W. DIGBY. Talbot Bros., 81, Carter Lane.
- ADVANCE AUSTRALIA.** By the Hon. H. FINCH-HATTON.
- THE FORMATION OF A NATION.** By the Hon. F. X. MERRIMAN. Dormer, Greenmarket Square, Cape Town, 1885.
- FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.** By A. MCGOUN, B.A., B.C.L. Dawson Bros., Montreal.
- THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.** By Sir A. GALT, G.C.M.G. Stanford, 55, Charing Cross.
- IMPERIAL DEFENCE.** By COL. SIR CHARLES H. NUGENT, K.C.B., R.E.
- OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.** By the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P. Edmonstone & Douglas, Edinburgh, 1875.
- SPEECH ON CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.** in House of Commons, 26th April, 1883. By W. FARRER ECROYD, M.P. London, P. S. King & Son, Parliamentary Agency, King Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 2d.
- PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS IN THE ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.** Among others:—
- Vol. XI. 1879—80:—
- Page 1.—EXTENDED COLONISATION A NECESSITY FOR THE MOTHER COUNTRY. By STEPHEN BOURNE, F.S.S.
- Page 88.—THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.
- Page 133.—AN EMPIRE'S PARLIAMENT. By A. STAVELEY HILL, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS (Continued)—

- Vol. XII. 1880—81:—
- Page 85.—THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA. By Sir ALEX. T. GALT, G.C.M.G.
- Page 213.—IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PARTNERSHIP IN EMIGRATION. W. M. TORRENS, M.P.
- Page 346.—THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE. By FRANCIS P. LABELLIERE.
- Vol. XIII. 1881—82:—
- Page 209.—THE COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF FEDERATION. By WILLIAM J. HARRIS, F.S.S.
- Vol. XIV. 1882—83:—
- Page 222.—POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE EAST: INDIA IN SIX DAYS, AUSTRALIA IN SIXTEEN DAYS. By WILLIAM CAMPBELL (late M.L.C.), Victoria, Australia.
- Page 391.—THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES TO THE EMPIRE, PRESENT AND FUTURE. Two Addresses delivered in Edinburgh and Greenock by Sir A. T. GALT, G.C.M.G.
- Vol. XV. 1883—84:—
- Page 40.—OUR RELATIONS WITH CANADA AND GREAT COLONIES. By the Right Hon. the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., G.C.M.G.

NOTICES.

We desire to remind all Members of the League that their Subscriptions for 1886 are now due, and there will be a great saving of expense and clerical labour if they will kindly remit the amount without delay. This notice applies to—

- (1) Original Donors, who are invited to renew their subscriptions annually, in whole or part.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of One Guinea or upwards, who are entitled to receive the publications of the League.
- (3) Subscribers of One Shilling as an annual Registration Fee. And
- (4) Subscribers of amounts between One Guinea and One Shilling.

We may point out that the work of the League depends entirely upon the general voluntary subscriptions of its members, and not upon subventions from individuals. Its work can only be effective in proportion as it is steadily and generously supported by the regular contributions of its members; and we may trust that in this respect the New Year will do more than renew the experience of 1885.

"Secretaries of Branches are specially requested to bring this notice to the attention of their local members.

Subscriptions to the League may be made payable to "The Imperial Federation League," and should be addressed to the Secretary, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, S.W.

We respectfully invite all who are interested in the great movement we are seeking to promote to become subscribers to IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and to introduce the paper to their friends. It should be carefully noted that it will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance. Subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary of the League.

Imperial Federation.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1886.

THE LEAGUE AND THE JOURNAL.

THERE are some into whose hands this Journal will find its way who perhaps know little of the Imperial Federation League, for it has only been in existence a very short time. We propose, therefore, to tell them something concerning the way in which it came into existence, what its hopes and aims are, and why it now sends out IMPERIAL FEDERATION as its organ, to speak in its name.

For many years past the question how best to unite, consolidate, and preserve the extensive Empire which Divine Providence has entrusted to Englishmen, has been very earnestly discussed by some of those among them who have been most clear-sighted, far-seeing, and patriotic, and at the same time most wishful to promote the welfare of the English-speaking race in particular, and that of mankind in general. Their discussions have resulted, in the minds of many of them, in very definite conclusions. The conviction has grown that in giving self-government to the Colonies—the wisdom of which is not questioned—we have introduced a principle which will finally bring about their separation from the parent country, and divide them into separate states, unless counteracting measures be taken to prevent it. Such a result, it is believed, would be good neither for England, nor the Colonies, nor the world; that,

therefore, it is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented. Not a few believe that its prevention is a possibility, and that the way to prevent disintegration is to unite the constituent parts of our now loosely-bound-together Empire into one grand confederation.

Others do not believe that disintegration is inevitable under the present arrangement, and point out that notwithstanding governmental independence the increasing solidarity of England and the Colonies is an undeniable fact, and that never was the sentiment of loyalty to the Throne so strong as now. While, however, believing that that sentiment would, together with the sense of kinship, be a bond of union, they feel the desirableness, for practical purposes, of the bonds uniting the Empire being made more close, not so much in feeling as in form and fact. Consolidated in a Federal Union, the constituent parts of the Empire could more readily and effectively take measures for unitedly defending their common rights and interests, and advancing the general welfare. This was generally perceived and confessed by all subscribers to the general principle of Federation, whatever their views were with regard to details and cognate or subordinate matters.

Under these circumstances, a few gentlemen, feeling strongly that the time had come for action, formed a private committee, and began making individual inquiries among such of their friends as they deemed most likely to sympathise with them. Public men of both the great political parties were consulted, and, at length, acting on their advice, a conference of all those who, it was known, accepted the principle of Imperial Federation was called by card of invitation. A list of those who attended this conference, which was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on July 29th, 1884, will be found elsewhere in this Journal, as also a list of those who could not be present, but sent letters expressive of sympathy and approval. The Right Hon. W. E. Forster, whose high position as a statesman, interest in the Colonies, and advocacy of Federation for many years past, fairly entitled him to the position, was voted to the chair.

The Conference was, in an emphatic sense of the word, representative, and the discussion was earnest and purposeful. There was submitted to the meeting, and unanimously passed, the resolution, "That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential." Also, "That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies, as to the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of political organisation, a society be formed, of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation." A provisional committee was appointed, and the conference was adjourned "to a date to be hereafter named."

With very few and unimportant exceptions, the Press both in London and the Provinces took a most favourable view of the conference and its objects. The *Times* declared that "in the present day the problem of Imperial Federation presents itself to the minds of statesmen, not only as a practical, but as an urgent one;" and remarking on the alleged difficulties of Federation said: "When the English people have made up their minds—as we believe they are fully prepared to do—that it is worth while entering into close relations with the Colonies, the practical qualities which are characteristic of English statesmanship will surely be able to overcome the superficial difficulties of the problem." The *Standard*, after reviewing the state of opinion for some years past in regard to the relations between the Mother-Country and the Colonies, and pointing out how considerably and rapidly the feeling in favour of strengthening the bonds uniting the Empire, instead of weakening them, had grown, affirmed, "It requires only a continuance of the efforts of the past few years to convince the population of every possession of the Crown that a Federated British Empire would be an immense material advantage to ourselves, and a guarantee of peace and progress to the world." The *Daily Telegraph* described Federation as a "noble and far-reaching project," and expressed the hope that there might be "sufficient patriotism still left in these islands to understand the vital importance of a real union of the Empire, and enough statesmanship to carry it out." The *Morning Post* commenced an article on the subject with these words: "The movement which

was inaugurated yesterday at the conference held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, with a view to the Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies, is calculated to be followed by results the magnitude and importance of which cannot be exaggerated;" and concluded it as follows: "There certainly seem to be no insuperable obstacles to the creation of such a 'bond' or union between Great Britain and the Colonies, as, whilst leaving the domestic institutions of each and all unaffected, would, nevertheless, in respect to the external relations of the whole with foreign states, create a bond of union, with a singleness of purpose and identity of interest as would conduce to the security of what, under those conditions, would be an undivided Empire." The *Daily Chronicle*, in a warmly appreciative article, declared that "the necessity for the steps taken at the Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday is unquestionable." The *Globe* described what is now the Imperial Federation League as a "long-required organisation," and welcomed it as an evidence of England's "determination to strengthen rather than weaken the bonds which keep her mighty Empire together." The *Morning Advertiser* affirmed that "no loftier idea, no more inspiring purpose, has ever animated a number of statesmen than that which came yesterday before the meeting of English and Colonial public men at the Westminster Palace Hotel;" and expressed the hope that "the result of yesterday's meeting will be as warmly welcomed at home as it is sure to be by our children everywhere over the blue waters." The *Spectator*, in commenting on the proceedings of the conference, said, "all shades of political opinion were represented there, and everyone was disposed to raise the object of the meeting to the high place it deserved. The decision whether England and her Colonies shall remain united is, in one sense, more momentous than any decision about institutions or forms of government. It is concerned with the issue, not how the English Empire shall be administered, but what Empire there shall be to be administered. The whole future of England is bound up with the answer to this inquiry. There is no place among the Great Powers of the world for the England of the sixteenth century. But the greatest of those Powers may well be the England of the twentieth century, provided that she does not let slip the marvellous chances which the dispersive energy of Englishmen has reserved for her. To guide her to take full advantage of these chances is the object of those who have some closer union with the Colonies at heart. It is an object that appeals equally to all parties, and will, as we hope and believe, remain the common property of all parties." The *Saturday Review* declared that the conference was "one of the few hopeful things which have happened in connection with Colonial affairs for some time," and described this "beginning of an attempt to do a good piece of work," as a "subject of unmixed satisfaction." And so we might go on adding almost endlessly to these quotations similar ones, all expressive of satisfaction, commendation, and good will. The Provincial Press joined in the chorus, and presently the Colonial Press too. The evidence was most remarkable and conclusive that a chord had been struck to which loyal and patriotic Englishmen everywhere in their far-extending Empire would respond.

Under such circumstances it is surprising that the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which, to its credit be it said, has consistently and for some considerable time past taken a deep interest in this question, and consistently and earnestly advocated the consolidation of the Empire, should have written in a strain like the following?—"Rapid as is the rush of events, still more rapid is the ripening of public opinion. It is not five years since it was the fashion among those who regarded themselves as the thoughtful Liberals to postulate as inevitable the disintegration of the Empire. In those days, when the most important Liberal newspapers were directed by men who seemed to think they owed Providence a grudge for making them citizens of a world-encircling state, such a conference as that which assembled yesterday under the presidency of Mr. Forster would have been overwhelmed with denunciation and ridicule. To-day, when we take up newspaper after newspaper, we ask in amazement,—The advocates of a little England, where are they now? Without one solitary exception, the whole of the English press bursts forth in an unbroken chorus of approval of a project

which in 1880 would have been derided as visionary, if it had not been denounced as mischievous. Judging from the comments of the newspapers, the journalist of the school of Mr. Goldwin Smith is as extinct as the megatherium. The contraction of England has not one articulate advocate left in the daily press, and Liberals and Radicals vie with Conservatives in professions of enthusiastic patriotism, in that larger sense which regards all the English, whether they live at home or are dwellers beyond the seas, as the fellow-citizens of a common realm. The old school has passed away, giving place unto the new, and it is one of the most hopeful auguries for the future that this remarkable revolution of English opinion has taken place simultaneously with the rapid progress of the English towards that position of supremacy which it is ultimately certain to attain. The meeting yesterday was a portent of better things to come, but the reception which it has met this morning is a gratifying proof of the extent to which the new Liberalism has outgrown the decaying traditions of the so-called Manchester school."

In accordance with the resolution passed by the conference, a meeting was summoned by the provisional committee, appointed for that and other purposes, on the 8th of the following November. At this meeting a series of recommendations dealing with the best method of creating, organising and conducting a permanent Society for the promotion of Imperial Federation was submitted, and these recommendations, after full discussion, were unanimously adopted. The Imperial Federation League having been constituted, a general committee of persons interested in the cause, and willing to take part in promoting it, was appointed.

Since that time the League has made rapid progress, branches having been formed in several of the provincial towns, and also in several of the Colonies. In course of time the expediency of establishing a journal for the purpose of diffusing information respecting the League, and advocating its principles, was mooted. The proposal met with much favour, and a guarantee fund was speedily formed, not a few of the members, whose patriotism in this connection was not a mere sentiment, but something into which deep conviction entered, and for which they were prepared, if need be, to make sacrifices, contributing very handsomely. There is no need to detail all the steps which have led up to the establishment of the JOURNAL; suffice it to say the JOURNAL has been established, and it is with the deepest satisfaction that we present our countrymen, at home and in the Colonies, with the first number.

As to the character of the JOURNAL, we would at once avow that it will, like the League, hold itself aloof from all parties except the one party of Imperial Federationists. Into party politics, and the strife engendered of them, it will by no means enter. Of Liberals and Conservatives, Tories and Radicals, it will know nothing, as such; but it will appeal to, and seek the support, of all Englishmen, whether in Great or Greater Britain, who love their common country, and who desire to see it growingly great and powerful, promoting peace, liberty, and Christian civilisation the wide world over. It will advocate, at least for the present, no particular scheme of Federation, but seek fully to discuss the question from every possible point of view. Schemes will evolve themselves in course of time. Our present business is to insist on the principle of Federation, and to thresh the subject out. Modes of action will present themselves in due time. *Solvitur ambulando* is our motto for the nonce. While, however, IMPERIAL FEDERATION—and the League whose organ it is—will refrain from committing itself to any particular scheme, its columns will be freely open to letters on the subject, and we invite those who have ideas on the subject to place them before the public through the medium of our correspondence columns. We would also say that it should by no means be considered that the League adopts the opinions which may be expressed in the important signed articles which will appear in it from time to time. These articles will be from the pens of gentlemen eminent in various ways, as statesmen, lawyers, merchants, statisticians, social and political economists, exponents of Imperial defence, &c.; but in each case only the writer will be responsible for the opinions expressed, the arguments advanced, and the conclusions reached. We shall endeavour to keep ourselves *au courant* with the state of public opinion

in the Colonies, and with the events taking place there, as well as at home; and shall indicate and chronicle the progress which this great question of Federation makes, such progress being confidently anticipated. IMPERIAL FEDERATION is launched with high hope of rendering good and permanently useful service to the Commonwealth, and it respectfully commends itself to the sympathy of the powerful press confederacy into which it comes as a youthful, but, we trust, by no means unpromising member, and to the support of "all sorts and conditions of men" throughout the British Empire, whose interests it seeks to serve.

THE PRACTICAL SIDE OF FEDERATION.

ABOVE all, and before all, let us be practical; that is, and ought to be, the watchword of every successful movement in England. If the federation movement be not practical, it were best to abandon it at once. But let there be no mistake; to be practical, in the true sense of the word, means to make an efficient and effectual use of all and every means to further the end in view. There must be a result which can be calculated in concrete terms, which can be handled and appraised. But that material means are alone capable of producing material results is of course an absolute mistake. Without the power of sentiment, tradition, affection, and sympathy, the federation movement would not have the remotest chance of success, and nothing can be more sternly practical than to encourage and to direct these abstract sentiments. To deride the movement because it depends, and professes to depend, largely upon such support, implies a total misapprehension of the subject-matter of the question actually at issue, and, moreover, suggests a very ill-developed appreciation of the great facts of human life. We shall, therefore, neither now nor at any time, offer an apology to our readers for dealing with abstract questions, sentiments, and emotions. They are the chief factors of the situation; they are not, however, the whole of it, and for the present we are desirous of giving what support we can to those of our adherents and critics whose interpretation of the word *practical* refers to things to be done, acts to be passed, money to be spent or to be saved.

Can federation be promoted by legislation? In our opinion certainly it can. But, short of legislation, there can be no doubt that administration pure and simple may do infinitely more than is generally supposed. In the rare and somewhat academic discussions upon the federation of the Empire which have hitherto taken place, it appears to have been assumed that we were starting with a blank sheet, that the whole of the work had to be done from the beginning, and that on every side new departments charged with new duties must be created. The assumption, however general, is a pure delusion; and the fact is one that is full of encouragement for us. On every side the common interests of the Empire have spread and spread, until, with scarcely any legislative help or organisation, they have bound together the various parts of the Empire with innumerable and complicated threads. In every department with which governments have to deal there has sprung up an organisation which, though faulty in itself and desperately incomplete, has in it the germs of a true federal administration. That is the fact with which we have to deal; let us look at it a little more closely.

Let us take a few examples. To begin with, there are the naval and military departments. There is scarcely a colony or possession which has not got some sort of naval and military organisation, and which is not more or less intimately connected in such matters with the regular forces in the home country. The officers in every case hold, or have held, the QUEEN'S commission. The arms and accoutrements, the guns and ammunition, come from Woolwich or Birmingham. The ships are built on the Thames or the Clyde. The community of interests has already called into existence a half-formed system which is capable of indefinite extension. Of course it need hardly be said that at present there is neither method, arrangement, nor reasonable order throughout the system. There is a chaos of authorities, a wilderness of isolated, and consequently inefficient, organisations. Here is a case in point where efficient administration and a little forethought might double the value of the existing material in a twelvemonth.

But it is not only in the naval and military department that there is room for method and re-arrangement. In almost every branch of the civil administration material is ready to hand. On the cover of this Journal may be seen the Star of India sustained by the band of union that links together the Empire, and the illustration points to the fact that it remains for a sympathetic administration to bring home to the young men of Quebec, of Sydney, of Melbourne, and of Auckland, that the great career of Indian Civil Service is open to them, not in theory only, but in fact. It ought to be, and shortly we trust will be, as easy for an Australian or a Canadian candidate to pass into the Indian Civil Service as it now is for the favoured students of Cooper's Hill. Again, a letter is sent from London to the remotest of the Hebrides for a penny. The mail service to Lewis and Stornoway is conducted at a dead loss. But the uniform rate of postage is maintained because those far-off islands are within the United Kingdom. The principle requires extension. The time is coming when we shall put a penny stamp on a letter from London to Clapham, a penny stamp on a letter from London to Melbourne, and 2½d. on a letter from London to New York. We shall, as a matter of course, treat Clapham and Melbourne upon the same footing as being within our country. At first, and for a very short time, we shall incur pecuniary loss by so doing. From the outset the moral gain will be enormous, and before long the pecuniary loss will be turned into a profit. So, again, in legal matters, in a half-hearted and unsatisfactory fashion, the QUEEN'S writ runs from one end of the Empire to the other. There is no reason whatever why it should not run with the same facility throughout the Empire as it does in the county of Middlesex. There is no reason whatever why the criminal and commercial law of the Empire should not be codified with perfect exactness. Already the benefits of union are conferred in theory, and, given a life-time of leisure, an unlimited purse, and a superhuman knowledge of statute-law, they may be obtained in fact. It is necessary that the luxury of a wealthy litigant should be made the common possession of every British subject.

These are but brief indications of the possibilities of the situation and of the moment, for the work is of a nature which may be undertaken at once, and with our present appliances. One thing only is necessary, in addition to good will, and that is an adequate knowledge of the facts as they exist. The government of nations, with all due deference to the champions of manhood suffrage, and the believers in the *vox populi*, is not an art which is acquired by instinct, or which can be effectually practised without preparation, and without knowledge. It is our intention, therefore, to open the columns of IMPERIAL FEDERATION to an exhaustive and, we trust, an informing discussion with regard to the details of Imperial administration. We shall endeavour each month to place before our readers a concise and accurate summary of the existing facts relating to these great questions of defence, civil service, law, postage, emigration, trade, &c. In each case we shall hope to enlist the services of an authority capable of speaking as a specialist upon the particular matter at issue; and we shall at all times welcome contributions from any quarter which seem to us calculated to throw further light upon subjects which have hitherto received far too little attention.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

THE closing months of the year 1885 have seen the completion of one of the most gigantic and important works of engineering ever undertaken by man. On November 7th the last spike of the Canadian Pacific Railway was driven in near Farwell in British Columbia, and thus the line of railway was made continuous from Quebec to the Pacific. From ocean to ocean there now stretches through British territory a continuous line of rails covering a distance of 2,898 miles, the value of which can only now be feebly estimated. How great an achievement this railway is, simply regarded from an engineering point of view, cannot be adequately understood from a mere statement of the distance traversed by it. The physical difficulties which had to be encountered must be taken into account, and these were neither few nor small. In the west three distinct mountain ranges had to be surmounted, and a

passage had to be made through an almost equally difficult country on the east and north of Lake Superior. The rocks at the back of this lake are the oldest known to men of science, and the toughest known to engineers. The difficulties presented here, as well as later on by the "sea of mountains," largely unsurveyed and even unexplored, which had to be surmounted, were enormous, and at first sight apparently insuperable; but *Labor omnia vincit*, together with knowledge, skill, and dynamite, and the difficulties have had to yield before the intelligence, will, and power of civilised man. To-day, notwithstanding the adverse vaticinations of the unbelieving, the Canadian Pacific Railway is a *fait accompli*. A similar thing will one day be recorded concerning the federation of the Empire of Great Britain, in spite of the difficulties to be encountered, and the prophecies of those who predict failure.

But what induced the Canadians to undertake so gigantic a task? What was the propelling motive in this great work? We give the answer in the words of one of themselves. "We were under the inspiration of a national idea," says Mr. G. M. Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, "and went forward. We were determined to be something more than a fortuitous collocation of provinces." For the springs of the movement we must go back to the year 1871, when the province of British Columbia was admitted into the Canadian Confederation. The statesmen who brought about that union were then face to face with the question of a trans-continental railway, for without such physical connection it was inevitable that the strands of the political bonds would snap. Sir John Macdonald, the enlightened and able Premier of Canada, with a boldness which many even of his friends thought Quixotic, consented to make the construction of such a railway within ten years one of the conditions of the compact between Old Canada and the Pacific Province. It was freely alleged by some that the cost of constructing the road would absolutely ruin the Dominion; that, in any case, it would be physically impossible to make it, even if funds were forthcoming, within the ten years; and that the North-West Territory was on the whole of too worthless a character as a place for settlement to justify or render advisable an undertaking of so gigantic a character. Which party was right time and events have already shown.

The value of the Canadian Pacific Railway is already manifestly great, and every year will become greater. The recent rising under Riel, which was so expeditiously and completely suppressed, might have lingered on till now if that part of the railway which was complete had not been available for the transport of troops. In 1870 Lord Wolseley, then Colonel Wolseley, and his troops, sent to put down the Red River rebellion, were eleven weeks canoeing and portaging over the distance between Lake Superior and Red River, ninety-five days being spent between Toronto and Winnipeg. Now troops could be moved from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to the Pacific coast in five days, and shortly the "Canadian Pacific express" will run from Montreal to Vancouver or Burrard Inlet in ninety hours.

The Imperial importance of the work has been well shown by Professor Lawrence, of Cambridge, a well-known authority on International Law. He says:—"England's position with regard to the Egyptian question has been greatly altered by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway. . . . A free passage through the Canal for our transports is by no means so essential to the defence of the Empire as it was a short time ago. We have, therefore, far greater liberty of action in dealing with other Powers than we had before. Now that we have an alternative route to India we may be able to purchase other advantages in the settlement of Egyptian affairs by giving our consent to an arrangement concerning the Canal which prudence would formerly have compelled us to decline." He shows that the two routes, the one *via* the Suez Canal, and the other *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway, are, as regards time, much about the same; but points out important considerations in favour of the latter:—"The route by the Canadian railways has this great advantage—that the land portion of it passes entirely through British territory. As long as we keep command of the sea it is perfectly safe from end to end. The Canal may at any time be blocked by accident or design, but it is impossible to throw a barrier across the

open ocean." In this connection it is significant that the first goods train which passed over the line carried a shipment of stores sent by the British Government for its naval stations on the Pacific. The Canadians are fully entitled to say, as Mr. Grant does:—"The work is Imperial in meaning as well as in magnitude, though the cost has been wholly defrayed by Canada. It is our contribution to the organisation and defence of the Empire."

The effect which the railway will have upon trade remains to be seen. Undoubtedly it will be great and beneficial. Manitobans have great expectations of being able to export directly to Liverpool by Hudson's Bay, and of being thus independent of Chicago and Montreal alike. The British Columbians expect that a portion of the Asiatic trade will come their way, especially as the company that has built the road has announced its intention of putting on steamers to connect the Pacific terminus with the ports of Japan and China. As to the Australian trade, San Francisco is, no doubt, considerably nearer to Sydney than the British Columbian railway terminus; but the larger portion of the miscellaneous merchandise now sent from California to Australia can be just as readily provided in Canada, while lumber, which is the staple cargo of outward-bound vessels to Australia, can be shipped at a far cheaper rate, and of a better quality, at Burrard Inlet than at San Francisco. The advantages of the former port to steamers for coaling purposes can hardly be over-estimated; while the greater speed at which the trans-continental journey will be made over the Canadian line, owing to its lighter grades and better construction, and the unique fact that the entire stretch from sea to sea is under the control of one company, will fully compensate for the greater length of the Pacific sea voyage. Altogether, both Canada and the Empire have occasion for congratulation on account of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

THE *Times* was not absolutely accurate in its statement when, on the 9th ult., it said, "To-day the Federation of Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania is complete." As a matter of fact, the Federation which has been brought about at the Antipodes does not include South Australia, that Colony having at the last moment backed out. How this came to pass is, at the moment of writing, not altogether clear, as full information has not yet been received here. The oracle of Printing House Square, however, was nearer the mark when it declared that "this is an epoch in Australasian history." Although the Federation is so incomplete—such important Colonies as New South Wales, the Mother Colony, South Australia, and New Zealand holding aloof—yet the 9th of December will, no doubt, be regarded in the future as the birthday of Imperial Federation. The entrance of the other Colonies of the Southern hemisphere into the *Bund* which has been created is simply a matter of time; for nothing can be more certain than that they will not for any great length of time exclude themselves from having a voice in determining the very important matters which the Federal Council will be called upon to consider and decide.

The first meeting of the Federal Council will be held at Hobart Town on the 25th of this month. It will have absolute legislative authority in respect to such general questions as the influx of criminals, regulation of the fisheries in Australasian waters beyond colonial limits, the service of civil and criminal processes beyond the limits of the colony in which they are issued, and the enforcement of judgments of courts of law. Under certain conditions, which effectually secure the rights of individual colonies, the Council may also deal with such subjects as colonial defence, quarantine, patents, copyright, bills of exchange and promissory notes, weights and measures, recognition of marriage and divorce, naturalisation of aliens, and the status of joint stock companies, in other colonies than those in which they have been constituted. The Council will also have a powerful voice in determining what the relation shall be in the future of the various islands in the South Pacific.

The events which have led up to this consummation

may be shown in very few words. For the real commencement of the movement we have to go back to the year 1853. In that year, when Mr. William Wentworth, who may be called the father of constitutional government in Australia, was preparing his Constitution Bill, he and his colleagues put on record their sense of the need of a General Assembly to deal with inter-colonial questions. Four years later Mr. Wentworth came to England, and endeavoured, but in vain, to obtain the favourable consideration of his project. In 1857 an inter-colonial conference met in Melbourne, and it seemed as though a real step towards taking and securing for the future united action was about to be made; but the Ministry of New South Wales was unfriendly, and failure was the result. In 1881 an inter-colonial conference was held in Sydney, at which it was resolved that a Federal Constitution with a Federal Parliament was desirable, but that the time for it had not arrived. Soon afterwards, however, German and French action so quickened public opinion in regard to the subject, that in most of the Colonies it was soon declared that the time for Federation had arrived, and the result is what we see to-day. But for German annexation and the threatened transportation of French *récidivistes* to Queensland, and their *internement perpétuel* in the Colony, Australian Federation would not have been—as it is to-day—an accomplished fact.

It is impossible to predict what will be the results of this important event; but it may safely be said that they will ultimately be great and far-reaching. For our own part, we believe that they will be beneficial, promoting Australian homogeneity and the general welfare of the inhabitants of the great antipodean island. As to the larger and still more important question of Imperial Federation, there are some who are inclined to consider that it will not advance that, but the contrary. We believe, however, with *The Colonies and India*, that "if Colonial Federation is not the prelude to Imperial Federation, the fault will be England's."

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH WEST AFRICA.

AN important aid to the commercial development of the West Coast of Africa will be the telegraph cable which will before the end of next year (1886) extend along its shores, touching at the principal ports and reaching to the mouth of the Congo and to St. Paul de Loanda. There at present exists telegraphic communication between Europe and Dakar, Senegal, *via* Cadiz, on the one hand, and between Europe and the Cape Verd Islands on the other. The cable steamers *Silvertown* and *Buccaneer* are now at work, connecting up the Cape Verd Islands with the mainland, and prolonging the Senegal cable down the coast, so that in three or four months it is expected that Sierra Leone will find itself in duplicate telegraphic communication with Europe. The ports to be connected in this system of cables are the English possessions of Bathurst, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Accra, Lagos, and Niger; the French possessions of Dakar, Senegal, Canakry, within eighty miles of Sierra Leone, Grand Bassam, Porto Novo, and Gaboon; the Portuguese possessions of Bulama, Bissao, St. Thomé, Principe, St. Paul de Loanda, and probably Congo. The Spanish Government is in treaty to have Fernando Po in connection with this system, and the German Government are also thinking of opening stations in the Cameroons district. The importance of this West African telegraph line to the development of commerce in these regions is self-evident, and has been recognised by the several Governments that have subsidised these new lines. When the cables are open for service there will be fewer of those surprise annexations of which we have had so many recently. In eighteen months' time there will be a further extension of telegraphic communication along the coast, the Portuguese Government having contracted for the connection of Novo Redondo, Benguela, and Mossamedes; while the Government of Cape Colony has been authorised to subsidise a West African telegraph line, the laying of which will place that colony in duplicate communication with Europe, so that the colony will be independent of complications in Egypt. The completion of this line to the Cape gives a circle of communication round Africa, and consequently gives every point touched an alternative route. There have been recent complaints of the neglect of our West African colonies by the home Government, which does not seem to be devoting so much attention to this region as our more active French and German neighbours. France is steadily enclosing our colonies of Bathurst and Sierra Leone by her acquisitions in the interior, and her extension of territory in this direction does not seem to be fully realised in London.—*Times*.

NEW ZEALAND.

DEBATE ON FEDERATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

IN a recent debate in the New Zealand Parliament MR. STOUT, the Premier, in moving "That in the opinion of this House it is inadvisable for this Colony to join the Federal Council of Australasia under the existing Federal Council Act," made, in the course of his speech, the following remarks on Imperial Federation :—

There is Imperial Federation; but I feel that for a long time to come Imperial Federation is a thing which cannot be realised. I am not now going to discuss it, because there is a resolution on the paper dealing with the question, and, if necessary, I may take another opportunity of expressing my views on the subject; but I may say that I think it would imply the casting of a responsibility upon the Colonies which would seriously impair their colonizing functions; and we are not ripe for that yet. If we should ever be ripe for it we should have to follow the example of the United States. As for a Council of the Agents-General, or the election of members from these Colonies to the House of Commons, and propositions of that kind, I am strongly of opinion that federation on such a basis would be an utter failure. If Imperial Federation is to be a success, you must have various States throughout the Empire with one Imperial Parliament sitting in London. That is the only kind of Imperial Federation that we can look forward to.

MR. STOUT, his resolution notwithstanding, quite allowed that "some sort of federation was a necessity," and said :—

It would be impossible to expect that we can look to the Imperial Government to do everything for us, and it is impossible for one Colony to stand alone. There must, then, be some agreement among the Colonial Governments as to naval defence; and how are we to get that agreement, except by means of a Convention or a Federal Council? and what is a Federal Council except a legalised Convention? So far as the present position is concerned, I think that honourable members will see that the Australian navy may best help us by having its headquarters in Australian waters. Attacks on us at present may come from Torres Straits or from the south of Australia, and the navy can be most ready to defend us, perhaps, by being stationed in Sydney; but if the Panama Canal be opened, then the time will soon come when the fleet could be best stationed at Auckland; I mean not only for the defence of New Zealand, but also for the defence of Australia; and then it will be of immense importance to us, even if it be thought to be but of little importance now, for us to get the other Colonies to join with us in this question of naval defence. I think, too, that public opinion is in this direction; that the time has come, or is rapidly approaching, when the Colonies must do something for themselves in the matter of defence. We cannot expect, as we continue to grow rich and prosperous, that the people of the United Kingdom will tax themselves to provide for our naval defence. It may be said that if we have to pay for our own naval defence, we ought to be consulted before England goes to war, that we should have a voice in Imperial concerns, because it would not be fair that we should be brought into danger and difficulty by a quarrel between the Imperial Government and some European Power when we had no hand in making the quarrel, and have no concern or interest in the subject in dispute. I am not going to discuss this important question at present, but I say that, no matter from what point of view you look at the question, it will be seen that as regards naval defence the Colonies will have to act as one.

As to the federation proposed under the Federal Council Act, Mr. Stout said, that for New Zealand the question was, in his opinion, premature. He believed that if New South Wales adopted it they would have to do so; but inasmuch as that Colony had not as yet done so he thought it would be well for New Zealand to take more time to consider what she would do.

MR. MACANDREW then moved the following resolution, and made the following speech :—

"That in the opinion of this House the time has come when efforts should be made to unite the whole English-speaking people throughout the world in one grand political confederation or alliance, having for its object mutual defence against foreign aggression, the maintenance of peace, and the promotion of the brotherhood of nations. That a respectful address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, requesting that he may be pleased to transmit this resolution to the Queen, in the hope that Her Majesty may still further distinguish her illustrious reign by endeavouring to bring about a conference that shall represent the whole of the British Dominions and the United States of America, to meet either at London or Washington, to consider the question of a political confederation as hereinbefore mentioned." I do not think at this period of the session we can afford the time we might otherwise devote to this subject; and, therefore, I shall follow the example of the Premier in being very brief. It may seem somewhat foolhardy on my part to submit a question of such magnitude as that embodied in the resolution. It is a resolution that might well evoke powers of oratory to which I have no pretension. I feel, sir, there are many honourable members in this House who could address you in language much more worthy of the question; and yet there is no man here more earnest in his desire than I am to see the object aimed at by my resolution accomplished, and no one in the House realises more fully the unspeakable benefits that would be derived therefrom, not only by the whole English-speaking people, but by the whole human family. It seems to me that a resolution like this would come with peculiar grace from New Zealand, as one of the youngest of the nationalities. I think it is a distinction that might well be coveted. No doubt it may be said that the proposal is Utopian—that it is altogether outside the region of practical politics, and that, therefore, it is a waste of time to discuss it. I have no sympathy with that feeling at all. I believe that a conference such as is indicated in this

resolution is perfectly practicable; and if, after being called together, the difficulties in the way of confederation are found to be insurmountable, then I hold the mere fact of assembling together to consider the question will have gone a long way towards attaining the end. What would be the effect, if we could suppose it possible, were every responsible Legislature throughout the British Empire to simultaneously pass such a resolution as this? Why, if the thing went no further, it would be a great point gained, and would result in unspeakable benefit, not only to our own race, but to the rest of the world. The mere manifestation of such a sentiment by the most powerful, wealthy, and important race on the earth would produce results that it would be impossible to over-estimate. I venture to entertain the hope that this resolution will commend itself to the unanimous approval of the House. It is unnecessary, I think, that arguments in its favour should be adduced either by myself or by any one else. I may say that this is no new idea as far as I am concerned. I have publicly alluded to it on various occasions during the past few years, and more especially since the question of the federation of New Zealand with the Australian Colonies was first mooted; and here I may say I regret I do not agree either with the Premier or with the honourable member for Egmont in their views with regard to Australian federation. I cannot see any necessity for it, or any benefit to be derived from it on the part of New Zealand. I repeat, there is very little force in the objection that this proposal is beyond the region of practical politics; and I shall endeavour to explain the reason why. Of course, the force or weakness of any objection will depend very much upon the meaning that may be attached to the word "federation." And here, by permission of the House, I would like to amend the motion by inserting the words "or alliance" after "federation." Perhaps I may be allowed on this point to quote from one of the most profound thinkers and ablest writers of our time, who has made this subject of federation a special study, and one whose opinions, I believe, no one in this House holds in higher respect than the Premier. I allude to Mr. Freeman, who says, concerning federation :—

"Such unions have been common in many ages and countries, and many of them have been far from realising the full ideal of a federal Government. That ideal in its highest and most elaborate development is the most finished and the most artificial production of modern ingenuity. It is hardly possible that federal government can attain its perfect form except in a highly-refined age, and among a people whose political education has already stretched over many generations."

Sir, I do not suppose there has been any age more refined than the present, or that there has been any people whose political education has been more complete or of longer standing than ours. Freeman goes on to say :—

"Two requisites seem necessary to constitute a federal government in this its most perfect form. On the one hand, each of the members of the union must be wholly independent in those matters which concern each member only; on the other hand, all must be subject to a common power in those matters which concern the whole body of the members collectively. Thus each member will fix for itself the laws of its criminal jurisprudence, and even the details of its own political constitution. And it will do this, not as a matter of privilege or concession from any higher power, but as a matter of absolute right by virtue of its inherent power as an independent commonwealth. But in all matters that concern the general body the sovereignty of the several members will cease: each member is perfectly independent within its own sphere. But there is another sphere in which its independence, or, rather, its separate existence vanishes."

What I maintain is this: that an alliance or confederation of all the English-speaking communities, on the lines laid down by Freeman, is perfectly within the range of practical politics. We have had such confederations both in ancient and modern times. We all remember in our schoolboy days reading in the history of Greece of the famous Achaian League. Further down the stream of time we come to the Swiss cantons, and then to the confederation of the Netherlands—the United Provinces, as they are called. Then we have the United States of America—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh—the grandest and most glorious confederation the world has ever seen. Then we have the Dominion of Canada. However, all these sink into insignificance compared with the confederation shadowed forth in the resolution before the House. Sir, my notion of confederation—of its functions—would be that, in the first instance at all events, and perhaps for years to come, they would have to be confined to questions of mutual defence against foreign aggression—questions of peace and war; that is to say, that no single member of the confederation could engage in war, either of conquest or reprisal, without the sanction of the majority of the other members; and, in like manner, no single member could be attacked from the outside without bringing the whole power of the Federation to the rescue. Should the idea indicated in this resolution be carried out, it will hasten the time we are told of in Holy Writ, when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks: when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Of course, no doubt, until that time comes, and so long as humanity is constituted as it is, the best way of securing peace is to be prepared for war. Sir, it must be gratifying, I think, to know that there is a very important and influential movement at present going on in the mother-country upon the question of Imperial Federation. Perhaps honourable members may have read some of the pamphlets and documents which have been circulated lately on this subject. I may say that these documents have been published by the Imperial Federation League in London. They were sent to me for distribution by the son of one who for many years occupied a prominent position in this House; I allude to Mr. Douglas McLean, who recently arrived from home. He informs me that this question of federation is assuming very great magnitude in the minds of men in the Old Country. Of course their action is confined entirely within the bounds of the Empire, but those pamphlets contain much matter which bears on the larger confederation indicated in the resolution now before the House. There can be no doubt that even a

federation of the United Kingdom and its dependencies would go far to secure the peace of the world. It has often been said that when Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen are united in arms they can defy the world; and how much more might not this be said if to those who inhabit the British Isles were added the other two-thirds of the English-speaking people scattered over the globe! I believe at the present time the English-speaking people throughout the world number somewhere about a hundred millions. In 1880 the population of the United Kingdom was 34,650,000; United States, 50,410,000; Canada, 4,340,000; Australia, 2,880,000; Cape Colony, 1,030,000; giving a total of 93,310,000. This does not include the numerous British possessions all over the globe. If these were included I have no doubt the total number of English-speaking people at the present moment would be upwards of a hundred millions. Perhaps it would be interesting to compare these figures with those of other nationalities. Take Russia, for example, which seems to be the principal disturber of the peace, and to be the power from which there is most to fear. Russia has a population of 84,440,000, being double that of the English-speaking people if you exclude the United States. France, Germany, and all other European nationalities, including Turkey, contain a population of 193,900,000. In estimating the power attached to what I may call the Anglo-Saxon Anglo-Celtic race, as compared with the rest of the world, the relative power does not rest upon the population basis merely. There are other equally important elements, and perhaps more important elements which may be fairly taken into account; such, for example, as physical and moral force, a combination of qualities in which I believe our race excels perhaps more than any other race on the face of the earth. Then there is the political occupation of the earth's surface, commercial and maritime importance, the possession of the principal positions in the highway of nations in time of peace, with all the strategical advantages that this gives in time of war. In each and all of these respects the English-speaking people—that is to say, the United States and the British Empire—if united would far outweigh in every respect the whole of the rest of the world put together. British India alone has a population of 191,400,000, and contains 948,000,000 acres; while the area of Europe is only 2,422,000,000 acres. The United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and India together cover 5,169,000,000 acres; and if we add all the other British possessions and the American Republic, with its 2,306,000,000 acres, it will be found that English-speaking people possess an enormously large proportion of the surface of the globe. Perhaps the value of these figures will be best understood by stating that 10,993,000,000 acres cover the whole of Europe, Asiatic Russia, China, and Brazil. So much for the relative possession by our race of the earth's surface. If it would not weary the House I would just quote figures showing the relative wealth of the different States. These figures, I may say, are taken from Mulhall, probably the most eminent statistician of the day. He estimates the value of lands and forests, cattle, railways, public works, houses, furniture, merchandise, bullion, and sundries as follows: United Kingdom, £8,720,000,000; Canada, £650,000,000; Australia, £590,000,000; United States, £9,493,000,000; making a total of £19,455,000,000. Of other countries, France is set down at £8,060,000,000; Germany, £6,323,000,000; Russia, £4,343,000,000; Austria, £3,613,000,000; Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Mexico, the Argentine Republic, £8,956,000,000; total, £31,295,000,000. It will be seen from these figures that the United Kingdom possesses double the material wealth of Russia. If wealth be one of the sinews of war, as no doubt it is now more than it used to be, for war appliances are now more mechanical than ever they were before—taking that view of it, I think Great Britain and Ireland, if left to their own resources, have little or nothing to fear from Russia. How much less would they have to fear if united with the other English-speaking peoples! It may be said that, scattered as our race is over the globe, it would be physically impossible to unite it into one political federation or alliance for any purposes whatever. It may be said that there is no instance of such a confederation, that there has been no instance of a confederation the component parts of which have not been more or less contiguous to each other. I hold, however, that that argument will not hold water, inasmuch as there is not an English-speaking people under the sun that is not nearer the most remote of its cousins than were, for example, many of the United States of America to Washington at the time of the Declaration of Independence, or many parts of the British Isles to London a century ago. I think it was you, sir, who stated to me the other day that in the days of the Commonwealth, when Cromwell assumed the protectorate of England, it was fourteen days before the news reached Devonshire. It must be borne in mind that steam and electricity are now every day more and more, as it were, annihilating both time and space; and practically we in New Zealand are much nearer to Washington at this moment than Dunedin was to Auckland thirty-one years ago, when the six colonies of New Zealand were federated. I recollect that at that time the Otago members, of whom I was one, took exactly seventy days to get from Dunedin to the seat of Government in Auckland. I am sure that the House must admit that federation such as I have been trying to describe is a consummation most devoutly to be wished; and I feel sure a Conference of representative men, earnestly desirous of bringing about such a confederation will discover ways and means of doing so. It needs no argument to show that, humanly speaking, such a confederation would be invincible; no power on earth could molest it. It would be, sir, the chief constable amongst the nations, or, to speak more poetically, it would be "the guardian angel of freedom and the bulwark of liberty all over the world." You may depend upon it that wherever the English language is spoken there is in the breast of every true man and every lover of his country a sentiment of nationality which, if you could strike the right chord, would vibrate in one universal thrill of mutual sympathy and mutual regard. A striking instance of this was shown during the last Chinese war. On that occasion a British frigate got aground within reach of a Chinese fort, the fire of which would

very soon have played "old Harry" with the vessel. This fortunately happened within sight of an American man-of-war, the captain of which instantly sent all his boats and men to the assistance of the British, and, having done so, his exclamation was, "I have disobeyed orders; but blood is thicker than water." I have not the slightest doubt that this is a feeling which pervades our American consins very largely at this moment, and I feel sure the time will come when many who are here will see in the infant sapling planted by the Pilgrim Fathers of America—the Puritans of England and the Covenanters of Scotland—they will see in that infant sapling the gigantic tree of liberty, spreading its branches all over the earth, affording shelter to the weak and oppressed of every country and every clime. Such, at least, are the aspirations—such are some of the aspirations which I, for one, desire to see animating the minds and influencing the destinies of the people of New Zealand. Sir, I now beg to move the resolution before the House, and I shall only add that, should the conference aimed at ever meet, then will be so far fulfilled the aspiration of Scotland's bard when he penned the immortal lines:—

Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that.
For a' that, and a' that,
It's comin' yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brethren be, for a' that.

The resolution was seconded by MR. BRUCE, who was followed by

MR. BEETHAM, who said:—

I am glad to hear from the Premier that he is still of opinion that we must have some form of federation. I know that he has considered the matter deeply, as I have myself; and I am pleased that he still holds that view, though it will appear curious to the other Colonies that, holding such a view, he should have moved the resolution that there be no federation with Australia. I understand he does so because certain clauses which his Ministry, and also the New South Wales Parliament, wished to see introduced in this Federal Council Act were thrown out in the British Parliament, and that if we agreed now to join in the Federal Council as at present constituted, we should be placed in the position of allowing our New Zealand affairs to be legislated upon by others. Following his remarks as far as New Zealand federation is concerned, I say that I do not wish to return to the provincial system; but, if it should hereafter be possible that New Zealand can include Fiji, Samoa, and some of the other islands of the Pacific, it might be advisable to change our Constitution so as to admit others to our privileges; but I cannot help thinking that at the present time our Constitution is sufficient for our needs, when we follow it to its legitimate issue. With respect to Imperial Federation, to which the Hon. the Premier alluded very shortly, I may say that I had some idea when I moved my first resolution in 1883 that Ireland's grievances might be removed if some system such as that I then indicated could be followed out. I felt that Ireland, under a system of Imperial Federation, might have its local autonomy; and I see no reason why Scotland, which has now certain laws only operating within its boundary, should not have its own local autonomy also, and be represented in the Imperial Parliament in the same way as the Colonies and Ireland would be. Now, sir, to refer to the Federal Council Bill. It seems to me that there are several subjects mentioned in clause 15 that are of very great importance to the Colonies as a whole, and that these subjects, in the event of New Zealand and the other Colonies joining the Federal Council, could be dealt with with manifest advantage to the whole of these southern Colonies. I allude to the Federal Council of Australasia Act:—

"Saving Her Majesty's prerogative, and subject to the provisions herein contained with respect to the operation of this Act, the Council shall have legislative authority in respect to the several matters following:—

- "(a.) The relations of Australasia with the islands of the Pacific:
- "(b.) Prevention of the influx of criminals:
- "(c.) Fisheries in Australasian waters beyond territorial limits:
- "(d.) The service of civil process of the Courts of any colony within Her Majesty's possessions in Australasia, out of the jurisdiction of the colony in which it is issued:
- "(e.) The enforcement of judgments of Courts of law of any colony beyond the limits of the colony:
- "(f.) The enforcement of criminal process beyond the limits of the colony in which it is issued, and the extradition of offenders (including deserters of wives and children, and deserters from the Imperial or colonial naval or military forces):
- "(g.) The custody of offenders on board ships belonging to Her Majesty's colonial Governments beyond territorial limits:
- "(h.) Any matter which at the request of the Legislatures of the colonies, Her Majesty, by Order in Council, shall think fit to refer to the Council:
- "(i.) Such of the following matters as may be referred to the Council by the Legislatures of any two or more colonies, that is to say, general defences, quarantine, patents of invention and discovery, copyright, bills of exchange and promissory notes, uniformity of weights and measures, recognition in other colonies of any marriage or divorce duly solemnised or decreed in any colony, naturalisation of aliens, status of corporations and joint-stock companies in other colonies than that in which they have been constituted, and any other matter of general Australasian interest, with respect to which the Legislatures of the several colonies can legislate within their own limits, and as to which it is deemed desirable that there should be a law of general application: Provided that in such cases the Acts of the Council shall extend only to the colonies by whose Legislatures the matter shall have been so referred to it, and such other colonies as may afterwards adopt the same.

"Every Bill in respect of the matters marked (a), (b), or (c), shall,

unless previously approved by Her Majesty through one of her Principal Secretaries of State, be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure."

I will not read them at length, because we have this Bill before us, and quite understand the subjects to which it alludes; but I do think that we ought to carefully consider, before we adopt the resolution moved by the Premier, that it is not advisable that we should enter into this federation. My impression is that, if we enter into the federation, but limit carefully the subjects to be dealt with by that representative body, we could not possibly do ourselves any harm. The question of defence, which the Premier has already referred to, would be a very important point to be discussed by the Federal Council. Correspondence has been laid on the table of this House dealing at length with the subject of the fortification of King George's Sound, and of the salient points in the Pacific. All these questions, if there were a Federal Council in existence, could be fairly considered, and could be dealt with, and the respective contributions due by the various colonies and the Home Government could be assessed by the Council, and, I have no doubt, would be borne without much discontent by the colonies interested. The existence of the Panama Canal, also alluded to by the Premier, will exercise a great influence in changing the position of this colony, and of the Australasian Colonies generally. In the event of that work being satisfactorily completed, we shall be in the foremost position in these seas. No doubt the Federal Council would take that matter into consideration, and any representations made by a body of that kind would have due weight in the councils at Home. Then, we should have our due rights, and, holding the foremost position, New Zealand would probably be made the head-quarters of the Pacific squadron. The dangers to which the Premier pointed, of our losing our national life and our autonomy, would certainly be possible if we did not, in joining the Federal Council, limit its action to a very material extent. As I take it, by this Bill we should have it in our power to limit the operation of the Federal Council, so as, at any rate, to maintain our perfect autonomy; and only those subjects would be referred to that Council which are of general interest to the whole of the colonies in the Pacific seas. It was admitted that the Conference last year did good service in restraining the transportation of French criminals to these seas, and there is no doubt that but for that Conference the rights of these colonies in that respect would have been treated very differently. I shall not weary the House any further, as I have already placed my views before the House upon the matter, but will now content myself by moving: (1.) That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential. (2.) That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs. (3.) That any scheme of Imperial federation should combine, on an equitable basis, the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

MAJOR ATKINSON thought that the Premier's speech was full of weighty facts in favour of Federation, and that the dangers he feared were all unreal. Referring to "Fiji, Samoa, and the other islands," he said:—

The colonies over and over again have made representations about these islands, and we have seen how it was impossible to get the Home Government to move in the matter at all. Practically no notice whatever was taken of the representations of Governments, Parliaments, or anything else. They went into the pigeon-hole, and there they stopped; but, as everybody also knows, that was the real reason of the movement of these colonies in the direction of annexation and federation. It was because the Home Government said, in distinct terms, "We are prepared to take action with regard to these islands as far as we possibly can if we can get the voice of united Australia on the question, but we cannot listen to the voice of the different colonies; but, if you can agree as to the policy to be pursued, we will do our utmost to give effect to it." And now, I ask, are we, by refusing to join the Federal Council, to reject the chance of having a voice in determining what course the Australian Colonies are to pursue in regard to the islands of the South Pacific? The Premier admits the danger of it, and it is a certainty that we shall lose the opportunity, and that the Federal Council will take up this question. New South Wales and Victoria have their eyes on these islands, and they will, if we refuse to join, proceed to consider how they are to be dealt with entirely irrespective of us.

As to the question of defence, the gallant major said:—

We can do our own small share. We can fortify, as we are doing very rapidly, our harbours. But the real defence will have to be by the Imperial Government. And then, sir, how are we to get our voice in the matter if this is referred, as it certainly will be, to the Federal Council? And what will be the reply of the Home Government to us? Clearly, it will be, "Gentlemen, there is your Federal Council. We are going to take the advice of the Federal Council so far as the movements of our fleet in these seas are concerned." Then, sir, on that ground I would ask, are we wise not to join this Federal Council?

In reference to Imperial Federation he said:—

Then we come to another thing. We come to the question of Imperial federation, which, to some extent, is dealt with by the resolution of the honourable member for Port Chalmers. Now, it seems to me that our great difficulty with regard to Imperial federation is the want—I hardly know how to put it—but it is really the want of Imperial idea in the British Isles. They have got into such a way of looking upon themselves as the Empire that they have not yet awoke to the fact that there is indeed a greater Britain outside of Old England; and, as Lord Rosebery and others have put it, our great difficulty is, how we are to get the local matters of England done outside the Imperial Parliament. In other words, there is no doubt at all that, before Imperial federation is possible, we shall see three Governments in the United Kingdom. That is to say, Ireland must have a Parlia-

ment, England certainly—perhaps two—and Scotland another. There is no doubt that would have to be so; and, as far as I can see, if the Empire is to remain an Empire, that will certainly come, and come, as I think, very much sooner than most persons are at present inclined to believe. But I hold that the enormous spread of manufactures on the Continent and in America will very materially, before many years are passed, alter the position that England now holds as the head of the manufacturing countries in the world; and if that is so, then undoubtedly that question will have to be considered. But until that can be accomplished—an object, I believe, that we all desire to see accomplished—shall we not be wise, at any rate, to put ourselves in a position to have, as far as possible, an effective voice in the policy of the Empire, so far as it relates to matters more nearly concerning ourselves? And I confess that I see no other way of doing it than by Australian Federation. I look upon that as the first step towards general federation. We shall then be able to speak with authority. Undoubtedly, before many years are passed, both Canada and Australia—if Australia should be federated—will desire, in very plain terms, to have some voice in questions of peace and war. It is quite clear that the interests affected by peace or war made by England will so materially affect the interests of Canada and Australia—their interests will have grown so large—that it will be impossible for the Old Country to resist the pressure which will be put upon it to give to them some voice in questions of peace or war. Then the whole of the facts seem to point in the same direction. We desire Imperial federation. We desire to have a voice, as I have said—and we feel the necessity for it—in the question of our own defence in these seas, and the policy of the Imperial Government with regard to the Pacific islands. If that is so, what is our first step? Federation. The answer must be—Federation. We cannot get it without.

He concluded his speech by moving:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is inadvisable during the present session, and pending further consideration by the people of the colony of the important issues involved, to adopt legislation having for its object to join New Zealand in the Federal Council of Australasia."

This amendment was accepted by the Premier.

In the debate on the question "That the motion as amended be agreed to," MR. MONTGOMERY said:—

It is impossible that we can have an immense fleet, either in Sydney or in Auckland, or anywhere else in these colonies. It is entirely out of the question that we should be able to acquire and maintain a fleet capable of meeting a fleet of any of the old nations. An enormous expense would be required for us to do that. It would cost many millions; and it would be unnecessary, for no foreign nation could send its fleet out here until Great Britain herself had become a second- or third-rate Power. Then, if we should join the Australian Colonies, and it were necessary for the fleet to take action to defend the ports or coasts of Australia and New Zealand, is it likely that the Australian Colonies, having at least four-fifths of the representation on the Federal Council, would order the fleet to New Zealand? I say it is entirely out of the question. I hold that, if New Zealand has to be protected from a foreign enemy, it will have to be done in one of two ways. In the first place, we are part of the British Empire, and I do not think that it is too much to ask that Great Britain should send here for our defence a sufficient number of vessels to afford us a reasonable amount of protection. We see that the fleet is sent down to such places as the West Coast of Africa if there is need for it, and we see that the British power is used to protect the smallest dependencies of the Empire wherever it is wanted; and I do not see why these Colonies in the southern seas, with a vast trade, amounting to more than £100,000,000 a year, should be less thought of than such places as those to which I have referred, or why the Home Government should not be as anxious to defend us as other citizens of the Empire. It is entirely out of the question to think so. I do not object to our doing our duty; but would it not be a more reasonable and proper thing if we were to say to the British Government, "Give us one, or two, or three fast cruisers—vessels that will go twenty knots an hour; send them out here with your own officers and men, and we will pay expenses!" There is a way of protecting our shores; and, depend upon it, you would have to pay no more for such cruisers that you would have to pay if you joined the Australian Colonies; and our shores would be protected with much more efficiency than if we had to depend upon the Federal Council, for the Council would, we may be certain, pay more attention to the shores of those colonies which would hold four-fifths of the voting-power than to those of New Zealand. The honourable member for Egmont asked us if we were going to enter into an agreement with the British Government to send a fleet to defend our shores. Well, I should be glad if we could enter into an agreement by which the Home Government would send out twenty-knot vessels to defend these shores in case of necessity; but, whether that could be done or not, the information which I have, and the consideration which I have been able to give to the matter, induce me to entirely object to our joining with the Australian Colonies in the matter of external defence. Now, we hear of the advisableness of federation. What is meant by federation? Is it not a fact that federation means one Customs tariff for the federated purposes? Is it not a fact that federation means internal and external defence at the cost of the colonies as a whole? Does it not mean, in fact, a common purse? Well, I say that that is impossible. You cannot have federation when communities are separated as we are from the Australian Colonies. What is it but a piece of water fifty, sixty, or a hundred miles in width that prevents Newfoundland from joining Canada? The Republic of Switzerland is a confederation, but there is no strip of water dividing various parts of the confederation. Great Britain has held Ireland for the past four or five hundred years; but is Ireland federated to England? We know it is not. The Irish Channel divides them. England and Scotland are united just as England and Wales are united—because there is no sea to separate them. I hold that the stretch of sea between New Zealand and Australia will prevent their being federated. I know of

no case in history where States divided by any great expanse of water were federated. Do we not know what happens in this House? The narrow strip of water called Cook Strait to some extent occasions a want of community of interest between the two parts of the colony. Do we not hear in this House the question of North against South? Do we not hear, when the distribution of public money comes up for consideration, that the North gets the advantage of the South or the South gets the advantage of the North? Good feeling between the people and sympathy with one another bind the colony together, and I hope they will continue to do so for many years to come; but what would be the feeling if there were a thousand miles between the two islands? Would there be any community of interest between us then? No. I know of no instance in the history of the world where peoples separated by a thousand miles of sea had any community of interest.

Towards the close of his speech he said :—

I can understand that it may come about, and I hope it will ultimately, as is suggested by the honourable member for Port Chalmers, that the English-speaking people, having one literature and the same laws, looking back to one common origin, will band together so closely that no one portion of that race will be oppressed without the rest lifting up its finger and saying, "This shall not be done." I can understand that being brought about by sentiment; but to attempt to force on federation between this and the other Australasian Colonies, when we have no sentiment in common with one another, is out of the question. We have warm respect and attachment towards the mother-country, but we have not that feeling at present towards the neighbouring colonies; and, though we may be ready to make great sacrifices in order to continue our connection with the home-country, it is not to be expected that we shall federate at a disadvantage to ourselves with the other Australasian Colonies. I shall therefore give my vote for the resolution before the House, with some regret that the Premier has allowed a more decided resolution to be supplanted by one which I do not altogether approve of.

MR. W. D. STEWART thought they had been almost too precipitate, and that the fact that the Australian Colonies wished to federate was no reason why they should join.

MR. ROLLESTON was glad that the Government had adopted the amendment of Major Atkinson, so saving themselves from stultification after all the action they had taken leading up to the present position. He pointed out that if they refused to join the Federation they would be excluding themselves from participation in the determination of the relations of Australasia with the Islands of the Pacific. In the course of an interesting speech he said :—

With regard to the larger question of Imperial federation, which is dealt with by the resolution so eloquently spoken to by the honourable member for Port Chalmers, it seems to me that that is a question which we cannot at the present time deal with in the same practical form as we can with Australian federation. It is a question that will require a long time to solve; and the particular form which that federation is to take is now one of very great uncertainty. No one as yet has laid down any plan or principle on which Imperial federation may be established, and that, I understand, is why the honourable member for Port Chalmers proposes this Conference. I myself sympathise very largely with what has been said by the honourable gentleman on the question of Imperial federation, and I think any one who has read and studied the utterances of the greatest men of the day at Home cannot look upon this as a question that is not a practical one at the present time. I believe, myself, it is eminently a practical question. The results as to peace or war, to begin with, are of enormous importance to the future of the world: the results as affecting the commerce of the British-speaking people are also of enormous importance.

MR. BALLANCE said :—

Now, with regard to the federation of the Empire, that question has been raised in England in recent years: in fact, during the last twelve months, that question has become, as it were, a burning question of English politics. It appears to me that the very first step towards the federation of the Empire must be the federation of the United Kingdom itself. Until you have a Parliament for Ireland, a Parliament for Scotland, and probably a Parliament for Wales, and a Parliament for England, we shall not have taken the first step towards the federation of the Empire. What does federation of the Empire mean upon any other basis? Does the honourable member for Wairarapa suppose that federation is going to be brought about on some other basis than that of population? Sir, that appears to me to be the only permanent basis of any satisfactory federation—the basis of population. It is the basis of the American federation—at all events, it is partly the basis. The House of Representatives is constituted strictly on the population basis. Well, now, let us see how the population basis would affect this colony. Why, sir, if questions of federal importance were decided by a federation based upon population, and we were a member of that federation, we should have no voice at all in determining any question whatever. We might record our votes, but our voice would be lost in the larger representation: our votes would not count to any material extent, for those votes would be swamped by the votes of the larger populations. It does appear to me that that is the great, the most important, objection which can be urged to anything in the shape of an Imperial federation. I have read the speeches of Mr. Forster on the question, and of those who have gone into this matter. In my opinion the whole thing is a dream until we get rid of monarchy—until we have a republic. Until we have a Parliament sitting in Dublin, until we have a Parliament sitting in Edinburgh, and a Parliament in Wales and in England, we shall not have an Imperial federation. In the speeches of English statesmen I have not seen the slightest approach towards federation upon the only basis that, in my opinion, is possible; because, if you look at the proposals of responsible statesmen with regard to local government in Ireland, they all stop short of the essential principle

of federal government; they all confine themselves to an extended form of local self-government, subject to a Parliament in England. The honourable member for Dunedin West says that community of interests must be our principle. It is not exactly community of interests that is required, but community in external matters. There need be no community of interest between New Zealand, and Victoria, and New South Wales, but community of external defence, because the theory is that we must continue to manage our internal affairs; and that is the great question to be determined by English statesmen before there can be Imperial federation. The English people will not allow to pass out of their hands this question of peace or war, in my opinion, for some generations yet, and until the dependencies of the Empire become far more populous and powerful than at present. I say Imperial federation is dangerous—dangerous for the colonies, because, until we have something like a potential voice, a power that will tell and have some effect, it would be dangerous for us to become part of a federated Empire.

On the particular question of joining an Australasian Federation he said :—

Let us come to some particular arguments raised in favour of our joining an Australasian federation. One of the most extraordinary arguments I have ever heard on any question was used by the honourable member for Egmont with regard to the position we should occupy in a federation of the Australasian Colonies. He says, "If we refuse, what is to become of us?" and he tells us that Lord Derby would not look at New Zealand, or any colony that should not join the federal body. I say there is no foundation for such a statement. Lord Derby said, it is true, on questions relating to federation itself, "Let us have the joint opinion of the colonies." It is quite true he asked for that; but he never would take up such a foolish position as to say, "If you remain outside the federal body we shall have nothing to do with you." The thing appears absurd on the face of it. Is it possible for any representative of the English Government, for instance, to tell New Zealand, "We will defend the federation with our fleets, but we shall not defend New Zealand; we shall refuse to send our fleets to defend New Zealand, because New Zealand has stood out of the federation"—to say that, because New Zealand has stood alone, it would not have the same protection which the Imperial Government extended to the federated colonies? On the very face of it the thing is absurd. Sir, we can command at all times the protection of the English fleet and of the Imperial power. Why? Because England lives by her commerce; and if she lost her commerce she would sink to the position of Spain, or some third- or fourth-rate Power in Europe; and so long as she has her commerce to defend she will defend it with the whole power, strength, and resources of the Empire. It seems to me as plain as day that, so long as New Zealand has a certain amount of trade with Great Britain, so long may we look to the English Government to afford us all the protection which we require. What are we to lose by remaining out of this confederation? The honourable gentlemen have not shown, in my opinion, clearly, what we are to gain by joining the confederation; and I say the onus rests upon them to prove their case, to show that if we join the confederation we shall have some protection or advantages which we do not now possess. The honourable member for Geraldine says that the trade follows the flag, and that, if we join the confederation, then of course, there being one flag for the whole of the Federal States, the States under it would be more likely to trade with each other than with other States which have not joined the confederation. One of the consequences, I apprehend, if this federation comes to be an accomplished fact—and I have no doubt it will be amongst some of the Australian Colonies—will be this: that there will be jealousy, mutual heartburning; there will be, as it were, a centrifugal force tending to repel, instead of a force drawing them closer and closer together; and that, in fact, their sympathies are more likely to be with the State that stands aloof than with some, at any rate, of the States which have joined together. It appears to me that for many years, with two members representing each Government, it will be one great struggle between Victoria and New South Wales, and that the other provinces or States will be auxiliaries courted and cajoled by those two States in order that they may ally themselves with one or the other. I am only pointing out what is to my mind a probability; and, at any rate, I think it will be admitted that it is a possibility. Now, supposing that should take place, we might, by taking the side of Victoria to-day, gain some advantage, and we might to-morrow, by taking the side of New South Wales, gain some advantage; but it appears to me that there would be a struggle between these two States, and that we should always be asked to take one side or the other. We might take up this position: that for some years, at any rate, we should watch the effect of this confederation. We are not compelled by any moral force to join. We are separated by a wide sheet of water, and it is a grave doubt in the minds of English statesmen whether New Zealand should become a member of confederation. We have nothing whatever to lose by remaining out of it, and I deny altogether the assertion that, by remaining out, we shall at the end of two or three years, or at any time, be compelled to remain out altogether. The whole history of confederation shows that the Federal Powers are always ready to take within their embrace new States. It was so with the Achaian League. It commenced with two cities, and extended its power and union till it had twenty or thirty—it was by the gradual accretion of one power after another; and I am sure that at any time in the future this Australian federation would be glad to accept the adhesion of New Zealand. Therefore I say we have nothing to lose by waiting to see the operation of this confederation, but we have everything to gain, and, as prudent men, we ought to guard against those unforeseen chances or accidents which might combine to render our position worse than it is. With regard to defence and a fleet, I say that there need be no apprehension. The British Government would be compelled to send a fleet to the Pacific waters to defend its commerce, and if we see fit to contribute to that fleet it is always open for us to do so upon the basis of contribution which will be laid down as fair to the whole of the Australasian Colo-

nies. With regard to internal defence—fortification of harbours—my opinion is that we are capable of defending our own shores, and that in that respect we need be under no alarm at all. The only defence we want is the defence of our commerce, and that defence Great Britain will always be willing to extend. I do not intend to take up the time of the House any longer. We cannot exhaust this subject—it is inexhaustible; but it seems to me that our duty as prudent men is to wait till we see the result of the confederation, or, at any rate, till those honourable gentlemen who are so enamoured of confederation will be able to tell us that we have rights to lose, interests to forfeit, if we do not join the federation. When that time comes I may be prepared to join with them in asking for federation.

MR. CONOLLY argued in favour of joining the Australian Colonies, and on the larger question said:—

I look upon any question of Imperial federation as for the present impossible, and I look upon the greater federation between English-speaking races as also impossible, and one which, even if Imperial federation should take place at some distant date, I fear will be far more distant. I cannot imagine an immense country like the United States thinking it worth while to unite with other English-speaking races for the purpose of mutual defence; for, from their position and their vast extent, they are never in danger of being mixed up with those quarrels which cause war in Europe, and from which England can hardly expect for any long period of time to be free. The American nation, numbering about half the English-speaking race, will certainly not be induced to join with the scattered possessions of the English Crown. It would be well that it could happen that not only the English-speaking races, but all the races of the world, could unite in that common brotherhood which Burns hoped for; but I imagine that nothing more improbable can take place. But I believe that the question of Australasian federation is perfectly within the region of practical policy. I believe, if it has not excited any particular attention in the colony at large, it has excited a great deal of attention amongst thoughtful men. If a majority are of opinion that federation should not now take place, and agree with the Minister of Lands that we should wait until others take the lead, I think we shall find that the effect will be that the Australian Colonies will form a powerful federation, get the Federal Council into working order, be more and more united among themselves, and then, when New Zealand wants to join them, she will find herself almost as isolated as she is now by refusing to join this Federal Council. I therefore cannot support the motion of the Premier, although I am aware it will be carried, and probably carried without a division.

Result of the debate—Major Atkinson's amendment agreed to, and resolution, as amended, agreed to.

Mr. Macandrew's resolution agreed to.

Mr. Beetham's resolutions agreed to.

THE QUEENSLAND PREMIER AND SIR T. MCILWRAITH ON THE ACTION OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

IN the Queensland House of Assembly, on October 20th, the Premier moved the second reading of the Federal Council Adopting Bill. After recapitulating the benefits of the proposed Federation, he said that the Queensland Bill would provide for the appointment of representatives for a term of years. It was desirable that they should be in accord with the Government of the Colony. The Premier then referred to the action of New South Wales in holding aloof from the other Colonies in the matter of Federation. He said that when in Sydney in January last, he met Mr. Dalley, and he was led to believe that there would be some common action taken. Sir Alexander Stuart, however, came back upon the scene, and raised numerous objections, and did a considerable amount of harm to the cause. He was sorry that the action of New South Wales throughout had been of a most unfriendly character. He would not have cared to lay on the table of the House all the correspondence between the two Colonies. The mother-colony of Australasia had assisted to thwart Federation in every way. He hoped that the other Colonies would cling together, and if New South Wales wished to be alone, he would say let her be alone. New South Wales would find it inconvenient to be isolated. Queensland intended to show New South Wales no animosity, but at the same time he did not feel inclined to have anything to do with her in the matter.

Sir Thomas McIlwraith supported the measure, and highly eulogised the Premier for his successful efforts in the matter of the Federal Council. Had reporters been allowed to publish the proceedings of the Convention in Sydney, so that the doings of the public men there would have been placed before the public, the course of action resorted to by New South Wales would probably never have taken place. He could not help blaming New South Wales for its conduct in the matter. The men who took the most prominent part in the Convention in 1883, and acquiesced in everything done by the Convention, were the very men who had surreptitiously tried to resist being held to their promises to join the Federation; and when they found that they could not with propriety do so, they resorted to underhand means to block any work being done in the cause of Federation. The correspondence laid on the table of the House had satisfied him that New South Wales had not taken up a dignified position—or, rather, the Government, for he did not blame the Colony. He was sure that the New South Wales members of the Convention were not in unison with the people of New South Wales. Mr. Service and Mr. Griffith had acted with great tact and discretion, and an amount of temper which deserved credit, against the manoeuvres of New South Wales to frustrate the movement. Mr. Dibbs, who had moved a resolution at the Convention to bring those present to pledge themselves to work together, was the member who had held over the question from Parliament for a year, and then moved the passing of the measure in such a lukewarm manner that its defeat

was brought about in a cowardly way. Mr. Dalley's action was even worse. When pressed by the Agent-General in London to express his opinion on the amendments proposed in the draft bill, Mr. Dalley said that, from the circumstances in which the colony was placed, probably referring to Sir A. Stuart's illness, they would have nothing to propose. It was then seen that the New South Wales Government were trying to get away from their pledge. Then Sir Alexander Stuart came forward voluntarily, and put the strongest possible objections, not in the colonies, but at home, where they would have more effect, in order to make people there believe that Federation without New South Wales would be an absurdity. He thought that by this time New South Wales had concluded that Federation was already a success, and probably New South Wales would not be amongst the federated. He did not regret this. He believed that New South Wales would be glad yet to join them in the Federation, and that Sir A. Stuart now saw it in the same light. He read extracts from Sir A. Stuart's telegrams to the Premiers of Victoria and Queensland in proof of his remarks.

COLONIAL DEFENCES AND RETIRED OFFICERS.

As bearing upon the important subject of Imperial defence, and as giving a Colonial view in regard to some considerations in connection with it, we reproduce the following correspondence from the *Times*, calling special attention to the 9th paragraph of the Memorandum:—

COLONIAL DEFENCES AND RETIRED OFFICERS.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—I am directed by the committee of the council of the Naval and Military Officers' Association to forward copies of the attached correspondence with the Government of Victoria regarding the proposed employment of retired officers of the Army and Navy in the Colonies.

The Premier of Victoria has forwarded to us a most important Government resolution, and it will be noted that the Victoria Government has addressed all the other Colonial Governments requesting their co-operation in obtaining the abolition of old rules and regulations in the Army and Navy, which prevent the officers from seeking Colonial employment except at a great disadvantage by the loss either of pay, promotion, or pension.

The action of the Government of Melbourne is so important, both as regards the interests of the Colonies and the British Empire and the interests of the officers of the Army and Navy, that we trust you will do us the favour of printing them in the *Times*.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD WILLIAM BRAY, Major-General, Chairman.

Naval and Military Officers' Association, Exchange-court,
419, Strand, W.C., Nov. 23.

“Defence Department, Melbourne, Oct. 1.

“SIR,—As the action now being taken by the Government of Victoria will doubtless be of great interest to your association, I enclose herewith copies of a memorandum being sent per this mail by the Hon. the Premier of Victoria to the Imperial Government.

“Probably some of the members of the administrative board of the association will feel disposed to co-operate in endeavouring to remove the present disabilities which prevent retired officers of the Army and Navy taking Colonial employment.

“I feel sure that if the disadvantages under which officers on retired pay or pension labour were but publicly known, they would soon be removed, and it would no longer be a regulation that an officer should forfeit that earned by past service—from which in many cases he has been compulsorily retired—because he chooses, rather than lead an idle life, to give the benefit of his experience to a self-governing Colony. Rather would it be preferred that such men should by accepting Colonial service give the benefit of their matured experience to the Colonies, and thus increase the strength and quality of their defences, which, after all, are of as much Imperial as Colonial importance.

“The memorandum is being sent by the Premier of Victoria to all the Australasian Colonies, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Canada, with a view of getting their respective Governments to unite in the appeal to the Home Government on a point which is of equal interest to all.

“I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ (Signed) M. F. DOWNES, Major-General, late R.A.

“The Hon. Secretary Naval and Military Officers' Association.”

“MEMORANDUM.

“From the Hon. the Minister of Defence to the Hon. the Premier.

“1. The several Australasian colonies are now engaged in reorganising their defences, and to this end have secured, and will continue to require, the services of Imperial naval and military officers both on the active, half-pay, and retired list.

“2. It has, however, been found that naval officers on the half-pay and military officers on the retired list cannot without serious pecuniary loss accept positions in the Colonies.

“3. This arises from the following regulations of the Admiralty and the War Office:—viz.—(a) A naval officer on half pay, while so employed, loses his promotion for the time, but receives his half-pay. (b) A military officer on the active list ‘seconded’ for Colonial service forfeits his pay but receives his promotion. (c) A naval officer on the retired list (in some cases, at least) receives his retired pay. (d) A military officer on the retired list forfeits his retired pay.

“There are certain exceptions to the above rules, and there may be others unknown to me:—(a) The position of honorary colonel of a regiment in the army is held by many who have other official appointments, and yet in no case is the salary attached thereto forfeited or held in abeyance, although Lord Cardwell and other Ministers of the Crown have frequently declared such appointments to be ‘of the nature of pensions.’ (b) The pensions of Commander C. B. Payne, R.N., and

other naval officers employed by the Victorian Government, were withheld from them for some time. It was, however, finally decided that they were 'in future to receive their retired pay as well as a repayment of the amounts hitherto withheld from them.' (Vide letter A. G. No. 33, Admiralty, March 3, 1873.) (c) Major-General C. Carey, retired R.E., receives his pension, also salary for his position under the Local Government Board.

"4. It will thus be seen that, while the naval officer on half-pay receives his half-pay but loses his promotion, the military officer on the active list loses his pay but receives his promotion; that, while the retired naval officer receives his retired pay, the retired military officer loses his retired pay. And, as shown above, there are permitted exceptions to all these rules.

"5. It must also be borne in mind that an officer while in Colonial employment is liable to miss opportunities of distinction and promotion by employment on active service. And in the case of naval officers, who do not count the time served in Colonial employment as an equivalent for active service in the Royal Navy, there is little inducement for them to run the risk of losing any opportunity that might arise in their own service.

"6. I also desire to point out that retired military officers could draw their pay—(a) if they elected to lead an idle life, and would not forfeit it by anything disgraceful short of felony; (b) if they took employment in commercial or banking establishments. In both cases, a and b, the Empire would lose the benefit of their military training. But if they take employment in any Colony under its Government in any capacity, although not military, their pay is stopped; and this practically prevents the Colonies giving them employment, and utilising their past experience.

"7. This seems a hardship, as many officers entered the service under certain regulations; since then compulsory retirement has been put in force, and it would seem inequitable that an officer should be deprived of the retired pay which he has fairly earned by service in the Imperial Army because he takes employment in a Colony.

"8. And it is injurious and prejudicial to the Colonies, seeing that, if this rule were altered, many retired and half-pay officers might come to the Colonies, and in the event of war would be of great value in officering the Colonial forces, which would then be largely increased. The want of such a reserve of qualified officers was much felt during the recent war preparations, when the defence forces were largely increased; and too much stress cannot be placed upon this important point, whether looked at from a Colonial or Imperial standpoint.

"9. The question would seem to be, what is the difference between service in the Imperial forces and service in the Colonial forces; and I would submit that, if federation is ever to be an accomplished fact, it must be based on the broad principle that the Colonies are as much a part of the Empire as Great Britain itself; and, in fact, that England is England all the world over, and therefore that any sailor or soldier serving in any part of Her Majesty's dominions confers a benefit on the Empire at large, and consequently should be entitled to equal privileges with all other sailors and soldiers, no matter whether employed in Great Britain or the Colonies.

"10. If officers were allowed to take service in the Colonies and receive their retired or half-pay it would induce men to leave the Army, and thus promote the flow of promotion.

"11. Finally, I would refer to the recent action of the Colonies as regards the Soudan expedition, which has so much tended to draw still closer the bonds with the mother country; and I cannot but express a confident hope that when the Home Government have a matter which so affects the Colonies fairly put before it, means will be found to at once remove the rules complained of.

"12. I urge this to be pressed with the more confidence as the Imperial Government have so frequently, both by word and letter, assured the Colonies that they are in every way willing and anxious to further their efforts to organise their defences. In fact, these defences, so far as we have gone at present, are as much for Imperial as for Colonial benefit; Melbourne, Sydney, &c., affording secure places in time of war, owing to the security obtained by the forts and troops armed and equipped by their respective Governments, for vessels of the Imperial Navy to refit and coal. It therefore does not seem too much to ask that the Imperial Government should remove, as far as can be, all obstacles by which officers of the Army and Navy, whether on the active or retired list, are, to a great extent, prohibited from accepting Colonial employment, and thus the benefit of their matured experience is lost, not only to the immediate Colony in need of such help, but to the Empire at large.

"Melbourne, Sept. 29, 1885."

REPORT FROM THE LIVERPOOL BRANCH.

THE following is taken from a report which has just been received from Mr. Sebright Green, the Secretary of the Liverpool Branch:—

The establishment of a Liverpool Branch of the IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE was first mooted in March, 1885, in a circular sent out by the present Honorary Secretary. By the middle of May upwards of one hundred members were enrolled, and steps were then taken to hold a public meeting for the inauguration of the Branch. In consequence of the change of Government the meeting was postponed until the 16th of July, when it was held at Hengler's Circus, under the presidency of the Deputy Mayor, MR. ALDERMAN A. B. FORWARD, now M.P. for Ormskirk Division, and speeches were delivered in favour of IMPERIAL FEDERATION by SIR ROBERT FOWLER (Lord Mayor of London), MR. D'ALTON MCCARTHY (President of the Imperial Federation League in Canada), THE HON. S. A. JOSEPH, M.L.C. (New South Wales), MR. J. G. GIBSON (now M.P. for Walton, and Solicitor-General for Ireland), THE HON. H. HOLBROOK (formerly of British Columbia), SIR JAMES PICTON, MR. MALCOLM GUTHRIE, and MR. JAMES SAMUELSON.

At and about the time of the meeting many new members were en-

rolled, and an influential Committee was formed, with the Mayor of Liverpool, MR. ALDERMAN DAVID RADCLIFFE, as President.

The number of members on the register at the end of July was 228. At the present time (December) the number is 274, in addition 72 working men who have registered their names as desiring to support the movement, though unable to pay more than one penny each. The Local Committee consider these voluntary offers of one penny each from working men as the most valuable testimony that could be offered of the favour with which this movement is regarded by the working classes, especially as names of these subscribers are brought in, twelve at a time, by voluntary workers. Other valued contributions are the shillings and half-crowns brought in by working men who are earnest in their support of the principles of Imperial Federation, and who out of their earnings are ready to do their best to further the cause, although every working man in Liverpool is suffering more or less from the general trade depression. In one instance an artisan who was out of work when he paid his shilling for registration, being unable to afford more at the time, brought another four shillings as soon as he obtained regular work, and came some distance from the place where he was at work, during his dinner hour, in order to pay his subscription and get papers for distribution amongst his friends. Some members, it may not be inappropriate to say, are apt to forget that the cost of rooms for public meetings, the items of advertising and printing, and other necessary expenses, are very heavy. Some have, without solicitation, sent in donations, and have promised more if required, whilst others have expressed their readiness to subscribe liberal sums, provided the required amount is made up.

As soon as the elections were over, fresh meetings were resolved upon, the first being held at the Union Literary Society's Hall, Kirkdale, on December 17th.

The Committee of the Liverpool Branch have invited SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD to lunch with them at Liverpool on his way home, and much enthusiasm is evoked amongst the members by the prospect of the visit of the Canadian Premier early in January.

The office of the Liverpool Branch is gradually obtaining a regular supply of Colonial papers, and in it are to be found all the publications of the League, besides cuttings from speeches and writings upon Imperial Federation; and persons desiring to emigrate frequently apply for advice and information, which the Honorary Secretary is always glad to afford.

The Committee look forward to this Branch becoming an important centre of work in the North of England, and they have every confidence that, early in the year, increased subscriptions and donations will enable the Branch to promote the objects of the League by holding frequent meetings in Liverpool and the neighbourhood.

REPORT FROM THE NEWCASTLE BRANCH.

WE are indebted to Mr. JOSEPH J. BUTCHER, the Secretary of the Newcastle Branch, for the following:—

At the beginning of 1885 the Honorary Secretary was authorised by the General Committee of the Imperial Federation League to form a Branch in Newcastle, and, the requisite number of members being enrolled, a first meeting was held on the 9th of February, 1885. Captain J. C. R. Colomb, who represented the central body, and who had on the evening of the previous day delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation to a large audience at a public meeting held at the Tyne Theatre, explained the objects of the League and the views of the General Committee. A resolution was passed requesting published information in reference to the constitutions and the working of the various federations already actually in existence; and resolutions were discussed and passed at this and the subsequent meeting, held on February 16th, inviting Lord Rosebery and the Right Hon. W. E. Forster to deliver public addresses in Newcastle, a request which they have hitherto been unable to comply with.

As Mr. Joseph Cowen was advertised to address his constituents on February 14th, the Secretary wrote requesting him, as a member of the League, to give expression to his views on Federation, a request which drew from him the following passage, quoted from the printed report of his speech:—"There are the seeds of a noble destiny in our dependencies. Neither of us can rudely sever the bonds of sentiment and confidence which centuries have entwined. We are a source of mutual strength, and by liberality and forbearance, by removing all alienating restraints and leading the colonists to feel that they are fellow-citizens in something more than name, this strength may be indefinitely increased. Distance was once a barrier to such a union, but it is so no longer. The world has become a great whispering gallery. Quebec is, for all practical purposes, as near to Liverpool now as Liverpool was to London when Wolfe stormed the heights of Abraham. Intercourse with India is more easy now than it was with the Highlands before the Pretender planted his standard on the braes of Braemar. Turgot's famous aphorism that colonies, like pears, fall when they ripen, is striking, but defective. Distance seems to quicken colonial loyalty and attachment. The combination of a series of self-controlling cantons or principalities, once scouted as chimerical, experience has proved to be practicable. The United States, whose disruption has been so repeatedly and so exultantly predicted, have survived a century, and they supply a felicitous example of federated expansion. Why cannot England and her congeries of commonwealths federate also for their separate advantage and corresponding security?"

At the next meeting of the members a resolution was passed thanking Mr. Cowen, and requesting him to become President of the Branch, an invitation which he did it the honour to accept.

A resolution was also adopted at this meeting, desiring that steps should be taken through the agency of the central body to prevail upon the various syndicates for University Extension to facilitate the spread of knowledge upon colonial matters, and especially upon the history of the growth of our Colonial Empire; and this resolution having subsequently met with the approval of the General Committee of the League,

and of the Local Lecture Syndicate at Cambridge, it is now understood that courses of lectures are being delivered, or are available for delivery, by qualified University men, upon these subjects.

Various meetings have since been held. There has been a general growth of opinion in the direction of Federation among politicians and thinking men in the North of England, and the views of the League have again this autumn found a powerful advocate in the President of the Newcastle Branch.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

At a meeting of the Colonial Institute, held on the evening of December 8th, at St. James's Hall, Mr. Edward Combes, C.M.G., read a paper on "The Material Progress of New South Wales." The Duke of Manchester, chairman of the Council, occupied the chair, and among others present were Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G. (Agent General for New South Wales), Mr. Alexander M'Arthur, M.P., the Hon. Clifford Lloyd (Lieutenant-Governor of Mauritius), Mr. Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G., Chief Justice W. L. Dobson (Tasmania), Mr. R. Murray Smith, C.M.G. (Agent General for Victoria), Lieutenant-Colonel F. S. Ferry, the Hon. and Rev. V. A. Lyttelton, the Hon. Robert Pharyze, Mr. F. Young, Mr. J. S. O'Halloran, Lady Denison, and Lady Samuel.

MR. EDWARD COMBES, in commencing his paper, said that he had for the past fifteen years never lost an opportunity of advocating the principle of Imperial Federation, feeling strongly that the Empire should be in a measure self-contained and independent of other countries, and also that this would never be brought about until the people of the United Kingdom had a more extended and definite knowledge of the vast and varied resources of Australia, its enormous wealth, and the value of its securities. Until within a few years the ignorance that prevailed as to Australia and Australian affairs was most profound, and even now there was much need of enlightenment upon most Australian subjects. Capitalists knew they were borrowing their money, and said that they were borrowing too fast, not knowing or reflecting that the money so borrowed was expended in reproductive works, such as railways, which not only paid interest upon the capital, but every day became more valuable as an asset. It should also be borne in mind that the collateral advantages to the colonies due to the construction of railways were proportionately great in relation to the number of miles open for traffic. These advantages might be stated as an increased value of land, an enlargement of the useful area, as a diminution in cost of carriage allowed produce to be carried a greater distance, and largely augmented a healthy commerce with the interior, all of which acted directly upon public securities, giving them a greater value in the market. Their public debt was contracted on these lines, and the works paid the interest. Taking these facts into consideration, it would be easily understood that for such purposes a country could not borrow fast enough, nor could a safer or more permanent security be given. In point of fact, Australian securities were the best in the world, for not only did the works for which the money was borrowed pay the interest, but the capital was secured upon what would shortly be the wealthiest country in the known globe. It was a far cry to Australia, and in speaking of New South Wales it must not be forgotten that when the colony was founded, and for fifty years afterwards—nearly half its life—New South Wales was practically the whole of Australia, the mother colony; Tasmania was colonised from it, when settlers were few and far between; Port Philip, or Victoria, left its mother when grown into proportions sufficiently great for self-government; and later on, Queensland separated, taking away half the territory of the eastern portion of the continent. In spite of this dismemberment the mother colony was still two and half times the size of Great Britain, and capable of sustaining a population of at least forty millions of human beings. Mr. Combes then proceeded to sketch the progress of the colony from its re-discovery and survey by Captain James Cook in 1770. Its progress was at first necessarily slow, on account of the varied and almost interminable difficulties which had to be surmounted. Privation and hard work were incident to the settlement of a new country, but these were gradually surmounted until a time had arrived when the pastoral resources of the country could be utilised. With varying success the colony progressed until the discovery of gold in California seemed likely to denude Australia of its population. Hundreds of men emigrated during 1850, causing great inconvenience and loss to the colonies, for nothing had up to this time transpired to reveal the treasures bidden in Australia. In May, 1851, gold was found to exist in payable quantities—people rushed from all parts to the diggings; the attention of the entire world was directed to Australia, population flocked to her shores and at once gave the country a national character. Gold had fluctuated in its yield consequent on the working out of old and the discovery of new fields. The total amount raised to the end of last year was 9,601,541 oz., valued at about £37,250,000. An immense area of country was known to be auriferous, that included in proclaimed gold fields approximating to 35,500 square miles. In all probability gold-mining was only in its infancy, and with skilful organisation and better mining appliances greater results would be obtained from poorer materials. During the past two or three years many valuable silver mines had been discovered, and New South Wales would shortly be distinguished among the silver-producing countries. Copper, tin, and iron were found in large quantities, and the colony possessed the richest, most accessible and extensive coal and canal-coal seams in the Southern hemisphere, which must eventually make it the greatest and richest of all Australian colonies. The pastoral industry of Australia was the first to develop itself. In 1792 the live stock of New South Wales, which was then the whole of Australia, consisted only of 23 bulls and cows, 11 horses, 105 sheep, 43 pigs, and a few goats. In 1822, a period of 30 years, these had increased to almost incredible numbers, as follows:—7,177,531 cattle, 53,500,000 sheep, 850,000 horses, and 458,000 pigs. The value of the export of wool from New South Wales amounted to £9,598,761 in 1883, as compared with £4,748,160 in 1871. There was also an immense trade done in hides, leather, and tallow. Wheat, barley, oats, and maize were the principal crops, and the total area under cultivation was 789,082 acres, more than 76,000 persons being engaged in agricultural pursuits. Sugar-growing and its manufacture had together become a considerable industry, and the culture of the vine for wine-making had already made material progress, and no doubt should be one of the leading industries of the colony. In conclusion, Mr. Combes remarked that he had always felt most keenly the fact that so many English statesmen ignored or refused to admit the great importance of the Australasian colonies, and the necessity of preserving that ultimate relationship which existed, and which he sincerely trusted would always exist, between them and the mother country. With such children as Canada and the Australasian colonies united to the parent stock, the power of the Empire must steadily increase, and its commerce proportionately spread.

SIR S. SAMUEL, in opening the discussion, remarked that he would say little about the question of Imperial Federation, but he believed that the

most perfect unity existed between the colonies and the mother country, and this had been shown by the willingness of New South Wales to send a contingent to the Sudan. (Cheers.) A number of other gentlemen having spoken, the meeting closed with the customary vote of thanks to the reader of the paper.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AT KIRKDALE, LIVERPOOL.

At the fortnightly meeting of the Union Literary Society, held at their Lecture Hall in Fountains Road, Kirkdale, on Thursday evening, 17th December, the subject for discussion was Imperial Federation.

The Rev. A. B. BARKWAY, M.A., President of the Society, was in the chair, and introduced the speakers in a few well-chosen remarks upon the great importance of the subject; the Chairman said that he was there himself as a learner, but this much he had gathered from what he read and heard of the proceedings of the League, namely, that Imperial Federation enunciated four main principles which would cordially recommend themselves to members of this society, namely—Unity, Fraternity, Commercial Prosperity, and Universal Peace.

The CHAIRMAN then introduced the HON. H. HOLBROOK, of British Columbia, who remarked that he had resided in British Columbia for twenty-one years, had been for fifteen years a member of the Local Parliament, and had stood as a Cabinet Minister, and as Chief Commissioner for Land, but did not presume to speak for Canada, or any part of Canada, but simply for himself. First he touched upon the advantages to Great Britain of the Colonies from the emigration point of view. In the United Kingdom the births exceeded the deaths by 400,000, and this surplus population had to be disposed of. In 1883 the emigrants from these shores numbered, of British origin, 320,000; but this number was now much smaller. Of these the United States took 191,573, and the Colonies 128,449, Canada receiving of these latter 44,185. He urged that as the trade of the Colonies with Great Britain was 26 per cent. of her whole export trade, and as the Colonies were loyal, it was most desirable to direct this stream of emigration to them as far as possible. The way in which Canadian Federation was brought about was described, and great credit given to Sir John Macdonald in connection with it, as also in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway. This last-named great work had cost the Company 139,000,000 dol., and the Government had handed over to them the part it had made, which had cost 35,000,000 dol. They had sold 3,600,000 acres at an average price of 3 dol., and they had on hand 21,399,737 acres for sale. He expressed the hope that Sir John Macdonald, who was regarded in Canada as the greatest statesman of the age, would be spared to his country for many years, and wished that he could be prevailed upon to accept a seat in the House of Lords and become a Judge of Appeal, that England might get the benefit of his great abilities as well as Canada.

MR. SEBRIGHT GREEN, Honorary Secretary of the Liverpool Branch, followed with a short account of the nature and objects of the Imperial Federation League, giving a retrospect of what had been done since the inauguration of the Liverpool Branch, passing in review the different schemes that had been put forward by private individuals from time to time, which were indicative of the feeling which was steadily growing at home and was firmly planted in the mind of every subject of our gracious Queen in the distant parts of the Empire—namely, that the Colonies and dependencies of Great Britain should have some voice in the Government of the Empire so far as matters really Imperial are concerned. The speaker proceeded to point out that the League had not yet, as a body, formulated any definite scheme by which Imperial Federation was to be carried out. The general opinion seemed to be that the independent voice of the Colonies could really only be heard with effect through their representatives sitting in an Imperial Parliament. The League were desirous of hearing different schemes brought forward, in the hope that, through the discussion of individual suggestions and by interchange of thought and ideas upon embryo projects of Federation, it might be assisted in the promulgation of a scheme which could be put forward authoritatively, by which the permanent unity of the Empire could be secured. Mr. Green concluded by inviting the members of this and kindred societies to put up for discussion schemes and counter-schemes for giving practical effect to the principle of Imperial Federation.

MR. H. LOWRY, in moving the resolution, "That in the opinion of this meeting Imperial Federation was a subject which called for the early attention of Parliament, and was a question which ought to be brought forward by the Government of the country without delay," gave a most eloquent description of the advantages which would follow the closer union of the Colonies with the mother country, especially when plans for mutual defence were developed, so that the commerce of this vast Empire of Greater Britain could be carried on without fear of check or interruption from enemies of the British flag, mentioning also the possible commercial advantages which might accrue from a fair system of reciprocity in the tariffs between Great Britain and the Colonies. Mr. Lowry also mentioned the interesting fact that a Bill for Imperial Federation had been brought in by the Conservative party in the Liverpool Parliamentary Society some fifteen years ago, and had been carried in a full House by a majority of sixty members. This Bill, Mr. Lowry said, dealt with the whole question of Colonial representation in detail, and it seemed marvellous how easily the objections, which after all were to matters of detail only, were overcome, even in the face of a powerful Opposition.

The discussion was continued by Messrs. J. Scott, D. McMillan, J. Williams Rawlinson, and others, and after the resolution had been carried by acclamation the evening's discussion was brought to a close by votes of thanks to Mr. Holbrook for acceding to the request of the secretary, and coming, at considerable personal inconvenience, from the neighbouring county to address them, and to the Chairman for presiding.

After the meeting new names were registered as members of the Liverpool Branch of the League.

NEW KNIGHT.—Dr. George Edward Paget, F.R.S., Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, upon whom Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the dignity of a Knight Commandership of the Bath, is a member of the general committee of the Imperial Federation League.

FEDERATION.—The idea of a Britain having its citizens in every quarter of the globe, united by bonds that imply no bondage, and animated by a loyalty that does not need to have allegiance maintained otherwise than by choice, has taken fast possession of the widely scattered British race, and will not be dislodged. No doubt there are difficulties in the way of its creation and government; but they are slight by comparison with what they were in those recent days when Wick was as far from Westminster as Winnipeg is now, and a journey to Connaught was more toilsome and hazardous than a visit to the Antipodes.—*Edinburgh Evening News*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Mr. Bernhard Wise, in his able article, "An Australian Appeal to the English Democracy," in *Macmillan's Magazine*, July, 1885, when speaking of Imperial Federation, says: "The details of any scheme for effecting such an object must be worked out in England." Sir, it is with that object in view, and to aid a fuller and more perfect knowledge of colonial questions in their relation to the mother country that I presume your journal—in whose columns I ask you to do me the honour of inserting this—is being established.

No means that can be employed to advance this desired object will be productive of permanent good unless founded on an appreciation of colonial aspirations, which can be best ascertained by giving every facility for the interchange of home and colonial opinion. This, then, could not be better encouraged than by fixing for the whole of the British Empire a uniform rate of penny postage. Such a proposal will at once appear popular, not only to the democracy, who may think only of the pleasure of sending and receiving letters at a cheap rate and from their absent relatives and friends, but also, one would think, to the Treasury, if called on to supply means for carrying it into effect. I regret being unable, for the time, to state the vast charge on the British exchequer of such an innovation, even if the whole difference were borne by the Home Government, which I do not hesitate to advocate should be the case. The nearest approach to the requisite statistics appears to be in those found in the Postmaster-General's Annual Report, where (pp. 31, 32) the estimated British loss on existing foreign and colonial service is returned at £364,400, of which no less than £220,000 applies to India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong. If I may be allowed, I would, through your columns, suggest that an early opportunity should be taken by some member of the House of Commons to move for a return of the figures, thus showing us at what cost such a modification of postal rate might be carried into effect. It would be scarcely possible to fully set forth the immense advantages which might very reasonably be hoped to result from such a change; but past experience clearly proves that the less expensive our postal service, the greater the profit. Apart from the immense impetus given to it by the adoption of the penny post, we must not lose sight of the great gain resulting from the increased number of registered letters sent consequent on the reduction of the registration fee. From January, 1878, when the reduced scale came into effect, until the end of the financial year 1884-5, the increase was no less than 115·8 per cent. Equally satisfactory, I venture to predict, would be the result of the change I now advocate—a change, it is to be hoped, that may soon receive the serious attention of our Legislature; for whatever will help to bind more closely the members of our great family cannot fail to be productive of lasting good. It will also help to encourage our trade, and make us for all time more essentially one great people.—I am, yours faithfully,

ROBERT W. DAVEY.

New Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W., December 23rd, 1885.

LITERATURE.

Imperial Federation. By the Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, P.C., K.T., G.C.M.G., late Governor-General of Canada. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square, 1885.

LORD LORNE'S book on Imperial Federation is open to two surface objections—that it is vague, and that it deals chiefly with Canada. Neither is a substantial objection. This is no time for a cut-and-dried scheme for Federation. A full and free discussion of such questions as may be thrown out by those who are thinking about the matter is what is wanted. Lord Lorne would have been ill-advised if he had written a book, at this stage, of which no critic could say that it was vague. And as to his dealing chiefly with Canada, if a writer of his unique experience had devoted himself entirely to Canadian considerations, it would have afforded no ground for adverse criticism. Besides which, Canada is the ripest of the Colonies.

The great problem which is before the Empire at the present time is an entirely new one. There has been nothing in the known history of the world like the state of things now existing, this small mother island with its daughter continents. And thus we are without that help which the wise find in history, the lesson what to avoid which the experience of others has taught. Fortunately those who have to work the problem out are a practical race, accustomed to take things as they are and make the best of them, without asking themselves too carefully what abstract science would have them do.

The interests involved are so tremendous that it is difficult to understand the feeling of an Englishman who says that it is not essential to keep our Colonies at one with us. Statistics are dry reading, and Lord Lorne does not overburden his text with them; but he quotes a remark from Mr. Forster which is worth reproducing. We all know a good deal about the depression of trade in the last few years. Instead of our business with the world growing rapidly, as we had calculated upon its doing when we so vastly increased our business plant, it has shrunk somewhat; not very much, on the whole, it is true, still it has absolutely shrunk instead of showing a great or even a normal increase. It fell, between 1872 and 1882, from £314,000,000 a year to £306,000,000, a decrease of £8,000,000, and we all know how very seriously that has been felt. But it is not all who know from how much more serious a depression our Colonies have been saving us. That portion of our business which is done with them has increased in the ten years by £26,000,000, so that the depression in our business with the rest of the world, excluding the Colonies, amounts to the enormous sum of £34,000,000 a year. Where should we have been if there had not been the Colonial increase of £26,000,000 to set against so large a fall.

The solution of the problem now before the Empire cannot be hur-

ried. We are not a Celtic race. In all our dealings and doings we take Time as an active partner in our firm. The Colonies want time to think; they are growing too fast at present for that process, and all we can do is to keep the matter before their eyes and in their minds. "Go slow" is the heading of one of Lord Lorne's chapters, and those words are a text and a sermon in one. Some Colonials, if not some Colonies, do not like the idea of Federation. Others, again, full of loyalty and affection, openly prefer the rose-coloured bonds of sentiment and love to the dull iron of a settled constitution. They would freely contribute "benevolences," but would rebel against a much smaller amount of regular contribution in the form of a tax for Imperial purposes. We must be thrown back by this argument into the times of Henry II., and to be dealing with questions of scutage and customary payments to vice-earls. Then there are those of the Colonies which fear that Free Trade will be forced upon them, and others which fear that Free Trade will be taken away from them. Lord Lorne deals with all in turn, and any one who reads his book with attention will at least know what the difficulties of the problem are. Nothing can be gained by making light of them, and no one of Lord Lorne's experience is likely to fall into that error.

When we come to the all-important practical question, "What may now be done?" Lord Lorne answers it by urging first what ought not to be done. Nothing must be done which can give the slightest ground for the scare that "Downing Street rule is to be revived again." The Colonies have been so free, that the idea of being "ruled" by England, or having the gentle reins drawn tighter, is naturally distasteful. The bond is to be that of a mother and grown-up daughters—the daughters of the present day being at least as competent to keep their mothers in order as the mothers to guide their daughters. The fear that some one, speaking or acting on behalf of England in this matter of Federation, may frighten the Colonies by making arbitrary proposals or suggestions, is probably groundless.

A normal arrangement at present is that England has a Governor in the Colony, and the Colony has an Agent-General in England. The Agent-General is in close communication with the Colonial Office and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In this way the wishes and wants of the Colony are made known to the officials and the Minister of the home country. How far the Agents-General have a right to require that the home officials should listen to them is not known to the ordinary public, and on this point, and the whole string of questions which it suggests, something definite might with advantage be set before the world at large. Canada has enhanced the position and power of its representative by making him a High Commissioner; and Lord Lorne is evidently of opinion that this has been a wise step on the part of the Colony, though a good many Canadians have thought that it savoured somewhat of that "fuss and feathers" to which the people of a new country object so much, but in which they take so great an interest and pleasure. The simplest proposal for working an Imperial Federation is that the Agents-General and High Commissioners of the Colonies should be empowered to act in concert, and should be consulted as a body by the Home Government on subjects of general Colonial interest or of Imperial interest in its widest sense. There would still be many matters on which resort would be had to the opinion and information of the representative of a Colony in his individual capacity; and there would be other matters on which it would be more desirable than possible to obtain the collective opinion of the body of representatives.

Pushing the development of the existing machinery still further, we come to the suggestion that the representatives of the Colonies might be admitted to the English House of Commons, to take part in its deliberations and debates on Colonial questions, but not to vote. Lord Lorne is probably sound in his argument that the right to speak without the power to vote would put a man in a stronger position than he would occupy if he were an ordinary speaking and voting member. A profound impression might be produced by one Colonist after another rising in his place and delivering an address from the point of view of complete information and full experience, and leaving the audience to vote. It is difficult to imagine that any House of Commons, at least any that we are likely to see, could or would withstand a combined expression of opinion thus brought home to its intelligence. Whether the Colonies would be satisfied with the reality of power without its semblance is another question. It seems more probable that something of the nature of proportional representation would please them more, though it would almost certainly serve them less.

Another method would be the establishment of a Colonies Committee of the Privy Council, the Agents-General being admitted as Privy Counsellors. In this way the Prime Minister, the Foreign and Colonial Secretaries, and the President of the Board of Trade, could be placed in the fullest communication with the representatives of the Colonies, and a committee thus constituted would be very powerful. But there is the objection that, from the nature of the case, the home members would represent the party in power at the time, and must be guided to some considerable extent by the political exigencies of the occasion. To have a question vitally affecting the interests of the Colonies decided by the side issue of some by-election or other party consideration would be very mischievous: it would break up any scheme of federation.

To let the Colonies break off from the mother-country, and become units with interests different from and antagonistic to the home interests, would be a criminal blunder which we may fairly hope no English statesmen would commit. How to prevent their breaking off, how to keep their interests in accord with ours, how to give them powers which shall satisfy them and not hamper us, will tax the skill of all that England has of statesmanship.

Forty Thousand Miles Over Land and Water: The Journal of a Tour through the British Empire and America. By Mrs. Howard Vincent. Sampson Low & Co.

MRS. HOWARD VINCENT has followed the example of Lady Brassey and some other lady travellers of distinction, and, having made what deserves to be called "the grand tour," returns to England to tell us

something of her experience, the sights she saw, and the impressions which in various ways she has received. It was on Wednesday, July 2nd—we are not told what year, but presumably in 1884—that Mrs. Vincent and her husband, the late Director of Criminal Investigations, and now M.P. for Sheffield, left London, embarking at Liverpool the next day; and it was on the 1st of the following April that they returned to London again, having in the meantime visited the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, and other countries; in fact, having made a tour not only of America, but of the British Empire, the only Colonies of first-rate importance which were omitted being those at the Cape. Much time, apparently, was not spent in the States, the object of the travellers, it would seem, being to see the expanded England beyond the seas. Canada was entered by way of Niagara. "Our first experience of the Dominion only really commenced when we left Niagara Station by the Grand Trunk Railway for Toronto. It may have been prejudice, but we thought that the country bore signs of greater prosperity over the American border. The farms are more English in character, and the cattle in greater abundance. The soil looks richer, and the pretty wooden zigzag fences which take the place of hedges or railings look most picturesque." Toronto is described as being the most English of Canadian towns. Ottawa, the seat of government, was of course visited. "Ottawa," Mrs. Vincent writes, "was only a small town with about 4,000 inhabitants in 1867. All ask, 'Why was it chosen as the seat of government?' which previously had been at Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto alternately. A Minister's wife travelling with us in the train laughingly gave us the answer. Quebec refused to vote for Montreal, Montreal for Quebec, and between them there was always warring jealousy. Toronto would have voted for Montreal if Quebec had been willing to do the same. The authorities at home—it is said the Queen herself—taking the map, pointed to Ottawa as being equidistant from all, and on the borders of Upper and Lower Canada. A magnificent pile of buildings accordingly rose, containing two legislative halls, for the Senate and the House of Commons (both the same size as their English originals) and other public offices. The Parliament buildings are built of buff freestone, with many towers and miniature spires, and have a fine frontage of 1,200 feet, surmounted by the iron crown of the Victoria Tower. The Octagonal Tower contains a library of 40,000 books, open, not only to members, but to all the inhabitants of the town. In the centre stands a full-length marble statue of the Queen."

On leaving Canada—with which they were most favourably impressed—the travellers again entered the territory of the United States, and visited, among other places, Salt Lake City. For a description of what was seen, for a record of the impressions received, and the facts gathered both here and in the Colonies in the Pacific, as well as the other places visited in the course of this long but most interesting tour, we must refer our readers to the book itself. On leaving New Zealand apparently the travellers were within an ace of a tragic occurrence. "We narrowly escaped a terrible accident with an engine that was bearing down upon C., who was walking between the rails on the pier. The driver was not looking, and the noise of the wind carried away all sound of the approaching locomotive. I happened to turn round when it was just on him, and, with a shriek of horror, was just in time to seize and pull him out of the way." Sheffield may thank the writer of this book that it has Mr. Howard Vincent to represent its Central Division in the Imperial Parliament to-day. We congratulate both the honourable member and the constituency.

With Australia our author—or should we say *authoress*? for there is, we note, an inclination to abandon the *ess* altogether as designating a lady-writer—was much delighted, her descriptions of the people and places she saw being perhaps the liveliest parts of the book. She bears this testimony to Australia's attachment to England and the Empire:—"Before leaving Australia (though politics are not within my province), I must say that throughout Australasia there is a strong feeling among all classes for a closer union with the mother-country. The loyalty of the people to the Crown and the Empire is unbounded; but Australia finds herself strong, and should any coldness be displayed by the Home Government, a cry for separation may soon be raised; and we should never forget that as a field for British trade, as an outlet for our surplus population, and as producers of our food, our Colonies are to us indispensable."

Mrs. Howard Vincent recommends us all not to go "globetrotting," but to "make a complete tour of study through the glorious British Empire." As soon as we can, we will act on the advice. In the meantime we recommend all who, like ourselves, don't find it convenient to start at once, as one of the next best things to do, to purchase and read this very interesting book.

FINANCIAL.

THE following, taken from the *Statist*, will help, among other things, to illustrate the financial stability of the British Empire:—

BRITISH AND COLONIAL FUNDS.
BRITISH.

Present Amount.	Interest Payable.	Per Cent.	Name.	Price. 1884.		
				Hst.	Lst.	Dec. 24.
£						
330,755,965	5 Jan., July	3	Consols (Money)	102½	98½	99½x
78,548,676	5 April, Oct.	3	Reduced	102½	99	99½
181,094,981	5 April, Oct.	3	New	102½	99	99½
225,746	5 Jan., July	3½	—	104	101½	101½
32,810,520	5 Jn. Ap. Jly. Oc.	2½	—	93½	89½	88½x
36,000	4 Feb., Aug.	—	Annuities, Red Sea	15½	15½	15½
—	11 Mar., Sept.	3	Exchequer Bills	16p	15d	rs. dis.
—	11 June, Dec.	2	—	9p	10d	rs. dis.
9,423,900	1 Mar., 1 Sept.	3	Egyptian Guarant'd	—	—	97

COLONIAL.

Amount.	Interest Payable.	Per Cent.	Name.	Price. 1884.		
				Hst.	Lst.	Dec. 24.
£						
480,000	1 April, Oct.	5	Canada Intercol. Ry.	115	110½	113
5,816,000	1 May, Nov.	4	—	107½	102½	103½
2,477,100	1 June, 1 Dec.	3½	— Bonds	95½	91½	93
3,000,000	1 April, Oct.	4	— Guaranteed	107½	102½	113
6,831,900	15 April, Oct.	4½	Cape	103½	94½	103
2,453,000	1 June, Dec.	4½	—	102	95½	102
1,937,700	1 June, 1 Dec.	4	—	94	88½	97
1,525,800	1 June, 1 Dec.	5	—	—	—	107
1,766,000	15 Feb., 15 Aug.	4	Ceylon	103	98	103
150,000	15 Mar., 15 Sept.	4½	Fijian Government	104½	100½	107
89,000	15 Feb., Aug.	4	Jamaica	102	99½	101
240,900	15 Feb., 15 Aug.	6	Mauritius	119	114	117
306,300	15 May, 15 Nov.	4	— Consols	103½	99½	101
1,300,000	15 Mar., 15 Sept.	4½	Natal Consols	100	93½	103
263,700	15 May, 15 Nov.	4	—	91	85½	93
1,019,000	15 May, 15 Nov.	5	—	—	—	105½
8,038,000	1 Jan., 1 July	5	New South Wales	109½	102½	110
645,800	1 Jan., 1 July	5	—	113½	105	115
7,201,000	1 Jan., 1 July	5	—	108½	105	109
488,000	15 Jan., 15 July	5	New Zealand	105½	99½	105
5,772,500	15 Jan., April, July, and Oct.	5	— Consols	114	109½	113
2,946,100	1 Feb., 1 Aug.	4½	— 5/30, 1904	108½	102	108
3,500,000	1 Mar., 1 Sept.	5	— 10/40	103½	99½	105
524,000	1 May, 1 Nov.	5	Quebec (Province)	106½	102½	105
800,000	1 May, 1 Nov.	4½	—	109½	103½	111
837,100	1 Jan., 1 July	6	Queensland	105½	99½	108
1,310,550	1 Jan., 1 July	4	—	119½	109½	120
9,716,000	1 Jan., 1 July	4	South Australia	104½	97½	103
7,776,700	1 Jan., 1 July	4	—	104	97½	103½
1,365,300	1 April, 1 Oct.	6	Tasmania	105	99½	103½
552,800	1 Jan., 1 July	4	—	122	112	122
1,900,000	1 Jan., 1 July	4	Trinidad	102	97	103
341,600	15 Mar., 1 Sept.	6	Victoria	100½	98½	100
850,000	1 Jan., 1 July	6	—	114½	110	113
2,600,000	1 April, 1 Oct.	5	—	106½	101½	104
2,107,000	1 Jan., 1 July	—	—	110½	105	111
4,500,000	1 Jan., 1 July	4	—	105½	98½	105
5,000,000	1 Jan., 1 July	4½	—	110½	104½	111
1,168,200	1 April, 1 Oct.	4	—	—	—	104½
200,000	1 April, 1 Oct.	4½	West Australia	104	101	107
401,500	15 Jan., 15 July	4	—	101½	96½	102½

INDIAN GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

£							
53,388,102	5 April, Oct.	4	India Sterling Loan	105	100½	101½	101½
5,397,426	5 Jn. A. Ju. Oct.	3½	—	107½	101	99x	99x
6,748,548	5 Jn. A. Ju. Oct.	3	—	—	—	87x	87x
66,540,651	Var. dates	4	— Enfaced	83½	77	73½	73½
20,504,193	15 Mar., Sep.	4½	—	85	80	74½	74½
2,000,000	16 Feb., Aug.	3½	— Deben.	100½	100½	—	—

COMPARATIVE STOCK LIST.

MEDIUM PRICES.

NAME.	Nov. 13.	Nov. 20.	Nov. 27.	Dec. 4.	Dec. 11.	Dec. 18.	Dec. 24.
HOME GOVERNMENT STOCKS—							
Consols (Money)	100½	100½	100½	99½	99½	99½	99½
Indian 4% (Stg.)	102	101½	102	101½	101½	101½	101½
— Rupee, 4½%	75	75	75½	74	75	73½	74½
Exchequer Bills,							
March	3/6 pm.	2/6 pm.	2/6 pm.	-6 dis.	2/6 dis.	3/6 dis.	3/6 dis.
June	3/6 pm.	2/6 pm.	2/6 pm.	-6 dis.	2/6 dis.	3/6 dis.	3/6 dis.
Bank of England	301	300	300	300	300	300	299
M. Bd. Wks. 3½%	107½	107½	108½	107½	108½	108½	108½
FOREIGN GOVERNMENT STOCK							
Austrian Gold 4%	88	87	87	87	88	88	88
Egypt Unified 4%	63½	63½	64½	64	64½	63½	63½
— Pref. 5%	86½	86½	87½	86½	87	87½	87½
— State Dom. 5%	87½	87½	88½	86½	87	88½	88
French Rts. 4½%	108½	107½x	107½	108½	108	108½	108
— 3%	79½	79½	79½	80	80½	80½	80
Hungarian Gd. 4%	79½	79	72	79½	80½	80½	81
Italian Rente.....	95½	95½	95½	95½	96½	96½	96½
Mexican 3%, 1851	20½	20½	20½	19½	19½	19½	19½
Peru, 1872	11½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½
Portuguese 3% ...	46½	46½	46½	46½	46½	45½	45½
Russia 5%, 1873 ...	96½	95½	96	93½x	94½	94½	95½
Spanish 4%	57½	56½	52½	53½	53½	53½	53½
Turkey, Group IV	14½	13½	14½	14	14½	14½	14½
— 4½%, 1871 ...	67	66½	67½	66½	66½	66½	66½
U. States 4½% ...	115½	115½x	115½	115½	115½	115½	114½
— Funded 4% ...	127½	127½	127½	127½	126½d	126½	125½x

STRIKING SUCCESS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATIONISTS AT THE POLLS.—The success of Imperial Federationists in the recent elections is strikingly exemplified in connection with the Liverpool branch of the League. No fewer than nineteen of the vice-presidents of the branch have been elected to serve in the new House of Commons, and eleven of these are new men who were not members of the last Parliament.

Conference on Imperial Federation.

The following attended the Conference held on July 29th, 1884, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, at which the first steps were taken towards forming the Imperial Federation League:—

BADEN-POWELL, G.C.M.G., M.P.
 BARKLY, SIR HENRY, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
 BARLING, W. E.
 BELL, SIR F. DILLON, K.C.M.G.
 BENNET, J. B.
 BOMPAS, HENRY, Q.C.
 BORLASE, W. C., M.P.
 BOURNE, STEPHEN.
 BRUCE, J. A. B.
 BRUCE, THE HON. R. P., M.P.
 BRYCE, JAMES, M.P.
 BURROWS, PROFESSOR MONTAGU.
 BURY, VISCOUNT.
 CAMPERDOWN, THE EARL OF.
 CHEETHAM, J. F., late M.P.
 CLARK, G. B., M.D.
 CLARKE, HYDE.
 CLIFFORD, G. H.
 CLIFFORD, SIR CHARLES.
 COLOMB, CAPTAIN J. C. R.
 COOPER, SIR DANIEL, BART.
 CORNISH, J. W.
 COURTHOPE, W. J.
 COWEN, JOSEPH, M.P.
 CROPPER, JAS., late M.P.
 DICKEY, THE HON. R. B.
 DOBELL, R. R.
 EBRINGTON, VISCOUNT, M.P.
 ERRINGTON, GEORGE, late M.P.
 FINCH-HATTON, THE HON. HAROLD.
 FORSTER, H. O. ARNOLD.
 FORSTER, THE RIGHT HON. W. E., M.P.,
 Late Vice-President of the Council
 and Chief Secretary for Ireland.
 FREELAND, H. W.
 FULCHER, PAGET.
 GIBSON, THE RIGHT HON. E., M.P., late
 Attorney-General for Ireland.
 GILLIAT, THE REV. E.
 GISBORNE, THE HON. W.
 GORDON, J. W.
 GRAHAM, CYRIL.
 GREENE, MOLESWORTH.
 GRETTON, GEORGE LE M.
 GREY, THE HON. ALBERT, M.P.
 GZOWSKI, COLONEL, A.D.C. (Canada).
 HENNIKER-HEATON, J., M.P.
 HOLLAND, SIR HENRY, BART., M.P.
 INGLIS, C., M.D.
 KEEP, EDWARD.
 LABILLIÈRE, F. P.
 LENNARD, SIR JOHN.
 LESTER, H. F.
 LITTLE, STANLEY.
 LOWRY, GENERAL, C. B.
 MALLESON, COLONEL G. B., C.S.I.
 MAN, MAJOR J. ALEXANDER.
 MANNERS-SUTTON, THE HON. JOHN.
 MARTIN, PATCHETT.
 MAY, J.
 MCARTHUR, ALEXANDER, M.P.
 MCCARTHY, D'ALTON (Member of the
 Canadian House of Commons).
 MCLEAN, R. D. DOUGLAS.
 MILLER, WILLIAM.
 MILLS, CAPTAIN CHARLES, C.M.G.
 (Agent-General for the Cape Colony).
 MOLINEUX, GISBORNE.
 MONTEFIORE, JACOB.
 MORGAN, O. VAUGHAN, M.P.
 MORGAN, S. VAUGHAN.
 MOUAT, F. J., M.D. [Ontario.
 MOWATT, THE HON. O., Premier of
 MURRAY, KENRIC B.
 NORMANBY, THE MARQUIS OF, G.C.M.G.,
 late Governor of Nova Scotia,
 Queensland, New Zealand, and
 Victoria.

O'HALLORAN, J. S.
 PATON, G.
 PRESTON, W. C.
 PRINCE, J. S.
 POTTER, GEORGE.
 RAE, JOHN, M.D.
 REDPATH, PETER.
 RIVINGTON, ALEXANDER.
 ROBINSON, ADMIRAL SIR SPENCER.
 ROSEBURY, THE EARL OF.
 RUSDEN, G. W.
 SAMUEL, SIR SAUL, K.C.M.G. (Agent-
 General for New South Wales).
 SHRIMPTON, JOHN.
 SILVER, S.W.
 SIMON, MR. SERJEANT, M.P.
 SIMPKIN, CAPTAIN.
 SMITH, SAMUEL, late M.P.
 SMITH, THE RIGHT HON. W. H., M.P.,
 late First Lord of the Admiralty.
 SMYTH, GENERAL SIR SELBY.
 SOUTHEY, THE HON. R., C.M.G. (for-
 merly Administrator of Griqualand
 West).
 STANHOPE, THE HON. E., M.P., late
 Under-Secretary for India.
 SUMMERS, W., late M.P.
 TUPPER, SIR CHARLES, G.C.M.G., High
 Commissioner for the Dominion of
 Canada.
 TUPPER, J. STEWARD.
 WALLACE, E. V.
 WANLISS, T. D.
 WESTGARTH, WILLIAM.
 WHITE, CAPTAIN.
 WHITE, ARNOLD.
 WILKINSON, H. SPENSER.
 WILMOT, SIR J. EARDLEY, BART., late
 M.P.
 WILSON, SIR SAMUEL.
 WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN.

*Letters approving of the objects of the
 Conference were received from the
 following:—*

ABERDEEN, THE EARL OF.
 ANDERSON, ANDREW A.
 ARCHER, THOMAS, C.M.G. (Queensland).
 ARNOLD, EDWIN, C.S.I.
 AUSTIN, ALFRED.
 BADEN-POWELL, G., C.M.G.
 BARHAM, A. H. FOSTER.
 BARNETT, THE REV. S. A.
 BARNES, THOMAS A.
 BUSBY, WILLIAM (New South Wales).
 BINNY, JOHN (U.S.A.).
 BOMPAS, H., Q.C.
 BORTHWICK, SIR ALGERNON, M.P.
 BOUSFIELD, WILLIAM.
 BROADHURST, H., M.P.
 BUNSEN, E. DE.
 BURROWS, PROFESSOR MONTAGU.
 CAINE, W. S., late M.P.
 CAMPBELL, WILLIAM (late Member of
 the Victorian Legislative Council).
 CHAPMAN, JOHN.
 CHEETHAM, J. A., late M.P.
 COODE, SIR JOHN.
 COOK, R. J.
 COSTELLOE, BERNARD.
 CURRIE, SIR DONALD, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 DUFFY, SIR CHARLES GAVAN, G.C.M.G.,
 late Premier of Victoria.
 DUNRAVEN, THE EARL OF, K.P.
 ELLIOT, THE HON. ARTHUR, M.P.

FORSTER, E. P. ARNOLD.
 FOSTER, J.
 GALT, SIR ALEXANDER, G.C.M.G. (late
 High Commissioner for the Dominion
 of Canada).
 GELL, PHILIP L.
 GOLDSMID, SIR JULIAN, BART.
 GREG, PERCY.
 HAMPDEN, VISCOUNT, G.C.B. (late
 Speaker of the British House of
 Commons).
 HANBURY, PHILIP C.
 HENEAGE, E., M.P.
 HICKS - BEACH, RIGHT HON. SIR
 MICHAEL, M.P., late Secretary of
 State for the Colonies and Chief
 Secretary for Ireland.
 HILL, A. G. STAVELLY, Q.C., M.P.
 HODGSON, ARTHUR, C.M.G. (formerly
 Premier of Queensland).
 HOLTON, R.
 JOURDAIN, HENRY J. (Mauritius).
 KNOWLES, JAMES.
 LEE WARNER, HENRY.
 LETHBRIDGE, SIR ROPER, M.P.
 LLOYD, SAMPSON.
 LORNE, MARQUIS OF, K.G. (late Gover-
 nor-General of Canada).
 LUDLOW, JOHN.
 MACFIE, R. A.
 MACLEAY, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G.
 MASKELYNE, N. STORY, M.P.
 MCILWRAITH, SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G.
 (late Premier of Queensland).
 MARVIN, CHARLES.
 MERRIMAN, THE HON. J. (late Member
 of the Cape Ministry).
 MONTGOMERIE, H. E. (Canada).
 NAPIER, PROFESSOR (in the University
 of Gottingen).
 NICHOLSON, SIR CHARLES, BART.
 OSSORY, LORD CASTLETOWN AND.
 PENDER, JOHN.
 PLUNKET, RIGHT HON. DAVID, M.P.
 for Dublin University (late Solicitor-
 General for Ireland).
 POTTER, GEORGE.
 REAV, THE LORD.
 ROTHERY, G. C.
 ROUQUETTE, A.
 SCOTLAND, THOMAS.
 SEELEY, PROFESSOR.
 SHAFTESBURY, THE EARL OF, K.G.
 SHAND, SIR CHARLES FARQUHARSON
 (late Chief Justice of Mauritius).
 SIMMONS, A.
 SIMPSON, J. W.
 SMITH, THE HON. DONALD (formerly
 Member of the Dominion Parliament,
 South Australia).
 SMITH, R. BARR.
 STEAD, W.
 TOTTENHAM, C.
 TURNBULL, ALEXANDER.
 WALKER, WILLIAM (late of the West
 Indies).
 WANLISS, T. D. (Victoria).
 WATT, THE HON. J. B. (Member of the
 New South Wales Legislature).
 WEBSTER, R. G.
 WELLS, L. B.
 WHITE, A. CROMWELL.
 WILSON, E. D. J.
 WOLFF, SIR HENRY DRUMMOND,
 BART.
 WOLSELEY, LORD, G.C.B. (Adjutant-
 General of the British Army).
 YOUL, JAMES A., C.M.G.

Imperial Federation League.

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THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., CHAIRMAN.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

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 The Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne.
 W. G. Aston, H.B.M. Consul-General, Corea.
 A. Baldwin (Kidderminster).
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 R. Beadon (Tasmania).
 Henry C. Beeton (Agent-General for British Columbia).
 H. R. Beeton.
 H. T. Mackenzie Bell.
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 Lord Brabazon.
 The Right Hon. Lord Brabourne.
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 W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
 Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
 James Bryce, M.P.
 Professor Montagu Burrows (Oxford).
 J. J. Butcher (Newcastle-on-Tyne).
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 W. C. Cartwright, late M.P.
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 Lord Enstace, G. Cecil, late M.P.
 The Very Rev. Dean of Chester.
 H. B. Christian (Cape).
 Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill.
 Hyde Clarke.
 Professor E. C. Clark (Cambridge).
 A. Clayden (New Zealand).
 Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
 Arthur Cohen, Q.C., M.P.
 Captain J. C. R. Colomb.
 Sir John Coode.
 Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G. (late New W. J. Courthope. [South Wales].
 Joseph Cowen, M.P.
 James Cropper, late M.P.
 Col. Sir W. Crossinan, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 The Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G. (Cambridge).
 Professor G. H. Darwin (Cambridge).
 F. Debenham.
 R. R. Dobell (Quebec).
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 T. Douglas.
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 C. F. Gahan, R.N. (Mauritius).
 Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G. (late High J. A. Game. [Commissioner for Canada].
 P. Lyttelton Gell.
 Robert Gillespie.
 Hon. William Gisborne (late Minister in New The Very Rev. Dean of Gloucester. [Zealand].
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 W. S. Sebright Green (Liverpool).
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 James Jackson (Colchester).
 W. L. Jackson, M.P.
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 F. P. Labilliere (late Victoria).
 Col. Sir W. Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G.
 The Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B.
 Elliott Lees.
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 Stanley Leighton, M.P.
 Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., M.P.
 N. E. Lewis (Tasmania).
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 R. A. Macfie.
 Colin Mackenzie.
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 F. Mackarness (late Cape).
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 W. Copland Perry.
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 Dr. Herbert Watney.
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 J. Dennistoun Wood (late Attorney-General, Victoria).
 James A. Youl, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
 Frederick Young (Hon. Sec. Royal Colonial Institute).

British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Chairman.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P.

THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON, }
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Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Imperial Federation League will be held, by permission of the LORD MAYOR, who has consented to preside, in the Mansion House, on Monday afternoon, February 15, at 3 o'clock. The first annual report of the proceedings of the League, together with the audited accounts, will be presented to this meeting, of which a full report will appear in the March number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*. The meeting will be open to members of the League and their friends.

A meeting of the General Committee of the League will be held at the offices on Monday morning, February 8, at 11 o'clock.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE meeting at the Mansion House on the 15th, it is quite anticipated, will be one of the most important meetings held by the League—in fact, the most important next to the famous meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel on July 29th, 1884, which, we may believe, will be assigned a large place in the history of the British Empire by the historians of the future. The arrangements for the meeting have not been as yet completed, but we are glad to be able to announce that the EARL of ROSEBERY has consented to be one of the speakers, and also ALDERMAN SIR R. FOWLER, BART., M.P. Just as we go to press we are able to add that SIR ALEXANDER GALT, G.C.M.G., late High Commissioner for Canada, has also consented to speak. Further announcements will be made later on.

NOTHING would more please the members and friends of the League generally than to see Mr. FORSTER present on that occasion, and to hear one of his vigorous speeches; but we regret to say that there is no likelihood of his even being present, much less of his taking part in the proceedings. He has so far recovered from the serious relapse which, as is well known, he has suffered since we went to press with our last number as to be out of immediate danger, but it can scarcely as yet be said that he is convalescent. Mr. FORSTER's enforced abstention from taking part in the conduct of the business of the League is, as need scarcely be said, severely felt. His return to health and active life again will be warmly welcomed by his colleagues and friends, and, we venture to say, by many who cannot claim the honour of being such.

WE hail with much satisfaction the increased attention which is being given to emigration. During the past month the subject has been brought under the notice of the Government by an influential deputation, and on the 26th ult. a meeting in connection with the British and Colonial Emigration Society was held at the Mansion House, presided over by the LORD MAYOR, and attended by a large number of influential noblemen and gentlemen. In the evening of the same day MR. ARNOLD WHITE, a well-known authority, read a paper on the same subject at the rooms of the Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi. All this is good, and will doubtless accelerate the formation of a Government Emigration Bureau, which is a great desideratum.

It appears that the assumption, very generally made, that the failure of South Australia to pass the Federal Council Bill was due to an indisposition on the part of the Government of that Colony to proceed with it, is a mistaken one. The Bill, it is expected, will be taken up early next session and passed. It is also announced, what is

equally, if not more satisfactory, that there is good reason to believe that New South Wales will not long delay to join the Confederation. In our last number we expressed the conviction that the entry of those Colonies in the Southern hemisphere into this *Bund*, which for the time were holding aloof, was simply a matter of time, but we were not prepared to find that it would be a matter of so short a time. We hail this news with satisfaction, for we do not share the fears of some that complete Australian Federation will retard rather than advance Imperial Federation. We are nearer the goal we have in view in consequence of Canadian Federation; and it is quite to be anticipated that Australian Federation will carry us nearer still. GALILEO was right: the world does move; and as certainly the cause of Imperial Federation progresses.

THE EDITOR of the *Fortnightly Review*, in his usual article on "Home and Foreign Affairs," points out in the last number what a distinct gain Australian Federation is to the federated colonies themselves. "In diplomacy," he says, "we have learned the dislike of colonists to a circuitous method of correspondence, such as that on the 'Angra Pequena' incident and the 'New Guinea' annexation, which practically ignores them, and treats of vital questions with foreign Powers behind their backs. If a complete Federal Council, or some such authoritative body, were called into existence in Australasia, it would be impossible for our Colonial Office to neglect the collective voice of the colonists. Had the action of Queensland in the 'Chester' annexation of New Guinea been endorsed by a Federal Council, neither LORD DERBY nor any other Colonial Secretary could well have set it aside." What this amounts to is this: that Australia having now a Federal Council, and one likely at no distant date to include representatives of all the Australasian Colonies, has been admitted to the Imperial Councils, and to a share in the Imperial power—an occasion to them and us alike for congratulation.

WITH reference to the larger question of the Federation of the Empire, MR. ESCOTT says:—"The idea of Imperial Federation has been amply discussed, and received high sanction, although it has not yet been formulated into a definite creed with definite details; but even as expression of opinion it is valuable, especially when studied by the light of contemporary history."

NO speech of LORD SALISBURY'S for a long time has been more discussed, either at home or in the colonies, than his famous Newport speech. Over no speech of his has there been more haggling as to what he did say, and what he did not say; and still the haggling goes on. He declared for Home Rule, say some; he did nothing of the kind, say others. He advocated Imperial Federation, say some; a construction has been put upon his words which they will not bear, contend others. On this latter point what he really did say is the following:—

"I deem it to be one of the questions of the future. I believe the drawing nearer of the colonies to this country is the policy to which our English patriots must look who desire to give effect in the councils of the world to the real strength of the English nation. We desire to draw all the advantage that can be drawn from that marvellous cluster of dependencies which our Empire, above any other empire of ancient or modern time, possesses. Our colonies are bound to us by deep affection, and we should be guilty, not only of coolness of heart, but of gross and palpable folly, if we allowed that sentiment to cool, and did not draw such advantages for the common weal of the English as circumstances permitted us to do. I know that the idea of Imperial Federation is still shapeless and unformed, and it is impossible for any man to do more than keep his eye open with the desire to give effect to aspirations which bear the mark of the truest patriotism upon them.

Therefore, I wish to avoid any language which may seem to discourage a plan in which the fondest hopes of high Imperial greatness for England in the future may be realised."

From this, nothing could be clearer than that the sympathies of the PREMIER are entirely with us.

SINCE the preceding note was written the Government has been defeated in the House of Commons, and we have now to speak of LORD SALISBURY as the "late" Premier, the Ministers having placed their resignation in the hands of the QUEEN. It is to be anticipated that Mr. GLADSTONE will now again accede to power. What effect the change in the situation will have upon the movement with which this journal is identified remains to be seen. Some are ready to prophesy one thing, and some another; but "it is never safe to prophesy unless you know."

WRITING in the *North American Review*, the MARQUIS OF LORNE states that a Canadian who looks for the annexation of Canada to the United States at any future time is, if not regarded as a "crank," hardly considered as "either a sound politician or as possessing half the spirit of a man." He relates, as an amusing example of the ignorance of the older generation of statesmen, that in 1878 Prince Bismarck asked him if the attraction of the United States was as strong for Canada as it used to be. He affirms, what, in fact, is manifest even to those who have never been in Canada, that a great change has taken place in the political sentiment of the Dominion since the discovery and partial settlement of the great North-West and the union of the Provinces. Canada is strong in the consciousness of its ample resources, proud of its unity, and "loyal to the backbone to the great traditions and the wonderful fabric of the Empire." LORD LORNE complains, and not without occasion, of the care with which the American papers ignore the signs of the progress which Canada is making under confederation.

THE translation of DR. MOORHOUSE from Melbourne to Manchester is an excellent step. Of course, the first point to be considered is whether the new Bishop is likely to prove a worthy successor to DR. FRASER. On this point fortunately all opinions seem to agree in pronouncing DR. MOORHOUSE to be a thoroughly wise and capable prelate. From our especial point of view the appointment is admirable. It is the right thing done in the right way. It is just one of those quiet, practical steps which will bring us nearer to real Federation. There is no parade, no attention invited to the novelty of the proceeding. The thing has been done as a matter of course, and, what is still more gratifying, has been accepted as a matter of course by the public. London gives a man to Melbourne, Melbourne in its turn yields him up to Manchester. When once the intellectual, no less than the physical, force of the Empire is made available; when once the practice shall have been adopted of searching throughout the QUEEN'S dominions for the best men to perform the duties of Imperial rule, what an enormous accession to our present strength we shall behold.

BUT a good example is of little value unless it be followed. In the army, navy, and the civil and diplomatic services, the precedent so happily set in the Church should be imitated. The Church, and in the term we include all the great religious corporations which have an organisation both at home and in the colonies, are the most practical Federationists of the day. It is something that the official authority of the Primate should be acknowledged in theory throughout all branches of the Anglican Church. But what is of infinitely more importance

is that, quite apart from what may be called statutory union, there is an intimate connection in thought, in sympathy, and in aspiration, between the great branches of the Christian family here and across the sea. The liturgy of the English Church, the language of the English Bible, form ties which the cleverest of the disintegrationists will find it hard to break. The religious bodies have done their fair share in preparing the way for Federation; it is high time that something should be done in the other matters referred to above. When a native of Melbourne represents the QUEEN at Petersburg or Berlin, when a Canadian officer commands the Indian frontier force, when the commander of the Channel Fleet is a Sydney man, and when a judge of the Privy Council is a member of the New Zealand Bar, we shall be within measurable distance of the consummation which we hope to reach.

IN speaking just above of the New Zealand Bar we have hardly done justice to our own aspirations. There is no reason whatever why a lawyer, admitted to practice in any court in the empire, should not be equally at liberty to practice in all. If necessary, two qualifications might be required by the legal authorities in each capital, the one compulsory, admitting to the local Bar, the other optional, giving the right to plead in any of the Imperial courts. Probably, however, there would be no need for this distinction. SIR JOHN GORST might profitably give his attention to this matter. He is a member of the Imperial Federation League, and a good friend to Federation.

THE Melbourne Chamber of Manufactures and the Australian Wine Association are perfectly right in calling attention to the preposterous arrangements by which penalties are inflicted on them for every folly committed by the Spanish government. It requires a bold stroke to break through the whole arrangement of the alcoholic scale. At present the system simply amounts to the protection of so-called French clarets at the expense of our own colonies. Of course we are perfectly well aware that revenue considerations, and the public policy with regard to the sale of strong drink are concerned in any re-adjustment. But the difficulties which may arise on this score are not insuperable. Of course the chief practical difficulty in releasing Victoria and the Cape from the humiliating position in which they are now placed, is the existence of the favoured nation clause in our treaties with Spain. And until we boldly assume the attitude of treating our own colonies as part of the nation, with which we are at liberty to make what arrangements we like, as a purely domestic concern, we shall hardly be able to do justice in the matter. We hope before long to put before our readers some interesting facts with respect to the whole question of wine duties in connection with Imperial Federation.

A CONTEMPORARY notes the appointment of M. PAUL BERT by the French Government, as Pacificator of Tonquin, and gently twits us with our insular incapacity to follow a precedent which involves sending out a professor as a diplomatist, simply because he happens to be a "man of ideas." We have certainly a good deal to learn from the French in catholicity of views upon certain points, but in this case perhaps, after all, it would be best to wait till M. PAUL BERT comes back again. The new envoy makes a point of his intention to dispense with an armed escort, and his resolution does him credit. However, after all, we English have not done so badly in the matter of pacifying Eastern provinces by the instrumentality of men who were neither "savants," nor, in the sense of the criticism referred to above, "men of ideas," that we need hide our head just yet in deference to the brilliancy of the new French departure.

After all we will "back" GENERAL PRENDERGAST against M. PAUL BERT, although the former has not yet quite settled the difficulties of the Burmese situation.

WHAT a terrible pity it is that when a new departure in colonial arrangements is obviously desirable in the interests of the Empire, and of the particular colony concerned, no one should ever muster up courage to take it. It is as certain as anything can be in this world, that the definite separation of the office of governor of the Cape Colony from that of high commissioner for South Africa would be an enormous boon to the colonists, to the natives, and last though not least, to the Home Government. The Dutch problem, which gives so much trouble at present, would be at an end in five years if the Imperial Government would make up its mind that the future of South Africa is to be in the hands of Englishmen and not of Dutchmen. Once make it certain that, while every Dutchman shall be fairly and honestly treated, English interests and English policy must and shall prevail; and the tide of emigration from these islands would soon swamp Dutchmen, Frenchmen, and Boers, in one general inundation. It is fairly easy to throw away South Africa, and our escapades during the last five years have given us a good idea of how it may be done. But it is far easier to keep it, if only we could make up our minds and not change them for the next five years. But what a terribly long word that *if* seems to be.

WE drew attention in our last issue to the question of an Imperial Penny Postage, and are glad to note that the suggestion has met with approval from various quarters. The thing is perfectly feasible, and well worthy to be done. There is, however, one danger ahead with respect to the proposed reform, which must be guarded against. A congress of the Postal Union was announced for last year, to take place at Lisbon. No meeting actually took place, but doubtless the congress is merely postponed. We believe that it was the intention of several of the Colonies to have applied for admission into the Postal Union, and to have claimed recognition as separate members. This is well in one sense. It is eminently desirable that the present exorbitant rate of postage to Australia should be reduced. But entry into the Postal Union involves a large number of mutual obligations. A colony accepting its advantages pledges itself to a number of "favoured nation" clauses which must materially hamper it in respect to any future changes. If New South Wales as a separate state accepts the 2½d. rate, it binds itself as long as it remains in the Union not to send letters to England for a less sum than to France or Germany. This will never do. We must settle all our domestic postal arrangements independently of foreign nations. When the Empire has completed its own internal arrangements, and got its own penny post, it will be in a position to deal freely with outsiders. But till then let us keep free from all entanglements. Let our friends in this matter note our point, and give it due weight if they really desire to help the cause.

THE NEW BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.—Dr. Moorhouse, who is being translated from the see of Melbourne to that of Manchester, is an ardent federationist. He took part in the establishment of the League in his Australian diocese, and made one of the best speeches on the occasion. Dr. Moorhouse will be welcomed to England and his help appreciated by the League. Good men like him, indeed, are wanted both at home and in the Colonies.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—Of late Imperial Federation has passed rather into the background, and certainly, as a fashion, is over, but the men who believe that it is the most important aspect of external politics have in no way relaxed their activity. A journal has just been started, *The Journal of the Imperial Federation League*, which appeals to colonial opinion as directly as to that of people at home. If the vigour of Professor Seeley's opening article is kept up, and there comes one more helping declaration, like the recent one of Sir John Macdonald, politicians may expect to find that the new gospel is something to be permanently taken into account.—*Northampton Mercury*.

WHAT IS MEANT BY IMPERIAL FEDERATION?

THE laws which govern the growth and development of states as political organisms are just as fixed and determined as are those which govern the growth and development of the individuals which compose them.

A statesman can create nothing new. If either intuitively or by study he recognises the action of these laws, he can, by shaping his policy in accordance with them, achieve vast and permanently advantageous results. If, on the contrary, he is blind to their operation, or elects to follow his own or others' preconceived opinions, as to what ought to be, he will accomplish nothing really great or permanent; and though he may meet with a short-lived applause from his party followers, he will often work vast mischief—nay, even ruin. When this is palpable, his faithful followers, admiring his conscientious motives, lament, without perceiving the irony of the situation, that he was "the victim of circumstances."

In the present state of political science it is impossible, it is true, to formulate more than certain leading laws of development; but year by year students of history are becoming more and more able, from a classified observation of facts, to trace the thread of their unvarying operation.

One such observation is that

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN THIS CENTURY TENDS INVARIABLY TO FEDERATION.

The causes that induce this result are naturally various, but the result is undoubted.

One hundred years ago the only federal collection of states founded on representative government was Switzerland. Each canton had (and still has) its own legislative assembly, with a franchise as various as the number of cantons. But besides these there has always existed the central representative authority for common purposes in the Federal Assembly at Berne.

In 1787, when our thirteen North American colonies were driven to assert their independence by the unwisdom of the Home Government, each had its own two houses of local parliament, with the franchise varying in each colony. Each of them retained, as each of the thirty-eight states now in the Union retains to this day, its own local parliament for home rule. The two houses of the central federal parliament sit at Washington to manage all matters of common Imperial concern.

In 1821 the Spanish colonies in Central America threw off the yoke of Spain, and formed themselves into a Confederation. Their union did not last more than fourteen years, though most of them still exist as separate states. That the outcome of their effort after federal union was abortive resulted from the defective nature of the representative government they enjoyed. Nine states, however, are still federally united in Columbia since 1861; and besides the central federal assembly, each State has its own local legislature.

In South America, the Argentine Confederation, with its fourteen provinces, is another instance of the action of the same law. At Buenos Ayres sit the two federal houses, with central authority. In the fourteen provinces are the same number of provincial legislatures, each with all the privileges of Home Rule.

If it be pleaded that anything done in America is only an

IMITATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

we may turn to Europe. Imperial Germany has certainly not consciously imitated Republican America. Nevertheless, since 1871, the four kingdoms, the six grand duchies, the five duchies, the seven principalities, and the three free towns, have been united under a federal constitution. Each of these kingdoms and duchies has its own local parliament, generally of two chambers, for the management of its own affairs. At Berlin a federal parliament of two houses meets for the purpose of Imperial legislation.

Since 1867 the seventeen provinces of Austria have each their local parliament of one chamber. The central parliament of the Austrian Empire consists of two houses, and sits at Vienna.

Further east we come upon the various Slav States in the Balkan peninsula. It is impossible to predict anything absolutely certain of their future, owing to the disturbing

influences at work from the exterior. But their tendency to federalise is very manifest, spite of mutual jealousies and of the two great Slav powers, the twin rivals for the hegemony of such federal union.

But, after all, Great Britain, as might be expected, has been more prolific of federal constitutions than perhaps any other race or nation. In all directions—west, north, south, and east—

FEDERALISM IS THE UNIVERSAL PANACEA

recommended by the British Colonial Office. To each group of colonies the advice tendered by Liberal and Conservative administrations has been "Federate, federate, federate." Wherever the representative government has been healthy and vigorous the federation has been successful. Wherever such ventures have failed it has been owing to the feebleness or the unreality of the ostensibly representative governments that were to be united; or because the people who chose their representatives were not trained in the habits of freedom and self-government.

Since 1871 the seven independent colonies of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies have been formed by Act of the Imperial British Parliament into a federation. The central federal parliament consists of two houses; but each of the seven colonies has still its own legislature for local purposes.

Each of the colonies forming the group of the Windward Islands has also its own legislature, and it is now hoped to form them into another federal group.

These two federations in the West Indies are, however, only preliminary stepping-stones to the ultimate federation of the whole of the British West Indian possessions.

In 1867 the seven independent colonies of the Canadian Dominion were federated by Act of Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster. Each of the seven colonies retains its local parliament; and from the whole population members are elected to serve in the federal parliament of two houses at Ottawa.

At the Cape of Good Hope, both Lord Kimberley and Lord Carnarvon have recommended and pressed federation upon the colonists. But the material of which these colonies are composed is so diverse—two of them being Dutch Republics, and two of them English Colonies, one a Crown Colony, and the other only having representative institutions—that it has hitherto been found impossible to carry out the aspirations of English politicians, and to federate.

On Australia, again, federation has repeatedly been pressed by the Home Government. Lord Derby succeeded last year in passing a Bill through the Imperial Parliament permitting the eight colonies of Australasia to federate. But the present scheme is only a sort of half-way house. Each colony, of course, retains its own local parliament; but no central federal parliament is proposed at present, only a council of Ministers delegated from each colony. Three of the greatest colonies in Australasia—New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia—decline to have anything to do with the inchoate scheme.

Meanwhile, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the colonies which enjoy a local representative government,

A STRIVING FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION

has developed itself within the last few years; for colonial statesmen have felt that all the arguments which have been impressed upon them with such unction by successive British Ministers as to the desirability of local federation, apply to Imperial Federation with tenfold force. In Canada, meetings held by the Imperial Federation League have been attended by leading statesmen of both parties, who, almost without exception, have given expression to this desire. In Australia, also, both in Victoria and New South Wales, similar meetings have been held, which have pronounced still more definitely in favour of a closer connection with the Mother Country. And it is a noteworthy fact that, when the scheme for Australasian federation was introduced into the New Zealand Parliament, both those who advocated and those who opposed it were in favour of Imperial Federation, and argued, the one side, that the proposed scheme would further, the other side that it would retard, a result which both alike deemed desirable.

It has been objected to the Imperial Federation League that they have put forward no precisely

FORMULARISED SCHEME OF FEDERALISM.

We might as well talk of a formulated scheme for promoting the blooming of roses. Each rose has its own stalk, leaves, petals, stamens, and other constituent parts. Their colour may vary, but the constituent parts in all roses are the same. So in those federations, which are an outcome of representative government, all have their central legislature of two houses, and each federated state or province or kingdom or colony or duchy or principality has, besides, its own local parliament for Home Rule. The subjects with which these local parliaments deal are very nearly the same in every case; and those which are reserved for the central authority, whether Republican, Imperial, or Monarchical, are also everywhere similar. It is, of course, an irrelevant circumstance whether the head of the executive of such a federation be called Emperor as in Germany, President as in America, or King as in the British Empire.

If, therefore, the British Federation develops itself in the same way as all preceding federations, it may safely be predicted that there will be two Houses still sitting at Westminster as

A CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.

And, as the Reform Bill carried last year approximated to the principle of apportioning members according to population, our new Reform Bill, granting the franchise to the Canadians and Australians, would naturally be drawn on the same lines. At present, the ratio of members in the Imperial Parliament is, roughly speaking, one member to every 50,000 inhabitants of these islands. This is about the proportion which would be retained for local parliaments in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. But for the Imperial Parliament the ratio would be one member for every 150,000 inhabitants, as it is at present both in Germany and America. This would give a reformed House of Commons of about 300 members, a far more convenient assembly than the present 670 for the discussion of strictly Imperial affairs. The 25,000,000 of England would be represented by 160 members, the 4,000,000 of Scotland by about twenty-six, the 4,000,000 of Australasia by another twenty-six, the 5,000,000 of Ireland by about thirty-three, and the 5,000,000 of Canada by another thirty-three, the 2,000,000 of Wales by about ten. Having devolved all local matters upon the local parliaments, the new House of Commons would only have Imperial questions to deal with. Such are, of course, all matters which belong to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Admiralty, the War Office, the Post Office, and the Civil List, India, the Crown Colonies, and such others as have not local representative governments of their own. As the number of members would be proportioned to the number of inhabitants, so also would the quota which each nation, province, or colony, paid to the Imperial revenue. At the present time, Scotland and Australasia would contribute about the same amount—i.e., less than a sixth of the English quota; whilst Canada and Ireland would respectively contribute one-fifth of the English quota. Man for man, burdens and privileges would be equally distributed among all British subjects admitted to the franchise. The only basis on which we in these islands could consent to admit our fellow-countrymen in Canada and Australasia to a share in our privileges, or on which they could honourably consent to assume a portion of our responsibilities and burdens, would be that of absolute equality.

It would, of course, be quite

IMPOSSIBLE TO RAISE THE NECESSARY IMPERIAL REVENUE BY CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

All our local parliaments have already absolute power to fix their own tariffs, and it would be utterly impossible to curtail such powers. And, besides, the wisest course that can be taken in order to secure the ultimate success of the principles of Free Trade, is to allow each province which may be so disposed to try the experiment of Protection. Moreover, in the two instances in which federal states have raised the Imperial revenue from this source, the result has not been altogether satisfactory. Germany has not found this source of revenue sufficient, and each State in the German Federation has annually found itself compelled to supplement its quota by other means. The annual charge on our National Debt last year was over twenty-eight millions.

Such a charge the incoming partners under the British federation could not be invited to share, but it would be more than met by the allocation of our own Customs and Excise, if maintained at their present figure only, which last year amounted to more than forty-six millions. There will thus be a very large surplus for the more rapid reduction of the debt. The other sources of revenue:—Stamps, £11,000,000; post office, £8,000,000; telegraphs, £2,000,000—as easiest of collection for Imperial ends in Canada and Australasia, would still be available for Imperial purposes. It has been computed by one of their own Ministers that the share which the inhabitants of New South Wales, for example, would contribute to the Imperial revenue would be more than met by an income-tax in that colony of a halfpenny in the pound; whilst a Canadian Premier has estimated that one halfpenny levied on every ton of Canadian shipping leaving their ports would amply suffice for the Canadian share. And both these calculations are certainly rather over than under the mark. For it must be remembered that all grants in aid which are now made from the Imperial revenue for local purposes would at once cease entirely, on the establishment of local parliaments in the United Kingdom. These would have full authority to raise all sums required for local purposes, and therefore although the land, house, and income tax must be struck off from the sources of Imperial revenue, on the other hand there will be a corresponding reduction on the side of Imperial expenditure.

Academic politicians, we are informed, are accustomed to smile contemptuously when the name of England is mentioned. With regard to the plausible difficulties which politicians of this class have suggested, based upon the separation of the various parts of the British Federal Union by distance, or by lack of community of interest, it is sufficient here to observe, as regards the first, that it is now possible to travel from the shores of the Pacific to Westminster in a shorter time than it took the Members for Orkney and Shetland to come to London in the time of the union with Scotland. And for deliberative purposes distance has been absolutely annihilated by the telegraph; and, as regards the second, the action of Victoria with her gunboats and New South Wales with her contingent in such a deplorable business as that of the Soudan, has practically disposed of the assumed want of interest on the part of our colonies in Imperial matters. And, in fact, the more attentively the subject is examined, the more the solidity of their interests and ours becomes apparent.

No less obvious is it that the question of the future relations between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies, will, through the

COLONIAL EXHIBITION

about to be held in London, have a scarcely less conspicuous claim upon public attention. And as nearly all the candidates in the recent elections, however divergent might be their professions of faith in other respects, agreed in repeating the stock phrase that "they wished to draw closer the bonds of union between the Mother Country and her colonies," and that they "advocated large measures of local self-government," it is to be hoped that both the successful candidates and their leaders will make some attempt to give a practical demonstration of the sincerity of their convictions, by recognising the working of the general laws of political development towards British federation as above set forth.

J. N. DALTON.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

SECOND ARTICLE.

It may not be desirable to assign order of pre-eminence to the items of Imperial Defence, but the

MAINTENANCE OF THE COMMUNICATIONS

between the Mother Country and her territories beyond the seas is of the gravest concern to both. These territories are, as we have seen, in all parts of the world, and the routes to them are many and long. There is the Mediterranean route to India and the Australian territories, which bristles with possible points of aggression, and which passes through a country over which we exercise but a partial control; fortunately we are exceptionally strong upon this

route, and need be under no undue apprehension with respect to it. There is the route by West Africa and the Cape of Good Hope to the same places, which is endangered only by the foreign fleets cruising in its vicinity, and which fleets must depend for keeping the seas upon Stations of their own in the neighbourhood. There is the North American route to the Dominion of Canada and the West Indies, and thence by the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and hereafter, when it is constructed, by the Panama Canal, to the North and Mid Pacific Ocean respectively.

There is also the South American route by Cape Horn to the Australian territories, the Pacific Islands, and the Pacific Coast of the Dominion of Canada.

The communications over these routes depend upon

INTERMEDIATE MILITARY STATIONS,

to the acquisition of which an instinct, commercial or military, seems to have led our predecessors; indeed, regarding dispassionately these Stations and the circumstances under which they were acquired, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that design had little to do with their acquisition. To some Stations, our predecessors, tossed hither and thither by the restless waters, and buffeted by many a gale, were led by mere weariness and the hope of rest; such an one is Bermuda in the North Atlantic. Other Stations fell to them as the result of successful struggles with powerful and jealous rivals, and were retained rather for the injury they thereby inflicted on their rivals than for the advantage they themselves looked for from them; of such Malta is, perhaps, the most notable instance. It passed into England's keeping with the failure of the French expedition to Egypt, an expedition undertaken—it cannot, especially at present, be too widely known—*against England*, and to save the position of the French in India. Then, to use the words of Professor Seeley, in his recently published short history of Napoleon I., a plan, which aimed at excluding England from the Mediterranean, ended in establishing her power there, and excluding France. Napoleon fully realised the advantages of shutting this country out of the Mediterranean, and we, having profited by his inability to carry out his policy, should not suffer ourselves, under any circumstances, to be induced by feelings for racial aspirations to part with any of our advantages. It is needful to insist upon this, as the writer can recall ominous whispers respecting Malta and Gibraltar, based upon high-sounding racial platitudes.

The possession of some Stations led to the establishment of others, and so, in various ways and at various times, the chain has gone on ever lengthening, until it encircles the globe, though in places the links are too long, and require to be shortened. Curiously enough, though steam has rendered our ships independent of the wind, and increase in size has rendered them less regardless of the weather, the necessity for coaling and refitting Stations has expanded; and the few which satisfied our predecessors no longer suffice for us and our extended requirements. It is, however, to be said of these Stations that they are still the best and most inevitable upon each line of communication.

The communications with our

GREAT MILITARY DEPENDENCY OF INDIA

are two—by the Mediterranean and Cape routes. In the Mediterranean we have Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus; and onwards, *via* the Suez Canal, Aden, and, if necessary, Persia, or some adjacent spot. Moreover, our habitual policy is to maintain a strong naval force in the Mediterranean. All this is at the charge of the Mother Country. In the event of war with an European power, the Canal, it is commonly said, would be declared neutral; but no reliance is to be placed upon such neutrality. In war, arrangements of neutrality are upon the same footing as treaties, binding only upon the weak; at least, the strong are bound only at pleasure by them, and upon more than one occasion success in a single action has rent asunder the most powerful, because armed, neutralities. Forced by circumstances outside our control into Egypt, we should not withdraw until the Canal is beyond the malice of all possible enemies. This may be effected by constructing and holding strong places at the Canal outlets, by promoting the establishment of a strong and well-ordered Government, which, while improving the position of the peasantry and developing the resources of the country, will induce the

presence, for commercial purposes, of a large and respectable body of English residents.

From India the communication onwards is by Ceylon and Singapore to Hong-Kong and China, and to some farther station beyond, whence we may bridle Russia. Here we should enter upon a policy more decided than that to which our Ministers of the Colonial and Foreign Offices have hitherto found the spirit to commit themselves. Ah! this fear of self-committal is a very bugbear of apprehension to Ministers; yet in this reign of Victoria we might have hoped, not without reason, for some faint glow of the spirit and self-confidence of the Burleighs and Raleighs who have made the reign of Elizabeth memorable to all time. Russia may perhaps be opposed here as effectually through China, as in India, or through Turkey; at any rate, it is to our interest to encourage and to assist the development of the Chinese nation, so that it may stand a counterpoise to Russian aggression in these waters. The history of the Chinese leads to the conclusion that a nation so vast and so thickly populated, which has existed in so compact a form for many hundred years, and which has recently shown great aptitude for Western civilisation, and a wonderful power of assimilating Western ideas, has a long and prosperous future before it, and it is well worth our while to cultivate friendly relations with it.

The lines of communication which we have passed under review should be strengthened by

SUPPLEMENTARY STATIONS

in Australia and in the neighbouring seas; indeed, certain eligible places have been under consideration, but they are not indicated here, as it is inexpedient to lead attention to points of importance while they are as yet under consideration only.

Whatever measures may be adopted in Egypt, it is of course possible that Great Britain may be pushed away from the Suez Canal, and that then the Cape route to India and the Australian territories may again come into use. We must, therefore, under no circumstances, suffer the Stations we possess upon the west coast of Africa to be weakened into disuse. They are sufficient for all possible needs; and, looking to the recent action of Germany upon this coast, should be placed in an inexpugnable position. These, too, are all at the charge of the Mother Country. The Cape of Good Hope has had so long a military history, that what is required to insure her safety is well known, and has been, or is being, acted upon in the desultory and half-hearted fashion which it pleases so many of our Ministers to fancy is bold and statesmanlike action.

Beyond the Cape the route to India is *via* the Mauritius, an island which is naturally strong and conveniently placed midway. Looking to recent French action in Madagascar, and to German action in Zanzibar, some other Stations are needed on this route. The Seychelles, with our position at Zanzibar, may be sufficient for our purposes as far as Germany is concerned; but in view of Madagascar the position is more difficult. The presence of German and French fleets in these seas should impress upon us the necessity of constant watchfulness, and of having our armour and arms always ready. Here, too, all charges fall upon the Mother Country.

Our communications with the Dominion of Canada and with the British West Indies rely, upon Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the case of the former, and upon Bermuda and Jamaica in the case of the latter. No doubt Halifax is at a long distance from this country, but the North Atlantic affords no intermediate points; and while we are in the best, because most advanced, position for maintaining these communications against European nations, we may feel some confidence that we shall have

NO INTERFERENCE FROM THE UNITED STATES.

The feeling of Americans has so sensibly changed towards us of late years, that we may hope for amity in the future with them; at any rate, they have no hankering after Canada at present. One of the most pleasant of contemporary American writers, speaking of Canada, says, "It would be a pity if it should be parted from the parent country merely to be joined to an unsympathetic half-brother like ourselves;" and adds, "We were better two great nations side by side than a union of discordant traditions and ideas."

The Dominion of Canada has a great future before it: its sturdy and robust offspring, its magnificent lake and river series, its inexhaustible forests, its railroad binding together the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and tapping vast and fertile agricultural lands—all give promise of a prosperous future. Looking to the proximity of the French at St. Pierre, something should be done at St. John's, Newfoundland;—something too should be done at Churchill Harbour—a little will suffice; and something is needed at the Pacific terminus of the railroad; while Vancouver claims the care of the Mother Country as an important terminal naval station.

Influenced by the changed and still changing feeling of the United States towards this country, some sanguine persons have enunciated the possibility of the union of all the English-speaking races throughout the world—a

PAN ANGLO-SAXON UNION,

as they term it. Racial aspirations have of late taken firm hold of many patriotic and sanguine minds, and, though we may welcome such an union with becoming pride when it springs into being, we should beware how we suffer ourselves to be led away by such aspirations. In all the territories acquired during the wars of the last, and of the beginning of the present, centuries, there still remains a considerable alien element, an element thoroughly loyal in the Dominion of Canada, but by no means thoroughly loyal at the Cape.

This element nowhere rests under disadvantages, it enjoys equally with its more numerous neighbours, with whom it has full opportunities of assimilation, the blessings of good and equal Government; but it should understand that in national matters all distinctions of race must merge in the dominant British race. If this understanding had been clearly and firmly maintained, we should have had fewer difficulties at the Cape, and difficulties nearer home would have vanished before it.

In the West Indies we rest upon the Stations of Jamaica and Antigua, and probably one other. Jamaica may share her charges with the Mother Country, which must provide what is necessary for the others. Looking to the part which the Panama Canal may hereafter take in the

CARRYING TRADE OF THE WORLD,

Jamaica must become of great importance. Little is to be done upon the east coast of South America. Here we have only the Falkland Islands. St. Helena, no doubt, can play some part on this route; but another position is wanted somewhere near the point of divergence of this and the West African routes. In the Pacific we hold Fiji, and we should establish a station in the Samoan Islands. Moreover, in selecting other positions, we should not lose sight of the Pacific mouth of the Panama Canal, and in selection here, as elsewhere, the needs of the mercantile marine should have due weight.

Within the limits of a brief article it is not possible to do more than glance at the Stations necessary for the existence of our fleets and for the security of our commerce. These Stations are scattered over 90,000 miles of communications, and it is fortunate that they have grown to us with the growth of the Empire, for the foreign policy of Great Britain during the last quarter of a century does not inspire a belief that we could have attained to them in any other way.

What should be the

STRENGTH OF OUR FLEETS

in ships and men for the due safe-guarding of these communications? This must depend upon a variety of considerations, must be based upon the strength of the fleets of other nations, the possibilities of their combination, and the points of vantage for attack at their disposal, as well as upon the length of the trade routes, the numbers of ships frequenting them, and the distances apart of the stations. The considerations are simple, and, as they call for no technical knowledge, may be readily apprehended of all men. Our countrymen beyond the seas are interested equally with ourselves in these considerations. We propose that they should bear their share of the charges for providing the ships and men, and we cannot expect that they will be willing to do so unless they have full opportunity of considering and approving the provision. Our immediate care should be to inaugurate such measures, representative or otherwise, as shall afford them the opportunity; then, with a full sense of the

responsibility they assume, shall vanish the dependence which objectors cavil at "as imparting meanness to the Colonial relation to the Mother Country;" then, no longer open to the reproach of ignoble subordination, there shall be no traits of grandeur lacking to their material prosperity.

C. H. NUGENT, Colonel.

THE COLONIAL VIEW OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

ONE of the main objects I had before me in my recent visit to the Empire beyond the seas was to ascertain what was the feeling among the noble sons of Britain, who in distant latitudes have brought so much honour to the British name, upon the question of Imperial Federation. A colonist is, of course, the natural and the truest interpreter of Colonial opinion, but he is rarely able to give expression to views other than those held in the individual Colony in whose progress he has shared. Nor, with the best intentions in the world, can he fail to be in some measure imbued with the prejudices, political and social, of his immediate surroundings. Having then but lately returned from a journey which, however hurried, brought me into agreeable and friendly relations with all sorts and conditions of men in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, I may perhaps be pardoned for venturing to respond to the invitation addressed to me that I should give, in the pages of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, some brief account of the impression left upon an open and unbiassed mind by conversations with my countrymen in Greater Britain.

If there is an egotistic philosopher who, within the selfish walls of profitless study, tries to persuade himself that the British who sought new homes in distant lands left behind them all

FEELING FOR THEIR MOTHER COUNTRY,

he must be speedily undeceived by the genuine warmth of affectionate hospitality which greets the British traveller wherever their common flag waves over liberty and justice. It is impossible not to feel that we are, and must always be, one nation; that our habits, our thoughts, are identical; our interests, our ambitions, one and the same.

In Canada there is

NO STRONGER ADVOCATE FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION

than Sir John Macdonald, and his enthusiasm in the cause is only equalled by that of Mr. Blake, the able leader of the opposite party. With such distinguished examples it is not to be expected that there should be any prominent opponents of that which cannot fail to conduce vastly to the prosperity of the Dominion. The existence of

CANADA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

is practically impossible. It is, therefore, but natural that all serious Canadians should welcome every advance towards that which cannot fail to draw their country closer to Great Britain and insure their present position of internal independence. To put it, too, on another ground. Imperial Federation, besides giving Canada the influence which is her due in negotiations with the United States, cannot fail to aid materially in the development of her limitless agricultural and mineral wealth. What wonder, then, is it that the Montreal branch of our League should have been one of the earliest, and should be one of the strongest and most representative over the whole surface of the Empire?

Nor is the feeling in favour of Imperial Federation less cordial and earnest in

THE BRITAIN OF THE SOUTH.

Sir Julius Vogel, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, was one of its first advocates, and upon this great national question there is no word of opposition from Major Atkinson or his followers. From Auckland to Wellington, from Christchurch to Invercargill, the opinion is practically unanimous.

Tasmania is not far behind. But it is in Victoria, perhaps, that the enthusiasm in the cause reaches its highest pitch. The early presence in England of the Hon. James Service, who has taken the lead of Australasian politicians in the recent negotiations upon the New Guinea question, the French convict question, and Colonial Federation, cannot

fail to throw great light upon the universal sentiment. In New South Wales it is only fair to say opinion is more divided; but upon what grounds, save of arbitrary opposition, it is difficult to specify. The glorious acts of Mr. Dalley alone show his feeling upon the question; and the heartiness of his support, in reference to the Soudan contingent, gives proof that the majority share his wide views. Sir Henry Parkes, however, has a certain following, and it is probable that he represents in his own person the maximum coldness felt on this matter by any British subject. There are, of course, difficulties of detail to be overcome; but in these days of instantaneous communication of thought, and of rapid locomotion, they present no insuperable obstacle, and, great as the gulf may be between Mr. Griffiths and Sir Thomas McLlwraith upon most questions, it is bridged over by British union.

Why, then, if there is this apparent

UNANIMITY UPON THE QUESTION

of Imperial Federation, should there be any hesitation or delay about directing the movement into a practical channel? It arises from that false feeling as to whence the first move shall come. Many even of the strongest advocates for Imperial Federation in Great Britain say that the invitation should proceed from the Colonies. They take, however, but little account of the position of the Colonies upon the matter, of the natural rivalries of a healthy emulation, and of the proud spirit of successful children. If the Colonies are to take the first step, which Colony is to lead the van, and by what authority? Mutual agreement is out of the question over the spaces of the earth shorn of a common centre. Then what individual has known sons who have established their independence by industry, ability, and courage, come as suppliants to a parent house to invoke partnership? No. As with the life of the family, so with the life of the State. The parent feels the responsibilities of extended possessions to be pressing hardly upon him. He sees with glowing pride the position carved for themselves by those to whom he has given the day, and with dignity he can invite them to join for ever their fortunes to his. *We* are the parent State. It is for Great Britain to take

THE FIRST STEP.

Let delegates from all portions of the Empire be invited to an Imperial Conference on the subject. The foundation of the greatest Empire of the world has long been laid. It is for the men of to-day to erect thereon a building which shall endure as long as the world, and which by its cohesion for the defence of its interests, shall be unassailable to all time. Let the commercial interest rank behind the great Imperial question. Our mutual trade is enormous, and is capable of endless development. British subjects throughout the world are all in all to each other. Let there be no preliminary conditions of administrative concessions. Let us have

THE UNION! THE UNION! THE UNION!

Our brethren upon the coasts of every sea may trust to British generosity, and we at home may trust to the generosity of our common blood. Aside, then, with party politics in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australasia, in South Africa. Let all unite to bring about that "Imperial Federation" which is engraven on the heart of every British patriot.

C. E. HOWARD VINCENT.

A WORD IN REPLY TO SIR H. THRING.

IN a controversy on an important and complicated subject it is always acceptable to meet with objections which simplify and narrow the questions at issue. The article written by Sir Henry Thring in the last number (January) of the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Fallacy of Imperial Federation," conduces, I think, to the desirable object which I have named.

Sir Henry Thring asks what is the principle of Federation. I answer, "Self-Government." He also asks what common interests there are in the Colonies, considered as a body, which could make common consultation advisable. I answer that second question by mentioning as one most important subject comprising these common interests—"Foreign Affairs."

In order to show the necessity of some sort of federating or consolidating progress—it matters little whether it is called “Imperial” or “National” Federation, or “National Union,” so long as the substantial object is attained—it will be convenient to consider both these questions and answers together, as they are inseparably connected with each other.

The essential meaning of self-government is that there should be a common, though not necessarily equal, voice among all parties concerned in the adjustment of their common interests. It is also undeniable that foreign affairs materially affect the British Colonies as well as the United Kingdom. Foreign affairs bring in their train various consequences which, more or less directly, concern the Colonies in political, commercial, and military affairs. A war between England and a great naval power would be a crucial instance, and such a war is quite a possible contingency. But already events in connection with foreign affairs, and bearing on the interests of Colonies, have occurred, sufficiently to show the force of my argument. On what principle, then, I ask, consistently with self-government, so far as the Colonies are concerned, is the present administration of British foreign affairs based? The Colonies are altogether unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament and in the Imperial Cabinet. If it be argued that this state of things is an essential condition of empire, it is only reasonable to retort that an empire so constituted is, sooner or later, doomed to disintegration. Can it be seriously maintained that great Colonies, rapidly becoming greater, almost wholly composed of Englishmen (I use the term in its broadest sense), inheriting the traditions of their mother country, and self-governing in respect of their local affairs, will always be content to be governed autocratically in respect of their imperial affairs? It seems to me on the face of it an impossibility to maintain, as a permanent system, the combination of responsible administration in local affairs and of irresponsible administration in imperial affairs at one and the same time in a British Colony. Those who are of a contrary opinion are bound to show the grounds on which they rely on the permanence of a system which, in the same Colony and at the same time, grants representative institutions in respect of one great class of interests and withholds representative institutions in respect of another great class.

The grand object of the Imperial Federation League is to remedy what it believes to be a serious defect in the existing relationship of the United Kingdom to the Colonies. The first step is necessarily to ventilate the question, to subject it thoroughly to public discussion, and to bring to bear on it the collective views of the various parts of the British Empire. Unless the existence and important character of the defect indicated be recognised and appreciated, *cadit questio*. Public opinion should determine whether the defect is a mere superficial anomaly in British institutions, and one of no serious moment; or whether it is, on the contrary, a germ of evil, slowly but surely gaining volume and strength, and working its fatal way to the ultimate disintegration of the British Empire.

When the reality and momentous import of the defect takes hold of the public mind, the next step will be the consideration of the remedy. That question is encompassed with enormous difficulties, but they will not, I trust, be insuperable, if, again, public discussion, in a fair and reasonable spirit, be fully brought to bear on the subject. I cannot believe that such an empire as the British Empire must necessarily drift into disruption. At all events, the question is worthy of thorough discussion.

My own view of the ultimate solution of the problem may, in its principles, be briefly stated. I only put it forward in the hope that others may be induced to express their own views, as I am convinced that truth can only be found in these, as in other matters, in the fullest freedom of discussion. Believing, as I do, that self-government underlies the whole question, I think that nothing short of an Imperial Parliament, comprising fair proportionate representation from all integral parts of the British Empire, and dealing only with Imperial affairs, would satisfy all the needs of the case. The local affairs of the United Kingdom should, in that event, be managed by local bodies, constituted in such manner as the representatives of the United Kingdom may determine to be most advisable. Of course,

these propositions are, as I have stated, only principles. There are obviously multitudinous subsidiary matters which would have to be considered, when, if ever, the principles are admitted.

W. GISBORNE.

THE CANADIAN PREMIER INTERVIEWED.

AS was intimated in the last number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B., Premier of Canada, has been on a flying visit to England on business connected with the Dominion. It occurred to us that this was a favourable opportunity for ascertaining something more than is generally known of Sir John's views in regard to the closer union of the Empire. It was known that, speaking in general terms, he was warmly in favour of a close and cordial union of the Colonies with the mother country; but what his ideas were on the subject of federation was not so well known. We, therefore, wrote to him, and he readily and very courteously agreed to receive our representative at Batt's Hotel, Dover Street, where he was staying.

Sir John is probably about sixty, tall and thin, with a head and face distinctly Beaconsfieldian. One was reminded at once, and irresistibly, by the features of the great leader of the Conservatives in Canada, of the late great leader of the Conservatives in England. He is evidently one who does not waste much time over preliminaries, for our interviewer had barely exchanged greetings, and thanked him for his courtesy in receiving him, especially as his visit was so short and his time consequently so precious, when he plunged *in medias res*, and was soon deep in Imperial and Colonial politics.

Canada, he said, now numbered, he believed, fully five millions of inhabitants. It was difficult to take a perfectly, or even an approximately, accurate census, as the country was so vast and the population in some parts so widely scattered, but he believed that the Canadians were now quite as strong numerically as he had stated. In a decade there would, there was every reason to believe, be twice five millions. These millions were loyal. There could be no mistake about that. The loyalty of Canadians had been demonstrated again and again. Canada was a Confederation. Canadian confederation had become possible when the different provinces surrendered their right to levy indirect taxes. The provinces and the municipalities had power to raise revenue for local purposes by direct taxation. Practically, the Dominion Parliament was limited to indirect taxation.

Asked whether the federation of the British Empire could not be brought about in a similar way, and on a similar basis, Sir John said, No. As regarded Canada the reason lay in the last-named fact. The Dominion could never resign its right of levying indirect taxes, as practically the Dominion was limited to that mode of taxation—the raising of revenue by excise and customs—in raising money for Dominion purposes as distinguished from provincial and municipal purposes. An Imperial *Zollverein* was then instanced; such as had been suggested by some. Mr. Forster was quoted to the effect that in order to this there must be no indirect taxation, or it must be levied everywhere upon the same articles and to the same amount; that newly-formed communities could not be expected to raise their revenue solely by direct taxation; but that the abolition of all customs or excise, except upon intoxicating liquors and tobacco, would make an Imperial *Zollverein* possible. Sir John thought that though a fiscal union in that way was possible, it was not probable.

Asked whether he considered the difficulties in the way of such a federation of the Empire as the Imperial Federation League aimed at to be insuperable, he replied, certainly not insuperable. He thought, however, that the way to begin was by treaty. As to trade, so long as England acted on free trade principles she had nothing really to give, no advantage to concede to her Colonies; but he had noticed a change coming about in public opinion in England in regard to this question. He had reasons for believing that several prominent English statesmen were disillusionised, but they fear to avow themselves, lest they should be adjudged to belong to the “stupid party.” No alteration would be made in the trade policy of Great Britain till there was a movement from below from the masses, and then statesmen must give way. Such a movement from below had, he thought, begun. When England should be ready to deal with the Colonies they could reciprocate in this way. Take woollens and cottons as an example. Suppose the Canadian duties on them to be 25 per cent. to England and all the rest of the world: they might remain at 25 per cent. to England, and be raised to, say, 35 per cent. to the rest of the world. The question of defence would also be made a matter of treaty. It should first of all be ascertained what naval and military contingent each colony, or group of colonies, could supply. It might be arranged for the increase of this contingent on an equitable basis from time to time. The responsibility and measure of obligation on each colony should also by treaty arrangement be greater or less according to the contingency. For example, in case of war with Russia: Russia could not touch Canada except on the Pacific coast; whereas Australia with

her extended coast-line would be seriously exposed. Then, on the other hand, in a war with the United States, Canada would be the exposed part and might be called upon for her last man and last shilling. Potentially they had conscription; in Canada every man was in theory a militiaman, and could be called upon for service. There was no occasion for doing this, however, as the number of volunteers was so great as to be adequate to the need in a normal condition of things; but such, nevertheless, was the power they had. These men, too, were unsurpassed in physique. Then, although Canada had now no navy, she had a large mercantile marine. In this respect they came fourth among the nations; they themselves thought they were third; but they were certainly fourth. And their fishermen who had to work their extensive fisheries, and navigate their stormy seas, were among the finest men of their class in the world.

Questioned as to the representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Councils, the Canadian Premier said that the Colonies would certainly expect to be consulted, but he thought that for Colonial representatives to sit in the Imperial Parliament would not benefit either the mother country or the Colonies. Numerically the colonial members would be too weak to be of much weight, consequently they would be tempted to think only of securing advantages for their several Provinces, and would seek the favour of the ministry of the day. So Colonial representatives would not be able to make their voice heard with the effect that, say, Ireland and Scotland, parts of the Empire close at hand, could, and hence they would be tempted to do the best they could for themselves.

In fine, Sir John Macdonald thought that it was desirable to federate groups of colonies as had been done in Canada, as was being done in Australia, and as it had been proposed to do in South Africa; that then these groups of colonies should enter by treaty into an engagement with the mother country for the purpose of common defence and such other purposes as were feasible. In this we should have a guarantee for the peace of the Empire and of the world. There is no nation so strong that she would not hesitate then to embark on a war with England, for she would know that she would not be fighting one nation, but three or four. The British race would become the police of the world. This was coming to pass; he would not live to see it, but those who were living in twenty or twenty-five years' time would.

By this time two other visitors had been announced, and our interviewer, not wishing to trespass too long, wished the Canadian statesman "Good morning" and came away.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE.—It will be observed that there are now no fewer than fifty-nine members of the House of Commons who are members of the General Committee of the League.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE.—At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on January 13th, the following were elected as members of the General Committee:—G. Beith, Esq., M.P.; L. L. Cohen, Esq., M.P.; A. Cameron Corbett, Esq., M.P.; Baron Dimsdale, M.P.; W. Ewart, Esq., M.P.; Col. King-Harman, M.P.; W. Johnston, Esq., M.P.; H. Kimber, Esq., M.P.; H. L. W. Lawson, Esq., M.P.; S. Montagu, Esq., M.P.; W. P. Pomfret, Esq., M.P.; Col. Coysgarne Sim; W. Tipping, Esq., M.P.; S. Trevail, Esq.; Sir Richard Webster, M.P.; H. Waterhouse, Esq.; and Philip Vanderbyl, Esq., M.P.

FAIRFIELD.—A lecture bearing on the question of the Federation of the Empire was given before the members of the Fairfield Literary and Debating Society on January 18th, by Mr. J. F. Heyes, M.A., F.R.G.S. For some account of it see "Notes from the Liverpool Branch."

HULL.—On Saturday the 16th ult. the members of the United Liberal Club debated the subject of "Imperial Federation," which was introduced by Mr. E. E. Cohen. The introducer stated that there were a great many political thinkers who assert that the question was not yet within the range of practical politics, and others who dubbed it "Utopian." It could not be Utopian, or we should not find partisans leaving party to grapple with the question. The Liberal party was often accused of a desire to cast aside the colonial responsibilities of the Empire, yet we found the foremost men in the party supporting the principles of Federation, Lord Rosebery, the Marquis of Lorne, Professor Bryce, W. E. Forster, Sir Lyon Playfair, and he asked what could inspire Britons more than the principles of "National Unity," an idea they applauded in the German, and admired in the Italian. All around we had seen the spirit of "expansion." Our Colonies, once small dependencies, had grown into large and populous States, governed on the same broad principle as our own land. They had the right to formulate their own marriage laws, disestablish their State Church, amend their criminal procedure, pass Franchise Bills, or redistribute their seats; in fact, they could amend all their domestic Acts of Parliament. They could construct a navy or raise an army of volunteers, but there they must stop; no farther did we allow them to

go. We conferred upon them no rights of participation in our foreign policy. The question, therefore, resolved itself into this, How long would they be inclined to submit to this subordination on the one hand and self-government on the other? He then proceeded to argue in favour of Federation. He felt that by the carrying out of this policy benefits would accrue to our domestic policy, and more time could be given to home affairs if foreign policy were relegated to the care of those who would sit as a High Imperial Parliament. It would remove foreign policy from the grasp of party politicians, a policy too often made a stalking horse of at each general election. He concluded by moving, "That this meeting is of opinion that the political relations between Great Britain and her Colonies must inevitably lead either to Federation or Disintegration. To avoid the latter and secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential, but that no scheme shall interfere with the rights of local Parliaments to manage local affairs." Mr. G. W. Richardson seconded the motion, and an animated discussion took place, in which Messrs. J. Glover, G. Whitton, B. Mundell, Isaacs, Carlton, W. G. Walter, P. Rowley, the Chairman, and others took part. Mr. Anderson spoke at some length in favour of the resolution dwelling on the ultimate benefits that would result from federation. Mr. Cohen replied. An amendment was moved and withdrawn, and the original resolution was carried by a large majority. This result, we feel, was very satisfactory. Could not Mr. Cohen, or Mr. Richardson, or one of the other gentlemen whose convictions are on the side of Imperial Federation, take the initiative and proceed to the formation of a branch of the League in Hull? In such a case we shall be glad to hear from either of them.

LIVERPOOL.—Some interesting items have been received from this branch, and will be found by our readers in another column. The branch is fortunate in having so able and energetic a secretary as it has in the person of Mr. Sebright Green, who is thoroughly alive to everything which may be helpful to the movement. It was intended by our Liverpool friends to entertain Sir John Macdonald at lunch on his passing through their city on his return to Canada, but they were disappointed, as the Canadian Premier was closely pressed for time. It is to be hoped that they will be more fortunate on a future occasion.

LONDON:—JEWISH WORKING MEN'S CLUB.—On Saturday evening, January the 23rd, a debate was opened by Mr. L. Birnstingl on Colonial Federation. This institution, which is situated in Great Alie Street, Goodman's Fields, is probably the largest working men's club in England, there being upwards of 1,500 members. Mr. L. L. Alexander presided. Mr. Birnstingl, in an able address occupying upwards of half an hour, moved the following resolution:—"That the connection between England and her colonial possessions is mutually advantageous, and should be made closer with a view to future federation." Mr. Birnstingl pointed out that although it was anticipated that in 50 years' time the population would be double, England was already quite full, and it was desirable, seeing how much territory there practically was unoccupied in the Colonies, that England should have opportunities, in order not to lose her trade supremacy, to send her unemployed population there. Mr. Birnstingl adduced important statistics with regard to the trade of England and other countries, and discussed the most important schemes for federation which had already been brought prominently forward. The resolution was seconded by Mr. J. M. Lissack, Junr., and supported by Messrs. J. Blank, L. L. Alexander, Lyons Proops, J. Karet, and J. Goldberg. All speakers agreed upon the principle of the resolution, the discussion being principally on the various schemes of federation. The resolution was carried unanimously, about 50 members being present.

LONDON, ST. GEORGE'S CLUB.—The members of the St. George's Club, Hanover Square, entertained Sir John Macdonald at dinner on January 4th. A report of his speech will be found elsewhere. The patriotic and statesmanlike sentiments to which the Canadian Premier gave expression on this occasion were most cordially applauded by the gentlemen present.

MONTREAL.—A meeting of the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held, on Dec. 21st., in the rooms of the Association, 15, Phillips Square. Mr. Henry Lyman occupied the chair. After some remarks by the chairman, Professor Johnson moved, and Mr. John Lewis seconded, the following resolution:—

Resolved.—First,—That as one means whereby the unity of the Empire may be maintained, it is of the highest importance that the information which the Mother Country and Canada daily receive concerning one another should pass directly between them, and not be coloured, as it must inevitably be, by transmission through foreign channels.

Secondly,—That this meeting is, therefore, strongly of opinion that a petition should be presented by the Imperial Federation League to the Dominion Government, praying it to take such steps as it may deem best fitted, by money grant and otherwise, to encourage the formation of an organisation by the Canadian press, independent of party, for the purpose of securing a daily telegraphic interchange of news with the Mother Country, which shall be free of all influence external to the Empire.

Thirdly,—That the Secretary be instructed to forward this to the Executive of the League in Canada.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Thomas McFarlane then read a paper in which he proposed "A Means of Fostering Imperial Trade and of raising an internal Revenue." This paper will be found *in extenso* on another page.

An informal discussion took place, in which most of the members present took part, the majority of them approving of the plan proposed by Mr. McFarlane.

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed. The paper was, on motion, laid on the table for further discussion, and the meeting adjourned.

The *Montreal Daily Herald* reports that at the annual dinner of the University Literary Society in that city, the subject of Imperial Federa-

tion and the future of Canada was discussed. The president of the society, Mr. Arch McGonn, occupied the chair, and in proposing the toast of "The Empire," said that although people still continued to honour loyal toasts, they did so to-day with a better idea of the greatness of the Empire. He remarked that the tendency of modern nations is towards grouping together those which have political affinities, and after reviewing the histories of Rome and Greece, he said that the British Empire should profit by the lessons taught by the downfall of these mighty empires, and not allow the British Empire, which was the work of centuries, the aggregation of so many people of different races, all enjoying happiness with the greatest security for life, character, and property, to crumble to pieces. Mr. R. C. Smith, in responding to the toast, said that all true friends of Canada should strive to further its prosperity and prestige by strengthening the bond which united it to the Mother Country. The federation of the whole Empire would be one of the greatest achievements of history, and would unite into one powerful union a multitude of interests which on the surface appeared conflicting, but which were really one.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Hon. H. Finch-Hatton, who contested one of the Nottingham divisions in the late general election, has been lecturing in that town on "England and her Colonies." A report of this lecture (which is given on another page) our readers will be glad to peruse. There is considerable interest felt in the town on the subject of federation, partly the result of Mr. Finch-Hatton's exposition and advocacy of it. The Nottingham papers, we note, discuss it as often as those of any of our large towns. Evidently the question is ripening in the great lace emporium, and there is every reason to anticipate that soon a branch of the League will be established in this important centre.

PLYMOUTH.—This town seems to be ripening for the establishment in it of a branch of the League. The question of federation has been discussed at the Institute, and the sentiments expressed create the belief that if some one would take the initiative the required number of members would soon be obtained, and a strong and useful branch formed.

NOTES FROM THE LIVERPOOL BRANCH.

AFTER the elections were over Christmas came upon us too quickly for much work to be done in the way of meetings or discussions upon Imperial Federation. The question has been mooted amongst the members of utilising the organisation of the branch and its staff and office for disseminating information upon emigration, and also upon subjects connected with the coming Colonial Exhibition in London; the executive committee have expressed their readiness to fall in with any suggestions for forwarding the interests of any movement tending to promote or forward Colonial interests in any way.

The committee were much disappointed in not having the privilege of entertaining Sir John A. Macdonald on his way through Liverpool. Every arrangement had been made for an entertainment, provision being made for the attendance of upwards of one hundred members; but the Canadian Premier only arrived in Liverpool a few hours before the departure of the *Oregon*, by which he sailed, and all that the members of this branch could do was to attend on the landing stage, which they did in considerable numbers, to see Sir John off, and to wish him a prosperous voyage.

One of the members of this branch, Mr. J. F. Heyes, M.A., F.R.G.S., gave a most interesting lecture to the members of the Fairfield Literary and Debating Society on Monday, 18th January. Unfortunately, the evening was most inclement, and the audience in consequence smaller than it would have been under other circumstances—much smaller than the vastness of the subject, which was "The British Empire," and the ability of the lecturer warranted us in expecting. Mr. Heyes took his audience entirely round the vast British Empire, starting from Liverpool, *via* Queenstown to Newfoundland, and thence across the Dominion of Canada to British Columbia in the far west, giving some valuable information about each Province as he passed somewhat rapidly through them. From British Columbia the course was plain sailing to Australia, and the history of the acquisition of each colony in Austral (southern) Asia was given. The Indian Empire next claimed attention, with a passing reference to the recent acquisition of Burmah. The South African Colonies were also visited, and the West Indies. Mr. Heyes held his audience in rapt attention for an hour and a half.

After the lecture was over Mr. Sebright Green, honorary secretary of the Liverpool branch, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, drew the attention of the members of the society to the principles advocated by the League, and in reply to certain questions as to how Imperial Federation was to be practically carried out, urged upon the members of the Debating Society to introduce different schemes for giving the Colonies some share of the Government of the Empire, so that the subject might come up for discussion at their fortnightly meetings, and promised them that, when they had formulated and passed a scheme which they thought satisfactory, he would pass it up for review by others who were thinking the matter out.

"There is no reason," said Mr. Green, "why some of you members of this young debating society, amongst whom I doubt not are some of the future councillors and law-makers for this city, should not be the authors of a scheme which shall ultimately be accepted by the whole British Empire as the basis of the constitution which is destined in the future to admit representatives from all the British Colonies to a share in the Government of the Empire in matters Imperial."

The Chairman, Mr. Grundy, who is largely engaged in Colonial trade, followed with some very forcible remarks upon the desirability of so consolidating the great British Empire that we may be able to dictate peace to the world, and urged the members of the society to join the Imperial Federation League, which although political was entirely free from party bias, having amongst its members eminent statesmen of all shades of politics, and from all parts of the Empire.

THE PRESS ON "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

FROM a multitude of press notices of IMPERIAL FEDERATION which have reached us, almost all of a favourable kind, we select the following:—

It furnishes a large amount of information as to the progress of the federation movement at home and in the colonies.—*Literary World*.

The first number is voluminous, but carefully edited, and replete with varied information relating to the important questions, interests, and results of federation.—*Halifax Courier*.

The contents are well written, concise, and interesting, and doubtless the publication will quickly establish a footing for itself.—*Accrington Gazette*.

It contains able articles.—*Globe*.

Has entered upon its task with much spirit and equal judgment. . . . We wish our contemporary success in its great work.—*Empire*.

The first number of this new monthly is decidedly attractive in appearance and matter.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

The first number of the Journal of the Imperial Federation League has made its appearance, and it promises well.—*Figaro*.

We wish it success.—*Colliery Guardian*.

We would wish every one, whatever his opinions may happen to be, to read and study this first number very carefully.—*Metropolitan*.

The first number, just issued, is undoubtedly able and interesting.—*Nonconformist and Independent*.

From a journalistic point of view, the programme is well arranged.—*British and Colonial Printer*.

It ought to be found in all public reading rooms.—*Folkestone Express*.

The new venture is a substantial looking production, and its contents prove that the movement has gained a powerful footing in the country. The articles are from the pens of distinguished writers, and are exceedingly weighty and interesting.—*Edinburgh Evening Express*.

We have the first number of the Journal of the "Imperial Federation League," established for the purpose of advocating and diffusing information in reference to the Federation of the British Empire. The supreme interest now felt in this question should be sufficient to guarantee the success of the venture, if conducted on its present lines.—*Bookseller*.

It is a production which wears a look of business and of success. It promises to form a valuable repertory of facts and arguments upon a subject of vast scope and of home-coming importance.—*Edinburgh Evening News*.

We hail the new-comer with pleasure, and trust that its career may be not only prosperous but successful.—*Huddersfield Weekly News*.

The articles which the new publication contains are numerous, and written in such a pungent style, that they cannot fail to awaken the minds of the readers to a thoughtful reality of the importance of the subjects dealt with.—*South Wales Critic*.

It is crammed with "Imperial Federation" from the first page to the last. The paper is well written, and will be of great interest.—*Leicester Daily Post*.

Undoubtedly the present time is peculiarly appropriate for the appearance of a paper devoted to instructing the community on this great question.—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

The new year opens with the production of the first number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the new organ of the Imperial Federation League. In one able article the causes which gave rise to the origin and have stimulated the progress of the League are clearly and concisely stated, and in another is shown the practicability of the object which the League holds in view. There can be no doubt that the energy and enthusiasm with which this movement has sprung into existence is a sure and certain sign of its ultimate success in cementing closely and permanently together the great and varied interests comprised in the British Empire.—*Paddington Times*.

The prominence which has of late been given to the question of Imperial Federation has justified the members of the Federation League in starting an organ of their own. Such a journal can scarcely fail to commend itself to a large section of readers who believe that the more closely the Colonies are united to the Mother Country the greater will be the prosperity of the Empire as a whole. At the early meetings of the Federation League, Liberals as well as Conservatives took part, so that the editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, in his introductory article, is wise in announcing that the journal will hold itself aloof from all parties except the one party of Imperial Federationists.—*Belfast News Letter*.

In welcoming IMPERIAL FEDERATION to the ranks of journalism, we are especially glad to see that the League of which the new journal is the organ has taken up the challenge which we ventured to give it some few months ago. What is the use, we said, of the Imperial Federation League talking big about schemes in the dim and distant future, so long as it leaves untouched the indispensably preliminary questions in the immediate present? Chief among these preliminaries to federation we mention an improvement in the means of communication, and the League, we are glad to see, is going to take the matter seriously in hand and go for "Federation through the Post Office." All the tall talk about Australia being as much an integral part of the Empire as Yorkshire is mere moonshine as long as in the former case it costs sixpence to send a letter instead of a penny, and a sovereign to send a telegram instead of sixpence.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

The cause of Imperial Federation seems to be looking up again. A new lease of life has been taken and a new departure made with the New Year. That new departure is interesting enough in itself, as well as characteristic of the times. It consists in the issue of an organ of the Imperial Federation League, and which it is intended to publish

monthly, with the object of disseminating news and ventilating opinions with regard to the various aspects of the scheme. The idea is not a bad one. . . . The mind of the country has not yet been steadily turned to the matter. The subject has received a perfunctory sort of attention, and a *staccato* kind of discussion, but save among the members of the League it has not yet attained the consistency of an article of political faith. As we believe that the sooner it attains that consistency the better for the Empire at large, we like to hope for the best from the new literary venture of the League.—*Glasgow Herald*.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

IN the first number of the excellent new journal called IMPERIAL FEDERATION there is an interesting letter on "Imperial Penny Postage." It has more than once been suggested by ardent Federationists that there should be a uniform rate of penny postage for the whole of the British Empire, and certainly the scheme has its attractive side. It would undeniably help to bind together the different parts of the Empire, would strengthen the ties between members of one of those typical English families which have one son in Canada, another in Australia, and another at Singapore, and would stimulate trade both between colony and colony, and between each colony and the Mother Country. But what would it cost? The loss on the existing foreign and colonial service is returned at £364,000, of which £220,000 applies to India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong. We pay large sums to the great steamship lines which carry the mails, and they in return are bound by contract to go at a defined rate of speed. There is a difference of something like five knots an hour in favour of the English line between the "P. and O." and the Messageries Maritimes or Austrian Lloyds, and so expensive is high speed at sea that a large part of the subsidy is swallowed up in coal. It does not appear, therefore, that the present loss on the postal service within the Empire can be diminished. The high speed required is a constant item of expense. As a general thing, steamers will not go at that rate unless they are specially paid to do it. Are we then prepared to still further increase the burden on the taxpayer by a cheapening of the postal rates which will diminish the total returns, while the expenses remain the same? The answer of the Federationists is simply that the total returns will not be diminished. They even hope that they may be increased. Six letters, they say, will be sent where one is sent now, and that means 6d. as against 2½d. And, in accordance with the principle on which Sir Rowland Hill founded the penny post for the United Kingdom, the transport of six letters will cost, broadly speaking, no more than the transport of one. It is for some one who knows the circumstances of the present postal service to say whether the mails could be increased to this enormous extent without running fresh steamers and so increasing expenses in a still greater ratio. It is also to be borne in mind that the great mass of the letters for India and Australia go by the overland route, and France and Italy have to be paid for their transport. Will they consent to take a smaller sum per mail bag in view of having a much larger number of bags to carry? The whole subject is one which would have greatly interested the late Professor Jevons, and on which he would probably have written the final word. Is there no living economist who combines Jevons' grasp of economic principles and immense knowledge of facts, and who will be prepared to say whether this idea of the Federationists is a happy piece of rational audacity or a mere chimera?—*Manchester Guardian*.

RECENT PRESS UTTERANCES ON FEDERATION AND COGNATE SUBJECTS.

THE *Carnarvon Herald* on January 16th had a leader on the subject of Imperial Federation, and in the course of it said:—

"It is unquestionable that ere long this matter of federation will come to the front with a vigour which will compel attention. The state of affairs just now is this: that the people of these islands by their voice at an election determine the policy of the whole empire. For instance, in the case of New Guinea, Great Britain settled the matter in which Australia had paramount interest, and the Australians were vastly dissatisfied with the manner in which it was settled. So again in regard to South Africa. It is the Ministers who were placed in power by the population of these islands that threw away the Angra Pequena territory, that refuses to annex the Zululand coast line, and that, by their pendulum policy in regard to the Transvaal and other matters, so seriously disordered business. Yet the colonists of the Cape and Natal, while they have the closest interest in these affairs, have no controlling voice. Canada, too, in regard to its fisheries, has to negotiate with the United States through the Home Government. And so with other matters. Downing Street controls the Empire, and the different communities composing the Empire over-seas have no part or lot in choosing who shall compose the Cabinet. We need a legislature which shall be imperial in the true sense of the term."

The *Norwich Mercury* of January 9th declares:—

"Sir John Macdonald's strong declaration in favour of Imperial Federation has given the greatest impulse to the movement which it has yet received. English statesmen who are Imperial Federalists can, from the nature of the case, only indulge in pious aspirations to be realised only by a Colonial demand for unity with the Mother Country. But when the Prime Minister of the Dominion, speaking in the name of Canada, takes Sir John Macdonald's line, we are brought very near indeed to the time when the Colonial Secretary must take action to ascertain what the other colonies think. Probably, however, it will need a great war to bring about federation, as it needed a great war to unify Germany."

The *Montreal Daily Herald* of December 4th remarks:—

"The New York *World* says that the Democratic House of Repre-

sentatives is bound to abolish war taxes and to reduce the public burdens as much as possible. . . . The Democratic House is bound to readjust the tariff so as to remove irregularities to prevent discrimination in favour of capital against labour, &c. As the *World* is the foremost journalistic representative of the party in power, it may be that there really is something in the statement, so frequently made before the American elections, that the success of the Democrats would open the way to reasonable reciprocity arrangements with Canada. The advocates of Imperial Federation will please cast their eye in this direction, because the establishment of a basis for increased trade with the United States would go far towards elevating the Imperial Federation idea beyond the extremest soaring of the famed Mr. Gildroy's kite, unless, indeed, Lord Salisbury sees his way to that adjustment of tariff in favour of Colonial produce, concerning which some proposals have been made.

The *Glasgow Herald* in a long article in its issue of January 16th says:—

"Any scheme of Imperial Federation, to have the remotest chance of success, must work from the outside. We cannot persuade the Colonies to confederate with the Mother Country and the other Colonies unless they feel the natural impulse within themselves. The force which must draw us all together must be of the nature which the Duke of Argyll pointed out as the acting force in the case of the United States; it must be centripetal. If we begin by formulating a scheme at home, and attempting to force it down the throats of the Colonists, with or without jam, however admirable be the design, and however desirable the results it would provide, we shall assuredly transform the current of sentiment into a centrifugal one, which would be for ever fatal to Confederation. Therefore, and at this particular time, it is certainly reassuring to have such very clear and elevated utterances as those delivered by Sir John A. Macdonald the other day in London. The Premier of Canada is not exactly a politician after our own heart, and we have often had occasion to criticise his policies and his acts very severely. Still, Sir John is essentially a Canadian, and has been so long connected with the public affairs of the Dominion that he should be well qualified to feel the pulse of public opinion there. In Canada, he says, he has sat at the cradle of Federation—which sounds very well, but really does not mean very much, since the Confederation of the North American Colonies had nothing in it of the nature or design of an Imperial Confederation. The Canadian Confederation, although not an unqualified success, has grown, as Sir John says, into "manly youth," and has large promise of vitality. Not only for this, but also because the North American Colonies are our oldest dependencies, the Premier of Canada is well entitled to be heard, and because of these things his voice should carry weight and emphasis to every quarter of the Empire, and what he said was this, that in Canada the people are prepared to accept the increased responsibility implied by Imperial Federation; they are ready to join the Mother Country in the offensive and defensive, and they are willing to expend their last shilling and sacrifice their last man in defence of the Empire and the flag of England. This, then, is the spirit which must prevail over the whole Empire before any scheme of actual, and not merely nominal and sentimental, Federation can be possible."

The following is culled from a vigorous leader in the *Nottingham Daily Express* of January 8th:—

"Is it courage that we lack, or is it want of intelligence which prevents our looking the present political situation fairly and fully in the face? That we, as a nation, have not faced it, and show no decisive intention of facing it, is plain enough to every thinking man whose mental vision is not dimmed by the cataract of party animosities. Our Constitution is like one of the old three-deckers with which Nelson won such glorious victories for his country. It has fallen out of date. Grand and powerful as it must ever appear to us, and dear as it must ever remain to every Englishman, it no longer answers its full purpose, and those who love and reverence it most will be those who, while cherishing and guarding the vital principles on which it was built, will shirk no effort to adapt it to the present requirements of the Empire. It moves too slowly and turns too ponderously for our needs, and it requires alteration in itself and the assistance of rapidly moving "satellites" to perform the numberless secondary duties which it no longer possesses the capability of discharging. . . . It is not only Ireland which wants some kind of Parliament for the transaction of its own local business, but England and Scotland, and possibly Wales also. Take the case of England alone. We have railways which pay bounties on foreign imports in the shape of differential rates. Parliament has been petitioned again and again for many years to stop this scandalous abuse, but has no time even to give it a thought. We have a criminal law which is most complicated and antiquated. It has been admirably codified, and for ten years successive Governments have essayed to pass the codification, but have never had the time. We have dense populations huddled together in great towns in a manner disgraceful to our civilisation. Parliament talks about it most humanely, but can find no time to pass more than a very inadequate measure just touching the fringe of the question. We have lunacy laws admittedly rotten at the core, but at the present rate of progress our grandchildren may perhaps hope to see 'something done' when they are old and we are forgotten. Our licensing laws, our education laws, our land laws all need amendment; but they, with a number of other questions, must remain as they are until we possess a Parliamentary Constitution more adapted to our extended wants. It is not merely local Government for Ireland that we want, but Federation, with some such system of popular State Councils, with an Imperial Parliament at the head of them, that Mr. Gladstone foreshadowed over five years ago in his Midlothian speeches. No one would object to Ireland sharing in a federalisation scheme which applied to each part of the United Kingdom. The main objection to granting the Irish a local Parliament of their own is, that dealing with them separately at the present time is perilously akin to capitulating to disloyalty."

The *Belfast News Letter*, making reference to a previous article on Imperial Federation, says :—

"It is sincerely to be hoped the people of these realms will enlarge their views, and learn to regard in anything but an apathetic spirit a question which so vitally affects their interests. In the first place, it is necessary that we go to the very root of the present lax state of affairs, and till that be done discussion will be useless. And where is the sore to be found that is enfeebling the power for accomplishing great ends of the entire Imperial system? We need not wander far for a reply. It will be discovered in the Colonial Department, and the state of public opinion towards that Department. The superintendence of the concerns of the Provinces of the Empire devolves in a special sense upon the Colonial Department. That that superintendence has been far from in the main of a satisfactory character the want of harmony so frequent between England and her Colonies proves. It may be that the plan of control is not adapted to modern requirements, that it is too narrow and impossible of reconciliation to the measure of liberty we have granted to the Colonies; but, be that as it may, the fact is patent something is wrong, and it is high time that something wrong be put right if the unity and prosperity of the Empire are to be preserved. The supply of a remedy can, however, not be expected so long as the Colonies are looked upon with indifference by the people of the United Kingdom, or as simply places to which discontented or unfortunate individuals at home may remove in the uncertain hope of improving their circumstances. . . . So long as the Colonial Department is let alone, it is in human nature that the Department will take its ease, and so disastrous consequences may reveal themselves when their prevention will be too late. What is essentially required, therefore, is an enlightened and healthy public opinion brought to bear upon the Colonial Department, and when this has been accomplished the first practical step will have been taken towards the realisation of Imperial Federation."

PLYMOUTH MEN ON THE QUESTION OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

MEMBERS of the Plymouth Institute at a recent meeting had under discussion the important question of Imperial Federation.

The REV. PROFESSOR CHAPMAN, M.A., who opened the debate, after speaking cursorily on the primary duty of all Governments to carry out the will of the people, declared that he believed in the brotherhood of mankind, and was of opinion that every part of the British Empire should have a voice in the conduct of the affairs of that Empire. The argument that a federation implied an equality between the parts federated, and that this equality did not exist between Great Britain and her Colonies, he thought to be of little weight. British Colonies should have some voice in the decision of great Imperial questions, such as peace and war, and all such as were essential to the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire. Of course, there would be some rule of proportion, whether of population alone, or population combined with other considerations. It would also be matter for consideration whether they should have a direct representation, or whether some form of delegation would have to be adopted. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Cape enjoyed the protection of the Crown as much as Great Britain and Ireland, and yet they did not pay one farthing for it. Some objectors would say that this question of finance would be the one on which the Colonies would raise an objection to closer unity, but he was of opinion that if they were shown that advantages were to accrue to them they would be willing to pay. The form the proposed federation should take was, he admitted, at present a great difficulty, but though public opinion might not be sufficiently ripe it must become a practical question in the near future. A number of federations already existed in the world, from which Great Britain might learn though it did not copy. In Canada, for instance, there was a confederation of provinces which at one time were separately governed, but which now each had its legislature, for its "home rule," and also its central legislature. Then in the United States there was, perhaps, the most remarkable instance of federation. There were to be found independent States so far as their own affairs were concerned, and yet the federation of the whole of the States in order to maintain the welfare of the community as a whole. There were also the German States under the Emperor William, and in Austria they saw, perhaps, the most singular confederation to be found. Austria had a legislature, Hungary had a legislature, and yet they possessed two representative bodies which had charge of the whole of the matters which belonged to the empire as an empire. Great Britain might not be able to imitate either of these, but there was no reason why the British people at home and abroad might not, by some modification of present arrangements and adaptation to new conditions, greatly strengthen the empire and benefit her people. On the colonial side it might be said there was no desire for this federation, but he believed that at the present time such a statement could not be justified, and that in the future there would be still less justification for it, for he believed there was an affinity between English-speaking people—they were of the same religion, the same antecedents, the same ideas, the same aspirations and ambitions. They had proved by the admirable way they had managed their own representative institutions that they were fitted to take part in the higher duties of legislation for the empire, and the necessity for a closer union was a matter that could not be ignored, because as the Colonies grew they might pass beyond the influence of Great Britain in the time to come. The making them parts of the Empire, with an equal share in the responsibilities and the honour and supremacy would be greatly appreciated by the Colonists, and would remove from them that spirit of provincialism which now characterised them, and must necessarily do so as long as they were denied the full rights of citizenship. On the British side of the question there would be the advantage that the national burden would be somewhat lightened; there would be the certainty of her keeping her Colonies, and there would, he thought, be less likelihood of war under a democracy than

under an oligarchy. The speaker concluded by quoting some of the opinions expressed in connection with the recent movements for Colonial Federation in support of his contention that there were indications that the views to which he had given utterance carried with them weight.

The REV. J. E. RISK expressed a conviction that the pith of the whole subject lay in the question as to where the authority to decide on peace and war should be vested. Unless there were some kind of autocracy in this matter there would be a danger, he thought, in the event of any great Power making a rapid descent on some part of the Empire, of there being a division of counsel.

MR. R. G. EDMONDS said he would like to see a federation of all the English-speaking peoples in the world, because he held that the only countries in which real liberty existed were those English-speaking countries. That which now divided them was the absurd and wicked doctrine of protection. They had raised up between them by that means a wall of brass, and natural sympathy and commercial intercourse were largely destroyed. No one wished more fervently than he to see a closer union between England and her Colonies.

MR. SMITH, in supporting the views of the opener of the discussion, enforced his opinion that federation should be brought about in the early future by an amusing reference to the conundrum, "Why does a dog wag his tail?" He urged that if the important question of federation was not soon dealt with, when England at last made overtures some of the Colonies would say "No. We are no longer the tail to be wagged; we are the dog." He created some amusement, too, by urging, apparently in sober earnest, that with a view to bringing about a confederation of the whole of the English-speaking people this country should apply to be included in the federation of the United States.

DR. BAMPTON said the question presented itself to him not so much in the form of whether or not federation could or should be brought about, but rather as to whether it was possible for England to get on without it, or for the Colonies to do so. Spain and Holland had fallen from first to third or fourth-rate powers because they lost their colonies, and with them much of their commerce.

MR. R. N. WORTH explained that his idea of a federation was that the representatives of the Empire would speak as one people. The question was one that must be faced in the early future, and he did not think it was one that would present insuperable difficulties to a real statesman.

MR. W. SQUARE, MR. WEBB, and CAPTAIN GILL having also taken part in the discussion, the REV. PROFESSOR CHAPMAN replied to some of the comments that had been made, and the meeting terminated.

AN IMPORTANT LETTER.

WHEN the Conference was held which led to the foundation of the Imperial Federation League, Mr. R. Murray Smith, C.M.G., Agent-General for the Colony of Victoria, attended, but did not feel at liberty, on account of his position, to take any part in the proceedings. In writing to his Government soon afterwards he reported the holding of the Conference and his attendance at it. This elicited the following reply :—

"PREMIER'S OFFICE, MELBOURNE, November 20, 1884.

"SIR,—In your letters of the 1st and 15th August last, you reported the holding of a conference on Imperial Federation, presided over by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., and you enclosed copies of the resolutions passed, but you stated that, in the absence of instructions, you did not feel warranted to take any part in the proceedings beyond silent attendance.

"2. These papers were laid before both Houses of Parliament on the 5th instant, and a recent telegram in the Melbourne journals notified that a further conference on the subject would be held in London on the 18th inst. Accordingly, on the 12th *idem*, I despatched to you a telegram, of which I enclose a copy herewith, authorising you to give a general support to the movement; and I would now explain a little more fully the considerations which have influenced me in this matter.

"3. The chief of these considerations is the very anomalous position which these Colonies occupy as regards, respectively—Local government and the exercise of Imperial authority. In relation to the first, the fullest measure of constitutional freedom and parliamentary representation has been conceded to the more important Colonies; but, as regards the second, we have no representation whatever in the Imperial system. Subjects of this part of the Empire may be deeply interested in the action, or, it may be, the inaction of the Imperial authorities, but they have no voice nor vote in those councils of the Empire to which her Majesty's Ministers are responsible; thus, in all matters in which the exercise of the Imperial authority has interests for them, that authority is, to all intents and purposes, an unqualified autocracy; on the one hand we are under constitutional government, on the other under an antiquated autocracy or bureaucracy.

"4. The weakness of this position has at times been most disadvantageously apparent, and its humiliation keenly felt. Lately, more especially when policy of the highest concern to the Australasian Colonies has had to be administered by the Imperial Government we have occupied the position of outside petitioners to the Colonial Office, with scarcely more influence than a county member of the House of Commons. I thankfully acknowledge the courtesy extended by the Colonial Office to yourself, as well as, I believe, to the other Colonial Agents-General; but it is something more than concessions of courtesy that is needed—Colonial interests are sufficiently important to entitle us to some definite position in the Imperial economy—to some tangible means of asserting, if necessary, our rights.

"5. It may be difficult to say in what way so vast and scattered an Empire can be federated; but any scheme that may be decided upon, while it cannot take from us anything that we at present possess, must give to the Colonies more tangible influence, and more legal and formal

authority than they have now. I, therefore, had no hesitation in directing you to give a general support to the idea, guarding, of course, our local self-government.

"6. A further consideration is, that Victoria, and, I am sure, Australasia, is and always has been heartily loyal both to the Throne and the Empire—a national sentiment which has never failed to express itself on every suitable occasion. The notion, before now openly propounded by Professor Goldwin Smith and others, of disintegrating the Empire by cutting off the Colonies, has, I am persuaded, little sympathy from Australasians—nor is this altogether a matter of sentiment—but we believe that the Colonies, justly and wisely governed, may be tributaries of strength to the parent State; that they and it may be mutually recipients of numberless advantages. I am sure that I speak the mind of the colonists generally in expressing our desire to remain, as now, an integral portion of the Empire; and it is in this view, therefore, that I desire to support the movement for Imperial Federation.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"JAMES SERVICE, Premier.

"Robert Murray Smith, Esq., C.M.G., Agent-General for Victoria, London."

THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

As the time approaches for the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition the activity of those who have to prepare for it increases. Day by day the reasons are multiplying why an exhibition of unusual interest and usefulness may be expected. It is said that from Canada entries for the Colonial Exhibition are still coming in, and that the total already received is sufficient to show that the Canadian Court ought to prove even more successful than the well-wishers of the Dominion had ventured to anticipate. It is expected that the shipments of the exhibits will very shortly be begun, if they have not already done so. As regards action in this country, we may add that satisfactory progress is being made with the necessary preparations, and that the Canadian section is quite clear, and ready for the reception of goods whenever they arrive. Lord Lorne has been appointed to the honorary post of President of the Canadian Commission; Viscount Monck has been similarly appointed vice-president; and an Order in Council has been passed by the Canadian Privy Council appointing as honorary members of the Commission any members of the Canadian Ministry who may happen to be in London during the time of the Exhibition.

Canada will occupy the central gallery along the gardens, and, in addition, a large proportion of the gallery where last year was the "machinery in motion," running exactly at the end of the central gallery, so that the Canadian Section, as a whole, will form a capital T, perhaps out of compliment to Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner of the Dominion in London. Canada has indeed 60,000 feet of space, and she can very usefully as well as artistically fill it. Canada means to show lumber in all its stages and ages; also the flora and fauna of the eighty degrees of longitude across the widest part of the great western continent. Her mines and metallurgy will be illustrated. From Nova Scotia and the Quebec alluvial valleys and the Rocky Mountains she will show gold in every shape in which gold is found all the world over. Then she will follow up with silver in all its shapes, then copper of the best, then iron, coal, and such a store of asbestos as has probably never been brought together before. One of the most important contributions will be in apatite, that mineral phosphate which figures so largely in the manufacture of artificial manures. In the way of agriculture we shall have wheat from old land and new land; barley—and Bay of Quinté barley stands first in American markets; oats—and Prince Edward Island oats are favourites even in the United States; cheese, butter, a fine display of ripe and preserved fruits, including the best looking apples in the world, and peaches galore—with which, even in "frosty Canada," they feed pigs, as they do in the Southern States of the Union. Probably, if all can be satisfactorily arranged, we shall see every variety of those cattle on which the Englishman's future meat supply must largely depend. In manufactures Canada will show what she can do in making woollen and cotton goods, how she can work up iron and copper, build wooden ships, use up her hides and leather, not in boots and shoes only, and that she is beginning to rival the Old Country in hardware; for there will be machinery in motion from Hamilton (Ontario), which is the Birmingham of Canada. The production of agricultural machinery will be illustrated, and the resources of Canada in fish oils and mineral oils will be exhibited. While exhibiting her fish, salt and dried and canned, her nets and her boats, Canada will also bring over live specimens of as many kinds of fish used in commerce as will conform either to the conditions of life in carefully prepared tanks or absence of corruption in "thick-ribb'd ice." There are 60,000 men employed in the Canadian fisheries, and the Dominion thinks these will prove an important factor in the Naval Reserve of the future Federation.

The Australasian Colonies are somewhat backward in their arrangements. This is the more to be regretted as his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has expressed a desire to make a preliminary inspection of the building in the middle of April. However, the responsible executive officers are expected to arrive shortly, several of them are already on their way home, and the remainder should be in London by the end of February. In the meantime (except in the case of New South Wales), the Agents-General, who have been appointed Executive Commissioners, can be consulted, and some preliminary arrangements and decorations authorised. Sir Saul Samuel occupies a difficult position. Sir Alexander Stuart is the Executive Commissioner, but he is not expected until April, and in the meantime the Agent-General is being constantly appealed to to sanction arrangements of one kind or another. The Government have certainly not consulted the interests of their colony by disregarding the wish of the Prince of Wales that the Agents-General should, in every instance, represent the

colony as Executive Commissioner. Mr. Loftus, the son of Lord Augustus Loftus, is the secretary of the New South Wales Court. He has arrived, but, in the absence of instructions, scarcely knows how to proceed. The s.s. Chusan has brought fifty tons of exhibits from Sydney, and the Orient, also shortly expected, if she has not already arrived, shipped another fifty tons. The Queen has graciously expressed her willingness to become patron of the Exhibition.

The Exhibition building is now open for the reception of exhibits. The pictorial decorations of the Colonial Hall are proceeding. Two bays have been allotted to each Colony, to be filled with views of the chief cities. The arrangements with respect to the disposal of Colonial wine have been notified. It will only be allowed to be sold at the public refreshment bars, and in the special Colonial Court, but may be given away in other parts of the building. All Victorian exhibits, except hops, grain, and similar produce, were to be shipped by the end of December. Mr. James Thomson, secretary to the Victoria Commission, left by the *Kaisar-i-Hind*, for London, on the 17th of December. The *Illustrated Handbook of Victoria* has been commenced, and it is anticipated that advance copies will be ready for presentation to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and other distinguished patrons of the Exhibition on the opening day. The catalogue, which will be more than usually bulky, is now ready for the printers. The timber exhibits, prepared under the direction of Mr. J. Cosmos Newbery and Mr. F. W. Barnard, were to be displayed in the Exhibition Buildings, Melbourne, December 3rd. Excluding the entries for the grain and wool sections, there will be close on 500 separate exhibitors, whose collective exhibits will represent an aggregate floor space of 26,000 square feet, and at least 10,000 feet of wall space. After making allowance for necessary passages, it will be seen that every available foot of space in the Victorian Court will be fully occupied. It is estimated that this Colony will be represented by more than 8,000 different exhibits. Over 8,000 gallons of wine have been entered for exhibition, and it is estimated that a practically unlimited quantity will, in addition, be available for sale in the special dining-rooms and wine-bars.

The following is a statement of the New Zealand exhibitors in the sections of art and manufacture at the Exhibition:—

	No.	Value.
Thames (approximate papers not yet received)	15	£300
Auckland	65	3,258
New Plymouth	5	144
Wanganui	11	320
Hawke's Bay	5	55
Wellington	61	7,580
Nelson	8	593
Marlborough	4	80
Christchurch	41	4,085
Timaru	4	33
Oamaru	2	29
Dunedin	46	3,791
Invercargill	15	326
	282	£20,594

This does not include the mining exhibits nor the building stones, which, so far as information already received goes, will be represented by about eighty exhibitors. Wool, grain, seeds, and other farming produce are also not included. We can safely put them down as being shown by 250 exhibitors; so that we may take it for granted that New Zealand will be represented by about 600 exhibitors. There will be also exhibits of New Zealand fruit, but the applications, except two from Auckland, have not yet arrived.

The New South Wales Government have purchased from the proprietors of the Mother Shipton Mine, at Temora, some remarkable specimens of gold for exhibition at Kensington. They are three in number, and the gold is almost as plentiful in them as the quartz. But the quantity of gold is not so attractive as the peculiar forms which the gold has assumed. These are very striking, and they include the very rare feature in specimens of the kind of gold crystals or octahedrons. The three specimens contain in all 305 oz. of gold, the value of which is £1,233. The largest of the specimens, weighing with the quartz 360 oz., contains 258 oz. of gold, the second contains 42 oz. of gold, and the third piece 11 oz.

India has what is called the middle court, with the south galleries and the south court, allotted to her. She may not take up the most space, but she has the most striking position. Bengal and Bombay have already made their plans. Bengal will astonish even the greatest admirers of her work. What will ladies think of a muslin so fine that a whole dress length can be conveniently put into an empty bottle of "Bass" or "Allsopp?" And as for the embroidered muslins, especially those hand-worked in gold, they have astounded even those who have been in the trade for years. So beauty and fashion will do well to look to Bengal early in the Exhibition period. Dacca will exhibit an infinite variety of the products of her looms and tambour-frames. Patna will display embroidered jackets and embroidered shoes. Filagree work in silver will be shown in profusion from Dacca, Moresheadabad, and Dinagepore. Dacca will also exhibit ivory-carvings, terra-cotta decorations, and horse-trappings, gold embroidered.

Bombay means to run Bengal very hard. From Ahmedabad there will come curtains in marone and blue, and brasswork of supreme excellence, as well as ivory bracelets or bangles elaborately carved, and brasswork, pierced, which are astonishingly fine. Surat will rival Ahmedabad in many respects, and, perhaps, surpass it in some kinds of embroideries. Poonah will be chiefly represented by its brazen images, and Junagur partly by its brasswork. Rewakanta will send carved stone panels of incredible intricacy of design, and Nasik some fine brass pots. Junagur is to have, besides its brass, a couple of wonderfully striking, if rough, gates made in the same factory; and Bombay itself will send enough pottery, of Oriental design and striking religious significance, from the Wonderland establishment, to stock half London.

PUBLICATIONS

Having Reference to Imperial Federation.

The following are suggested as works which treat more or less directly of the subject of Imperial Federation. They are given for the information of readers, and without committing the League to the views contained in any of them:—

- ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.** A Speech by the Hon. JOSEPH HOWE, delivered in the Nova Scotia Legislature, 11th March, 1854; and a "Letter to the Hon. Francis Hincks," written in London, March, 1855. Both published in vol. 2 of "The Speeches and Public Letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe." Boston, 1858.
- A COLONIST ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION.** By JEHU MATTHEWS, of Toronto. London, Longmans, 1872.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P. An article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February and March, 1885, pp. 201 and 552. Re-published by the Imperial Federation League.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By the Right Hon. the MARQUIS OF LORNE. London, 1885. Price 1s.
- A NATIONAL SENTIMENT.** Speech of Hon. EDWARD BLAKE at Aurora. Ottawa, E. A. PERRY, 1874.
- THE STORY OF OUR COLONIES.** By H. R. FOX BOURNE. London, James Hogg & Son, 1869.
- ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES.** By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, in "Short Studies on Great Subjects," vol. ii., p. 180.
- THE COLONIES ONCE MORE.** Ibid., page 348.
- THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF CANADA.** Papers by JEHU MATTHEWS, in *Canadian Monthly* for July, August, and December, 1875.
- THE DEFENCE OF GREAT AND GREATER BRITAIN.** By Captain J. C. R. COLOMB. London, Edward Stanford, 1880.
- THE FEDERAL STATES OF THE WORLD.** By Rev. J. N. DALTON, in *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1884, p. 96.
- A SCHEME FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION.** By Sir SAMUEL WILSON. Published in the *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1885, p. 590.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION FROM AN AUSTRALIAN POINT OF VIEW.** By JOHN DOUGLASS, late Premier of Queensland. Article in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1884.
- OUR GROWING AUSTRALIAN EMPIRE.** By Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1884, p. 138.
- AUSTRALIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONNEXION.** By Sir HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G., *Nineteenth Century* for May, 1884; p. 867.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.** Reprinted from the *British Colonial World*. 26, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.
- A WORLD EMPIRE.** By J. S. LITTLE. Radstock and Caslake, 2, Cross Lane, St. Mary-at-Hill, E.C.
- IMPERIAL UNION.** By the Hon. Mr. JUSTICE SHIPPARD, M.A., D.C.L. T. H. Grocott, Grahamstown.
- IMPERIAL FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.** By F. YOUNG. S. W. Silver & Co., Cornhill, 1876.
- THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.** By PROFESSOR SEELEY.
- INDIA FOR INDIA AND FOR ENGLAND.** By W. DIGBY. Talbot Bros., 81, Carter Lane.
- ADVANCE AUSTRALIA.** By the Hon. H. FINCH-HATTON.
- THE FORMATION OF A NATION.** By the Hon. F. X. MERRIMAN. Dormer, Greenmarket Square, Cape Town, 1885.
- FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.** By A. MCGOUN, B.A., B.C.L. Dawson Bros., Montreal.
- THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.** By SIR A. GALT, G.C.M.G. Stanford, 55, Charing Cross.
- IMPERIAL DEFENCE.** By COL. SIR CHARLES H. NUGENT, K.C.B., R.E.
- OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.** By the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P. Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh, 1875.
- SPEECH ON CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.** in House of Commons, 26th April, 1883. By W. FARRER ECROYD, M.P. London, P. S. King & Son, Parliamentary Agency, King Street, Westminster, S.W. Price 2d.
- PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS IN THE ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.** Among others:—
- Vol. XI. 1879—80:—
- Page 1.—EXTENDED COLONISATION A NECESSITY FOR THE MOTHER COUNTRY. By STEPHEN BOURNE, F.S.S.
- Page 88.—THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT.
- Page 133.—AN EMPIRE'S PARLIAMENT. By A. STAVELEY HILL, Esq., Q.C., M.P.

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS (Continued)—

Vol. XII. 1880—81:—

- Page 85.—THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA. By SIR ALEX. T. GALT, G.C.M.G.
- Page 213.—IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL PARTNERSHIP IN EMIGRATION. W. M. TORRENS, M.P.
- Page 346.—THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE. By FRANCIS P. LABILLIERE.

Vol. XIII. 1881—82:—

- Page 209.—THE COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES OF FEDERATION. By WILLIAM J. HARRIS, F.S.S.

Vol. XIV. 1882—83:—

- Page 222.—POSTAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE EAST: INDIA IN SIX DAYS, AUSTRALIA IN SIXTEEN DAYS. By WILLIAM CAMPBELL (late M.L.C.), Victoria, Australia.
- Page 391.—THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES TO THE EMPIRE, PRESENT AND FUTURE. Two Addresses delivered in Edinburgh and Greenock by SIR A. T. GALT, G.C.M.G.

Vol. XV. 1883—84:—

- Page 40.—OUR RELATIONS WITH CANADA AND GREAT COLONIES. By the Right Hon. the MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.I., G.C.M.G.

NOTICES.

We desire to remind all Members of the League that their Subscriptions for 1886 are now due, and there will be a great saving of expense and clerical labour if they will kindly remit the amount without delay. This notice applies to—

- (1) Original Donors, who are invited to renew their subscriptions annually, in whole or part.
- (2) Annual Subscribers of One Guinea or upwards, who are entitled to receive the publications of the League.
- (3) Subscribers of One Shilling as an annual Registration Fee. And
- (4) Subscribers of amounts between One Guinea and One Shilling.

We may point out that the work of the League depends entirely upon general voluntary subscriptions, and not upon subventions from individuals. Its work can only be effective in proportion as it is steadily and generously supported by the regular contributions of its members.

Secretaries of Branches are specially requested to bring this notice to the attention of their local members.

Subscriptions to the League may be made payable to "The Imperial Federation League," and should be addressed to the Secretary, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, S.W.

We respectfully invite all who are interested in the great movement we are seeking to promote to become subscribers to IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and to introduce the paper to their friends. The annual subscription may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It should be carefully noted [that it will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance. Subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary of the League.

Imperial Federation.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1886.

TO OUR READERS.

OUR readers—at least, the great majority of them who are our friends and well-wishers—will be glad to know that we have every reason to be pleased with the manner in which IMPERIAL FEDERATION has been received by the press and the public. From the great mass of press notices which have come to hand from every part of the three kingdoms we print elsewhere a selection, which will serve to show how warmly the Journal has been welcomed by the newspaper press of the country, and how keenly it and the cause it advocates is appreciated. We have also received privately, by letter and otherwise, from, perhaps, too generous and enthusiastic friends, expressions of cordial congratulation and good wishes. We beg now to tender our grateful acknowledgments, and to appeal for the hearty and continuous support of all who take a friendly interest in our work.

One important way in which help may be rendered is by obtaining subscribers. We have been told by one or two papers which have noticed IMPERIAL FEDERATION that "the price is prohibitive to all but the well-to-do." But

surely, when it is remembered that we engage to send the paper to any part of the world, postage prepaid, for the small sum of four shillings, it must be seen that there can be little occasion for any reasonable complaint as to the price. We would express the hope, therefore, that we shall receive during this month a considerable addition of names to our subscription list as the result of the exertions of friends.

Another way in which help may be rendered is the communication to the editor of items of intelligence relating to the movement, and the writing of letters for publication in our correspondence columns discussing it. We shall be especially glad to hear from our Colonial adherents and friends. The editor will be glad to have his attention drawn to any matter which may be deemed of interest and importance, and, at the same time, in any way relevant.

It cannot be too widely known, or too strongly emphasised, that both the League and the Journal, as such, hold aloof from all political parties, "except," as we phrased it in our first number, "the one party of Imperial Federationists." The editor will exercise the utmost care to keep the paper free from all party bias. It will be no easy task to avoid always the *semblance* of bias, for the subject discussed in these columns is essentially a political subject, and some may fancy sometimes that they can perceive a party leaning one way or another, when really there is none. The editor is glad, however, to be assured, as he has been, that, at least as regards the first number, he has "succeeded perfectly" in keeping off party lines.

The Committee of the League are anxious to extend its operations by the formation of branches, and the secretary will be happy to hear from gentlemen who may be willing to take the initiative in any part of the Empire, and to advise as to the steps which should be taken. All communications relating to the Journal should be addressed to the Editor, and all communications relating to the business of the League should be addressed to the Secretary, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

OCEANA.

THIS is the title of a new book by the well-known historian, Mr. J. A. Froude—a book which has been described as "the book of the season." It certainly has commanded much public attention and excited much interest. It may be said that any book from the pen of its distinguished author would be likely to do so; but we are glad to believe and know that the popularity which it has already achieved is not wholly owing to its authorship, but that the subject of which its author treats has been largely the occasion of it. That subject—the subject of the British Colonies, their inhabitants, present position, and future prospects, above all, their relation to the land which has produced them—is becoming with every passing day a subject of increasing interest to the people of Great Britain. The book is the outcome of a voyage which its author took in order to see the Colonies, and to ascertain personally the views of the Colonists on the subject in which he was principally interested, that subject being, presumably, Imperial Federation. That the book is not only a readable but a fascinating book we need hardly say—it "goes without saying." But in our eyes its chief interest and value centre in the fact that it adduces fresh evidence of the need for the federal union of the Empire, and of the readiness of a multitude of our kinsmen beyond the seas to do their part in bringing it about. Of course, our reference is to the British of Australasia, which Mr. Froude visited after visiting the Cape, where the mixed population, and the complications arising in consequence, present difficulties which are not found in colonies peopled, so far as the white element is concerned, by emigrants from the British Isles.

Mr. Froude had barely landed at Adelaide before he was, as he says, fairly captured by an interviewer, and put through his paces. Another came alongside at midnight,

and insisted upon seeing him, but was warned off by the kind care of the watch on deck. They wanted his opinion on federation, colonial and imperial; but Mr. Froude had travelled to the Antipodes to ascertain their opinions and not to give his own, and, therefore, was wary. He arrived in Australia just about the time of the German occupation of New Guinea, and he describes the excitement and indignation of Australians about it. "The anger," he says, "was directed as much at England as at Germany. As they could not act for themselves they thought that England ought to have acted for them, to have claimed New Guinea at once, and to have ordered the Germans out of it as peremptorily as the Americans ordered the French out of Mexico. They blamed the Gladstone Ministry, they blamed especially the Colonial Secretary, the unfortunate Lord Derby. Impatient people talked of petitioning the Crown for his dismissal." Whether we agree with Mr. Froude, or not, in his opinion that Lord Derby did all that was possible, it is well for us to know what the feelings of the Colonists were and are.

The Premier of Victoria Mr. Froude decidedly liked. "He expressed what I thought myself more clearly than I could do, and I considered him, in consequence, a sensible man." Mr. Service is described as the representative of the ambition of Victoria to be the chief state in a federated Australia. "He hoped to see England grow more conscious of the value of the colonies to her, and the colonies of the consequence attaching to them as members of a great empire. Their technical relations might adjust themselves in different forms as time went on. . . . Their duty now, in all parts of the Empire, was to draw closer together, and recognise their common interest in maintaining the union." The people of Melbourne and Victoria are represented as sharing the sentiments of their Premier. The New South Wales Premier, Mr. Dalley, is described as "the most remarkable of all the Australian statesmen that I met with." He desired to "see us all united—not in heart, not in sentiment, not in loyalty and British feeling, for that we, or at least those Colonies, were already—but one in so complete a confederacy that separation should no longer be mentioned among us even as a crotchet of an English public office. He did not despair of such a consummation, though he was well aware of the difficulties in the way. He thought that if the people really wished for it, if no unwise experiments were tried prematurely, and if no attempt were made to force any one of the colonies into a course for which it was unprepared, time and the natural tendencies of things would accomplish what had been called impossible."

In New Zealand Mr. Froude found the same earnest desire for closer union with Great Britain which he found in Australia. In the train, as he pursued his travels in that country, he made the acquaintance of Mr. F——, "one of the largest landowners in the North Island, and chief representative of the capitalist party." This gentleman "had much to say about federation—federation especially with the Mother Country, for which he seemed as decided an advocate as Mr. Dalley himself, though, of course, upon conditions. . . . New Zealanders, he said, were democrats in their own country, but were Imperialists to a man in the insistence upon the English connection." Sir George Grey was visited in his charming home at Kawau, and with both the owner of the mansion and the mansion itself, and its surroundings, the visitor seems to have been highly pleased. Sir George he found a highly accomplished and well-informed man. "On the federation of the Empire," he tells us, "he talked with a fulness of knowledge which left nothing to be desired. . . . He was an ardent Englishman, proud of his country, and eager to see it continue great and glorious; and its future strength, he saw as clearly as any one, to depend on whether it could or could not maintain the attachment of the Colonies."

"Oceana" is certainly an entertaining book of travel; but it is something more than that, for it discusses questions of great moment, and much urgency, not the least so being that which to us is of absorbing interest, and which, on account of its supreme importance, both to Great and Greater Britain, is entitled to rank second to none. Its author is not exactly a federationist after our own heart; but the earnestness with which he desires virtually the same

thing as ourselves leaves nothing to be desired. We are agreed as to the object to be kept in view and sought after, namely, the close and permanent union of the Empire; we differ only as to details, which details we need not now point out or discuss. On many points we are most cordially at one with him; as, for instance, when he urges that we should give the English flag to the Colonial navy, and listen to the proposal which Colonial leaders are making to substitute for the maintenance by each Colony of a separate fleet a subvention to the Imperial navy, which, in return, must always have a squadron in Colonial waters. With him, we would have a State-supervised and systematically-directed emigration; open the Order of the Bath and the Privy Council to Colonists; encourage the young men of the Australian and other Colonies to enter the English or Indian Civil Service; and speak and act with consideration and courtesy towards our fellow-subjects over the seas, who are Britons equally with ourselves.

CANADA TO THE FORE.

WE have lately had in our midst the two foremost men of Canada—Sir John Macdonald, the veteran Premier of the Dominion, and the Hon. Edward Blake, the leader of the Opposition in the Dominion Parliament. They belong to opposite political parties, but it is satisfactory to find that on one question—and that, in our opinion, the most important now before the Empire—they are agreed. Both are avowed Imperial Federationists, ardently attached to the mother-land, and ready to vie with each other in promoting the closer union of Canada with her. Each is a man of undoubted ability, qualified to be a nation's leader, and able from exceptional experience and knowledge to speak authoritatively. Speaking at Edinburgh on the occasion of his recent visit, at a banquet given by the Scottish Liberal Club to the Earl of Rosebery, Mr. Blake referred to colonial development and government, and pointed out that the "colonies have from time to time demanded and received exclusive powers to deal with those portions of their concerns which are deemed peculiarly their own, and thus there has been a constant elimination from the general sphere of matters which were once thought matters of common concern." He went on to say that this is "a process of development which up to a certain point is 'natural, is normal, is fruitful of good,' but that 'a point will come upon the road on which we are all travelling at which the paths divide, at which the dividing point will be reached—the one way or path leading to disintegration, and the other path leading to confederation.'" "My opinion," continued he, "is that it is time, and more than time, that the great questions of when that point is really to be reached, and of which path we are to take, the great question of how we shall overcome the obvious difficulties which are attendant upon the pursuit of either path, should be grappled with by the people of the Empire here in these Islands, and in the various colonies and dependencies which are beyond the seas." In this conviction we and Mr. Blake are one, and whenever there shall be a fearless facing of the whole question by our people and statesmen, and a manful "grappling" with the difficulties of it, there will surely come the oft-repeated experience, and we shall find the difficulties not nearly so formidable as they looked. But Sir John Macdonald goes further than Mr. Blake, and points out how, in his opinion, we may commence the work of federation. In the Canadian Premier's judgment we should proceed by treaty. His ideas as to reciprocity and differential duties, while acceptable to some Imperial Federationists, are probably not acceptable to the majority—we may certainly say the majority as far as this country is concerned. To deal by treaty with that part of the question is certainly not now practicable. It may become so in time, either by the conversion of the colonies to English views of trade or *vice versa*. But there is nothing to make it impossible to deal with the question of common defence at once. This matter has been ripening for some time, and may be said to be now ripe. In this connection, the paper of Mr. MacFarlane, which we publish elsewhere in this journal, is not without significance. The significance, too, of colonial troops in the Soudan, forming part of the Im-

perial army, was not missed at the time, and is not forgotten now, or likely to be forgotten in the future. It seems as though the colonists were anxious to bear their share in the defence of the Empire of which they form a part; and our statesmen will be wise if they endeavour to meet in this matter colonial desire. There is nothing on earth to prevent a compact being entered into between the mother-land and the colonies, which will enable us to know to a certainty the extent of help we might rely upon from the latter in the event of a great peril threatening the Empire, and what, perhaps, is of greater moment, enable foreign powers to know too. Such a situation as a treaty like this would create would not be all that we mean by the federation of the Empire; but it would be a step towards it, and that we should welcome. It is worthy of note that Canada is taking a large share in the discussion of this momentous question.

WHAT WE OFFER TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

WE use the above expression in the conventional sense which custom has conferred upon it, and by the working classes we mean the wage-earning classes. The advantages of Federation to those who work with their heads are generally pretty obvious. A little knowledge of the world and its problems is enough to convince the Englishman who can see beyond the limits of this island what are the advantages of Federation. It is true he may also see its drawbacks, but at any rate he is in a position to appreciate the nature of the problem. It is sometimes alleged, and it is to a certain extent the fact, that the great bulk of the hand-workers of this country do not yet understand what Federation may mean to them. This is why those ill-informed or ill-intentioned speakers, who pretend that our home-population can afford to ignore external questions, too often obtain a hearing. We, however, have a message to deliver to English working men, and the purport of that message is that Imperial Federation concerns them more deeply and more closely than any other class in the community. But assertions of this kind are valueless in themselves. We know perfectly well that we shall never move the British elector until we give him facts. We recognise the obligation and intend to meet it. The matter is not one which can be dealt with in one article, and we shall return to the charge again and again, until we have made it impossible for any one of our readers to ignore our propositions, or to be unaware of our facts. What is the first and most important of all the material interests of our working population? Undoubtedly, Peace. Our promise is above all things a promise of peace. At the present moment the east of Europe is smouldering into flame. If anything can ever be certain which has not actually occurred, it is certain that within a few years at latest, within a few months or a few weeks at soonest, Austria and Russia will be at war. It is horrible, but it is the fact. And it is probable that, when the great Powers have once begun the game, the smaller Powers will be compelled or will prefer to follow their example. One hundred years ago no war could take place in Europe without England being concerned in it; it was part of the recognised political principle of the day, and the theory corresponded with the fact. But we need not go back one hundred years to find this state of things existing. This unhappy dependence upon the quarrels and rivalries of the Continent was accepted by the cabinets of fifty, and indeed of ten years ago. It must equally be admitted at the present day, says some of our instructors. Must it? The Imperial Federationist says emphatically No. Already the policy of meddling in Continental affairs is a survival of a state of things which no longer exists. At present we have no concerns with the quarrels of either Eastern or Western Europe. To interfere in them has already become a folly; it will soon become a crime. We must choose whether we will pretend to be what we are not, namely, a member of the European community of nations interested solely in the balance of power in Europe, or whether we will be a portion of a mighty nation, mercifully separated from the turmoil of European disputes by the protecting ocean, with our interests wherever the British flag flies, and a British ship floats. If we choose the latter alternative, we have simply no

business whatever to move a man, or to fire a shot without the consent, expressed or implied, of those other portions of the Empire whose future we have elected to share.

That statesman will deserve best of his country who first introduces and insists upon a foreign policy, which shall be extra-European. The people of England have hardly begun to realise the magnificent deliverance which such a policy would imply. We do not ignore or fail to appreciate all that might be said or will be said about the Mediterranean, the possession of Constantinople, and the route to India. On another occasion we shall deal fully with the problems here involved; for the present it is sufficient to say that we see nothing in them which would lead us to deviate a hair's-breadth from the ideal policy which we have indicated.

If Russia and Austria must fight, the more's the pity, but let us keep clear of it. We have work of our own to do of another kind. We feel certain that the Federationist can go before his countrymen with no better claim to their sympathy and support than a promise which he can honestly give, that along the path which he indicates lies the road to peace.

NEW GUINEA AGAIN.

ACCORDING to Australian papers which have come to hand since the appearance of our last number, the Hon. James Service, in reply to questions put to him in the Victorian Legislative Assembly on December 2nd, made some strong statements. The questions had reference to the vote of £4,694 towards the expenses of the Government of New Guinea. He declared that the New Guinea business was "a bungle from beginning to end," and that "Lord Derby will go down in the history of these Colonies as 'the man who lost New Guinea.'" He remarked it was vexatious in the highest degree to find that while they had to pay £15,000 for the government of the southern part of New Guinea, the Germans had laid hold of the northern part, and it had not cost them a single farthing. "We had been assured," he continued, "that no foreign nation had any desire for it, and that it would be regarded as an unfriendly act to England if any other nation took possession of it. Germany could take New Britain, New Ireland, and the other islands, because we had made no special claim to them, but she knew that we had taken New Guinea, that it was ours according to the traditions of the British Empire." He informed the Assembly that in his last despatch on the subject he had stated "while for the present we must accept things as they are, our acceptance was not to be regarded, in any shape or form, either for the present or the future, as a recognition of German rights to any part of New Guinea." All these statements were received with loud cheers by his auditors, showing that he not only expressed his own sentiments but theirs too. It is impossible not to sympathise with our countrymen in Australia in this matter, and difficult to conceive how any man claiming the character of a statesman could have stood in the way of their natural and legitimate aspirations in regard to it. New Guinea naturally belongs to the Australian group of Colonies occupied by Englishmen, and there are the strongest reasons why it is desirable that a foreign power should not have a footing in it. Mr. Service declared he "looked forward to the time when Australia will be able to assert her rights." It is to be feared that complications with Germany and our Australian colonies are in store for us in connection with this business—or shall we adopt Mr. Service's word and say "bungle"? Such complications, indeed, one might have expected. Let us hope they will be adjusted without war. Pleasant reading the Australian papers must be occasionally for Lord Derby, if, indeed, he ventures to glance at them. He has need of all the help which a good conscience and a sense of having acted according to his light for the best can afford him, to bear up under the maledictions which our kinsmen of the islands of the Southern Seas pour every now and then upon his devoted head. Surely, if ever a cogent argument were needed for Imperial Federation, or some substitute for it, the New Guinea bungle has supplied it.

THE UNITED EMPIRE.

A paper read before the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, on the 21st December, 1885, by

THOMAS MACFARLANE, F.R.S.C.

When the news reached us, about a year ago, of the formation of an Imperial Federation League, by some of the foremost statesmen and administrators of the Empire, I heard it with the liveliest satisfaction. In many loyal hearts, scattered far and wide throughout Britain's vast Colonial possessions, the thought of a United Empire has been for years like a dream, the realisation of which seemed too much to hope for. A hundred years ago, it was more than a dream to the

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.

It was to them a faith, a religion, which caused them to fight on a losing side, to sacrifice house and homestead, and to begin a new exile in the primitive forests of Canada, but upon British soil, and under the British flag. The Imperial Federation movement began with these hardy backwoodsmen, and, in my opinion, it is matter for regret that the name of our branch of the League does not connect it with that movement of a hundred years ago. If priority in originating and dying for an idea has any value, then the name of our association in Canada, whose object is the closer union of all British countries, should be the United Empire League. The friends of union in South Africa have adopted the title of the Empire League, and have been allowed by the Imperial Federation League in London to retain it, the aim and principles of the two societies being the same. Here it would not only be more suitable, but would awaken historical recollections, of which we may well be proud, if our branch, with the consent of the society at headquarters, were to be called the United Empire League of Canada.

It can scarcely be denied that, in some respects, the word "federation" is an unfortunate one for indicating our purpose. In the minds of those to whom it is mentioned, it causes visions of federal councils, new constitutions, expensive legislatures, and selfish office holders to arise; and before the advocates of union can show what they mean by "federation," they have first to explain what the word is not to signify. Besides, the correctness of the term is doubtful. Should a

CLOSER IMPERIAL UNION

be brought about, it will and must be something altogether different from any sort of Federation which has heretofore existed. With Canada already confederated; Australia almost so; and South Africa aspiring to the same distinction, their closer union with the other parts of the Empire would become a Federation of Confederations without a parallel in history. On the other hand, the words United Empire are much more direct and significant. They convey at once the idea that the Empire is to be strengthened by union, and that only such steps as can plainly be seen to lead to that end will be advocated. The notion of a "scheme" disappears, and the advocates of the new movement may at once proceed to state what practical measures in their opinion would tend "to combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights."

It is because I have a suggestion to make, as

A FIRST PRACTICAL STEP

towards the consolidation of the Empire, that I have been asked to read this paper. During a recent visit to England and Scotland, I think I perceived evidences among the trading and middle classes of the growth of a feeling of interest in and kindness towards the Colonies. So far as I can judge, this feeling takes the shape of a desire for closer union and better trade relations betwixt them and the Mother Country. Contemporaneously with this sentiment, there seems to have arisen a deep dissatisfaction at the manner in which the free-trade advances of England have been met by foreign nations during the last twenty years. Even the artisan and the labourer are becoming aware that no such thing as free trade exists in England; that such a thing is impossible so long as foreign countries impose high duties on English exports. The system now prevailing is called foul, fettered, false, and foolish trade; retaliation is openly spoken of, and the advocates of fair trade are increasing in number. The Colonies come in for their share of blame, and it is sometimes difficult to persuade the British manufacturer that the protective policy of most Colonies is necessitated by their peculiar circumstances as new and undeveloped countries. It is here, I think, that the Imperial Federation movement is exposed to the greatest danger—that of delay. It will never be accomplished if its consummation is to be postponed until unanimity of opinion prevails on tariff questions throughout the British Empire. Entertaining this conviction, I was induced to think out and explain to my Scotch and English friends a plan for the establishment of a united Empire, capable of producing an imperial revenue, providing for naval defence, and improving

British trade. This plan met with the hearty approval of most of my Liberal as well as Conservative friends, and this reason, as well as others, has encouraged me to bring it before the Montreal branch of the Imperial Federation League. It is, briefly stated, the imposition of a

DUTY OF FIVE PER CENT.

on all imports from non-British countries into any part of the Empire, the proceeds to be devoted exclusively to naval defence. This duty would be over and above, and independent of, all existing tariffs, Home or Colonial, nor would it prevent any of the Provinces of the Empire from modifying its ordinary tariff in any way it saw fit.

That it is the

DUTY OF THE COLONIES

to pay their share of the cost of defending their shores and shipping was most forcibly and eloquently set forth by Principal Grant at a public meeting held in this city in May last. So far as this country is concerned, I should like to see this duty fulfilled at once, but unfortunately we are unable to cause other people in this country all at once to look at the matter from our point of view. They are not always prone to act on sentiment or on patriotic grounds. The question of advantage has to be debated, and if we can show that it is not only our duty, but our interest, to contribute to the defence of the Empire, the work of converting others to our principles will become easier. I shall endeavour to show that such a plan as the one I have indicated would very much stimulate material progress in all British possessions, besides providing a revenue for the defence of their coasts and commercial navies.

With the assistance of your honorary secretary, I have tried to ascertain the value of all foreign imports into British territory, and believe it to be approximately as follows:—

Great Britain and Ireland	...	...	£328,210,000
India	...	£7,808,000	
Straits Settlements	...	7,646,000	
Ceylon	...	162,000	
Mauritius	...	885,000	
			16,501,000
Canada	...	£12,215,000	
Newfoundland	...	512,000	
			12,727,000
New South Wales	...	1,920,000	
Victoria	...	1,968,000	
South Australia	...	392,000	
West Australia	...	16,000	
Queensland	...	102,000	
New Zealand	...	652,000	
			5,050,000
Jamaica	...	£410,000	
Barbadoes	...	488,000	
Trinidad	...	1,310,000	
British Guiana	...	516,000	
			2,724,000
Natal	...	£191,000	
Cape of Good Hope	...	769,000	
Lagos	...	146,000	
Gold Coast	...	84,000	
Sierra Leone	...	126,000	
			1,316,000
Total	...		£366,528,000

A duty of 5 per cent. on this sum would realise *eighteen million pounds sterling*, a sum far more than sufficient to meet the Imperial naval estimates, which now amount to about twelve millions a year. It would, however, be unwise to propose a lower duty than 5 per cent. *ad valorem* at first, because we have no assurance that the adoption of our plan would not cause a diminution in the quantity and value of foreign imports.

In proposing such a duty as this, I entirely disavow being actuated by consideration either for free-trade or protectionist theories. I start from the position that the British Empire exists, that all the members of it are interested in having its coasts and shipping adequately defended, and that the cost of so doing should be borne equitably by those receiving the benefit. We have our choice of raising the money required for this purpose chiefly by direct taxation, as is done in England, or indirectly by Customs duties. I think all who have considered the subject will admit that we cannot resort to direct taxation here. It only remains, then, to inquire whether the Colonies should contribute their quota from their ordinary revenue, or by means of a special duty such as I have proposed. The latter I advocate as the fairest and most convenient. Being imposed on all foreign goods of whatever character, it cannot be said to be protectionist, or for the purpose of favouring any particular industry. It would have the further advantage of favouring the trade and commerce of the Empire generally, by leaving that as free as it is at present, while requiring goods from ports, utterly foreign, to pay a slight tribute for admission to our markets.

It may now be as well to inquire how this Imperial Customs Duty of 5 per cent. would be likely to

AFFECT TRADE

in the various parts of the Empire.

By far the greater part of the cost of naval defence would, if my suggestion were adopted, still have to be borne by Great Britain, for its imports amount to ninety per cent. of those of

the whole Empire. But instead of having to be raised on the income and other direct taxes, it would be levied on goods from foreign countries. At present, as is well known, Customs duties are levied principally on tobacco and snuff, wines and spirits, tea and coffee, currants and raisins. On what principle other articles escape duty has never been very intelligible to me. Why raw materials should be duty free one may perhaps comprehend, but the argument in favour of this does not apply to foreign manufactured goods. Mr. Sherlock, of Liverpool, has published some very remarkable figures regarding the importation of these into England. During the fourteen years ending 31st December, 1884, there were admitted, entirely free of duty, the following manufactured goods and values:—

Silk manufactures	...	...	£148,097,194
Woollen carpets and rugs	...	...	96,830,043
Cotton manufactures	...	...	27,337,579
Chemicals	...	...	15,969,544
Clocks and watches	...	...	13,152,249
Copper, manufactured	...	...	38,828,539
Gloves of leather	...	...	22,687,900
Glass manufactures	...	...	22,737,634
Hats, bonnets, and straw	...	...	889,927
Iron and steel manufactures and machinery	...	...	25,393,584
Leather, tanned	...	...	44,858,581
Lead, manufactured	...	...	21,588,850
Oil seed cake	...	...	22,135,072
Paper	...	...	15,639,845
Sugar, refined and candy	...	...	58,618,583
Zinc, manufactured	...	...	15,285,672
Goods unenumerated	...	...	556,927,485

Total ... £1,146,978,281

On this enormous value a duty of 5 per cent. would have produced over fifty-seven millions of pounds, or £4,096,390 per annum, an amount almost as great as is derived from the duty on tea. It is hard to adduce reasons in favour of taxing tea which would not apply equally well to silks, clocks and watches, paper, sugar, and musical instruments. It is plain that Great Britain and Ireland would suffer no disadvantage from having a slight Customs duty levied on these, rather than a corresponding amount of revenue raised by direct taxation. Among

RAW MATERIALS

the most troublesome item is, of course, grain. Our proposed duty of 5 per cent. might be stigmatised as an attempt to raise the price of grain for the benefit of the farmers. That it would have this effect is very doubtful. The food-supplying capabilities of Canada, India, and Australia are so enormous that the only effect of a 5 per cent. duty would be to give to the food-stuffs of British possessions a preference over those of Russia and the United States without raising their prices. But, even assuming that the price of wheat were to be increased by the amount of the duty, that only means the addition of 1s. 9d. to the price of the quarter at 35s., which could not materially affect the price of bread. To put a duty on manufactured articles, and allow raw materials and grain to remain free, might really result in a slight species of protection, which we are told the English people would never approve of. But to put a light tax on all foreign imports without exception would be fair all round, and it would be difficult to single out any description of import which should not be called upon to pay for the protection which trade in it receives from the British navy.

Over against the disadvantages to Great Britain of this duty, if indeed there are any such, must be placed the

PREFERENCE WHICH HER PRODUCTS WOULD OBTAIN IN THE MARKETS OF HER COLONIES AND INDIA.

This is no slight consideration in view of the increase in the duties levied by foreign countries on English manufactures. This, and the consequent loss of her foreign markets, is one of the causes of the great depression in trade now prevailing in England. But her Government does not even grumble, far less threaten, and the few free ports still remaining open to her are mostly in her own possessions, and even there the foreigner, who protects his own markets, is most unjustly placed on an equal footing with her. The mere expression of a wish on her part to have such matters otherwise arranged would doubtless have prompt attention in the Colonies, but England is too proud to ask any such favour. If our 5 per cent. duty were levied not to protect British trade, but to give it the preference, and to raise a revenue for mutual defence, foreign nations would have to pay a little for access to our markets, although far, far less than they charge for admission to their own. The slight discrimination would, in the case of many articles, turn the scale in favour of English trade, and an improvement in it would at once begin to be apparent.

We have seen that

NINE-TENTHS OF THE COST OF THE NAVAL DEFENCE

of the British Empire would, under our scheme, still fall upon Great Britain and Ireland. Of the remaining tenth, about one-third would have to be contributed by the Dominion of Canada. Five per cent. upon her foreign imports would amount to about £600,000—or 3,000,000 dols.—annually. When we consider that our neighbours to the south levy much higher duties, we cannot suppose that 5 per cent. additional on goods from the United

States and the Continent of Europe would be productive of much inconvenience. Possibly, on some articles, however, the ordinary rate of duty of the Dominion tariff would have to be modified. Importations from England would be unaffected, and very likely increase in amount. Many descriptions of hardware, glass, pigments, &c., would be bought in England instead of Germany, and possibly raw sugars would come from the British West Indies rather than from Cuba.

On the other hand,

CANADIAN TIMBER

would have the advantage in the markets of England over that from Norway or Russia, and perhaps manufactured lumber now supplied by the United States and Norway could be furnished from Canada. Her trade in grain, flour, farm produce, cattle, fish, and petroleum with Great Britain would be stimulated, and very possibly it might result that certain minerals now supplied by other countries would be shipped from Canada to England.

INDIA WOULD CONTRIBUTE

about £400,000, and 5 per cent. on her foreign imports, which are now mostly free, would hardly be felt. Here, too, English manufactures would be benefited as compared with those from other parts of Europe, from China, or the United States. With regard to Indian exports, the growth of cotton, rice, wheat, and tea would be encouraged, and very likely some varieties of timber be sent to England which are now obtained from Central and North America.

WE CANNOT IMAGINE THAT AUSTRALIA WOULD MAKE ANY OBJECTION

to paying her share of the cost of the naval defence of the Empire, considering what she has already voluntarily done. To New South Wales belongs the honour of being the first Colony to send, at its own cost and completely equipped, a contingent of troops to assist the Imperial forces in a war entirely beyond the boundaries of the Empire, while to Victoria belongs the honour of having been the only Colony which offered naval assistance to the Admiralty, under the Colonial Naval Defence Act. If any inducement were required to obtain the consent of the Australian Colonies, it might be found in the consideration that their wool and copper, together with the flax, gums, and peculiar timbers of New Zealand, would experience a preference in British and Indian ports.

With reference to the West Indies, it is possible that our discriminating duty of 5 per cent. in favour of British products would

FAVOURABLY AFFECT THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS IN JAMAICA, Barbadoes, Trinidad, and Demarara, and surely this advantage would not be grudged by any one to an interest which has suffered so severely from unfair competition on the part of foreign countries. Many of us indeed believe that duties should be levied on foreign sugars equivalent to the amount of bounty of which they have the benefit, and our 5 per cent. would tend slightly in this direction. It would also favour the trade in coffee, cocoa, mahogany, and dyewoods with British Honduras, British Guiana, and Jamaica, rather than with Guatemala, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Hayti. Fruits, drugs, and indiarubber from the British tropics would also have the benefit of the preference.

In what particular manner British Africa and other distant islands and possessions would be affected by our proposal, it is impossible for us, with our limited knowledge, to say. But there is every reason for supposing that its influence would be very beneficial generally. As to

FOREIGN COUNTRIES,

they have persistently thrown into the faces of British political economists their advice as to free trade principles, and cannot complain of our following their example to the limited extent of extorting some slight payment for permission to trade in our markets. After all, even they would derive some benefit from the proposed tax, for the British Navy is the marine police force of the world, from which the commerce of all civilised nations derives unsuspected benefits.

If the various members of the British Empire were to consent thus to allow a duty of 5 per cent. to be levied on their imports from foreign countries, and to agree to contribute the proceeds towards the maintenance of the British Navy, this would constitute

AN IMPERIAL REVENUE

different altogether, and to be kept entirely distinct from Colonial, Indian, or English revenue. Its management might in some way be placed under the Lords of the Admiralty, which, with the navy, would have more of the character of Imperial Institutions. This character, indeed, the British Navy has long borne, thanks to the generosity of England, who has defended her Colonies in the past without hinting at recompense in the slightest possible way. It would of course follow that the maintenance of the various fortified harbours and coaling stations necessary for the fleet would be defrayed from this new Imperial Exchequer, and no doubt the working of the various telegraph lines for keeping up communication betwixt these and

the Mother Country would be chargeable against the same fund. In this way not only would the various parts of the Empire be more closely united, and better organised for purposes of defence, but they would be incidentally favouring each other in the interchange of their respective products, whether consisting of raw or manufactured material. Whether the Motherland or the Colonies should make the first advances towards proposing some such arrangement as I have suggested, it is perhaps unnecessary to discuss. It might be said that Great Britain, having been the first to take action in abolishing the old differential duties, should be the first to propose their re-imposition. In any case it would seem practicable to put the proposed plan in operation without waiting for the institution or even the discussion of any elaborate scheme of Imperial Federation. A simple application of the Imperial to the Colonial authorities might produce the desired result

WITHOUT ANY CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.

That the new arrangement might in time lead to still closer relations is what we all desire, but if we are to have an Imperial Constitution, it would be wise to have it unwritten, and let it grow, little by little, as the British Constitution did before it. In the meantime I claim that the proposal which I have endeavoured to explain to you this evening is thoroughly in harmony with the resolutions adopted by the Imperial Federation League, because it combines on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for defence, and does not interfere with the existing rights of Colonial Parliaments to arrange their local affairs and tariffs as they think fit.

I firmly believe that the result of the policy I have advocated would be very far-reaching, and that the remotest parts of the Empire would feel its beneficial influence. Under its operation, the time would very soon arrive when it would be possible to say with truth—

Through all her vast domains old England's heart
New life-blood sends enkindling as of yore,
High hope that ne'er her Empire shall depart,
But firm united be for evermore.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN ON THE COLONIAL QUESTION AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

LORD BRABOURNE, *formerly Under-Secretary for the Colonies,*

Said that when he first went to the Colonial Office, where he had the honour of serving for more than three years as Under-Secretary, he well remembered that there were men in England at that time who spoke lightly of the Colonial connections, who spoke of Canada, for example, as a country with which England might part with great advantage. He set himself from the very first day he entered that office till the day he quitted it to counteract such views. There would be no day so evil for England as that when any political party should cease to cherish the Colonial Empire as an integral part of England. If Colonists and Englishmen would meet more frequently and learn more to understand each other's interest, the more would they find that these interests were identical, and they would form and create such feeling in this country and the Colonies that the man who would hereafter speak of the possibility of any severance would be laughed at as a visionary, whose opinions could not be tolerated.

LORD BURV, *Under-Secretary of State for War in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry.*

"As a very old worker in this cause, I wish the cause every success. For the last thirty years I have taken very great interest in this matter. When we talked of the necessity of the Federation of the Empire only twenty-five or twenty-six years ago, we addressed deaf ears. The school of Mr. Goldwin Smith was very much in the ascendant in the country, and the general body of the population was not fully convinced of the necessity of preserving the integrity of the Empire. Look at the state of things now. The meeting that is assembled in this room represents all classes of thought, all political opinions; and men from every part of the world are met, not to affirm the necessity of the continuity of the bond between Great Britain and the Colonies (for that is a matter admitted by all), but to decide upon some practical way in which that continuity can be best secured and advanced. For twenty-five years past the subject we are now discussing has been making giant strides. It has been, in various parts of the Empire, tried and found a success; and this has inspired other parts of the Empire to try it. We are doing what our right hon. Chairman advised us to do—trying this matter in detail—knowing full well that it could have but one result—the eventual solid Federation of the Empire.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN

Remarked that in no practicable scheme of federation could any interference possibly take place with the local government

and independence which the Colonies enjoyed. While it was natural for an Englishman to look at the matter from the point of view as it affects the United Kingdom, he did not think it possible, on the other hand, to over-estimate the enormous advantage that it was to Englishmen who live beyond those seas to have the military and naval power of England at their back. It was, however, on the growing strength and power of our Colonies that England could best rely in the future to be able to maintain itself in its position as a first-class Power, without burdening itself with the enormous weight of a huge standing army, or without resorting to conscription. And he believed, further, for himself, that it was on the growing wealth of our Colonies that we had, perhaps, principally to depend for the prosperity of our great industries and our trade and commerce.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, LL.D., M.P., *Liberal Member for Bradford; Under Secretary for the Colonies, 1865; Member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet and Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, 1868 to 1874; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1880 to 1882.*

"There is no denying that there are disintegrating causes at work. There are difficulties in the present relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and it is required that those persons—those British subjects here and in the Colonies—who are very anxious that unity should be preserved, should be ready to prevent those causes arising if possible, and if they do arise to diminish their effect as much as possible, and to remove them as much as possible. No one doubts for a moment the difficulties which we shall have to meet in forming a lasting Federation; but that is no reason why we should not determine to overcome them, and as the absolute condition of being able to overcome them, we in England must get to know the feeling of the leading men in the Colonies, and we must obtain suggestions from them. I do not think that it follows that it may be years before we arrive at some conclusion; but it would be most unwise to take the thing into our own hands at once and to sketch out any particular plan. About a Federal Council. Now a Federal Council—a Colonial Council—would be one form of federation undoubtedly; a Parliament would be another form. There is a good deal to be said for both; but I repeat I do not think the time has come to decide upon them. This I think we may very fairly do. We may consider what is the necessary condition of a future Federation—what is the necessary condition of the change which we think must take place from self-governing Colonies, having, as I may say, nothing legally to do with the power of the Imperial Government in dealing with foreign States, into a relation in which they will have their share in controlling foreign policy. It is that change which we have to look forward to, and when that change comes, what must be its necessary condition? There is one condition which is absolutely necessary. It is that the union should imply mutual defence—mutual alliance with common citizenship. There is no other condition absolutely necessary but that, though others may be added."

IR HENRY HOLLAND, M.P., *Assistant Under Secretary for the Colonies, 1870 to 1874; Member of the Imperial Defence Commission,*

Said he attached especial importance to the organised defence of common rights, and he expressed the hope that members on both sides of the House of Commons would endeavour to raise this important subject above all questions of political party. He expressed his opinion that the first great step towards Imperial federation was to promote a scheme of Federation among the Colonists themselves.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, *Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada,*

Said at the adjourned Conference and first meeting of the League, that when the intelligence arrived in Canada that a meeting had taken place, composed of so many men of influence and standing, in support of this object, it gave the greatest gratification to all the people of the Dominion. He testified to the loyalty of Canada, and declared his conviction that her best interests were forwarded by her connection with the greatest empire that the world had ever seen. He believed that the whole policy of Great Britain was opposed to aggressive war, and in any other war the people of Canada would, he assured them, be ready to take their share of the responsibility and the cost.

THE HON. J. X. MERRIMAN, *late Member of the Cape Ministry.*

If the Colonies were asked to contribute their quota to the interest of any loan raised for the naval defence of the Empire, that would be a real practical step towards Federation, and one which might be considered at the present time with very great advantage; but if they were to go into the idea of having a confederation of the Empire with a central Parliament, and

representatives from the Colonies in that Parliament, he was afraid they would find a great many rocks ahead. . . . He thought the Colonies were entitled to claim rather more share in settling Imperial affairs concerning themselves than they had at present. At present they were entirely at the mercy of the Colonial Department, and that Department was not the speediest to get into motion in the world. There should be something of a Colonial Council established, so that some definite recognised opinion could be brought to bear on the Colonial Office, with the view of getting that office to move in time, and so save immense loss, trouble, and confusion.

THE MARQUIS OF NORMANBY, *Governor in succession of Nova Scotia, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria.*

Maintaining, as he did, the strongest possible feeling towards the Colonies of this great Empire, he could not, he said, but rejoice to see a movement of this kind taking place. The Colonies were now bound to this country by the bond of affection and loyalty, and, he might add, by self-interest, because there were no communities in the world which possessed such free and independent constitutions as the Colonies of this country did. While he had no fear, therefore, of any immediate likelihood of rupture between the Colonies and the Mother Country, he thought it was a statesmanlike view to look forward to the future as well as to consider the present, and he could not help feeling that as time rolled by, and these great Colonies increased in wealth and population, unless the union was drawn close it would inevitably grow weaker.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. SMITH, M.P., *Financial Secretary to the Treasury, 1874 to 1877; a Member of Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1877 to 1880, and late Minister for War.*

"We have a large population; we have a vast amount of capital. The Colonies have great opportunities and great means for the employment of the population, and for the development of their resources by means of the capital which is found to exist here. There is a basis of common interest and common advantage which we at home at all events cannot afford to neglect or leave undeveloped or unused. There can be no doubt whatever, however men may cavil at the sentiment, that the circumstances in which this country is placed require that we shall advance, and in saying that I do not wish it to be understood that we are to advance by force of arms, to advance adversely to the interests of community at large, or to the world at large. We seek no such means of advancement, but I will ask you to consider one question—that is the increase of the population of this country, which is something altogether independent of law, or of any system which exists at the present time, to bring under control.

"Our population advances; but it is certain the actual material resources of the country cannot advance in the same proportion. The increase of our population is out of all proportion to the increased capacity of the ground, the land in which we live, to maintain that population. We trust to the development of our manufactures, of our commerce, and of our trade; and these undoubtedly afford vast resources for our population; but no statesman, no Englishman can say that with all these magnificent resources at our command we dare shut our eyes to the fact that emigration, the peopling of the earth is a necessity of this country, a necessity which we must endeavour by all means to make as successful as we possibly can. How can we do so with greater advantage to this country, to those who remain as well as those who go, than in connection with the Colonies of Great Britain, in connection with those communities which are English-speaking, which have English habits and customs, and which are in deep and real sympathy with England at home as well as abroad? I cannot myself see why every boy, if he leaves this country to become a settler in Australia or in Canada, should forego his right to take an interest, and his duty to take an interest, in the prosperity of his mother country. I believe in both the duty and the right. And although we do not seek to express the particular mode in which that voice shall be exercised, let us at least assert the principle that unity is to be maintained, that some method shall be found, some course adopted which shall give our colonists all the rights, and the interests, and the advantages which belong to resident Englishmen in Great Britain and Ireland. I believe it can be done."

MR. E. STANHOPE, M.P., *Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade in Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry, 1875 to 1878. Under-Secretary of State for India, 1878 to 1880.*

"I do not think any one can exaggerate the growth of this movement. Some nine or ten years ago those who have spoken in this room would have been criticised as being practically visionaries. We have got, I am glad to say, far beyond that. What we have got to do to-day is to get tight hold of the idea we have in common, and endeavour to give it practical effect by the steps we shall take hereafter. I do not

think anything more true was said than has been said by the Chairman in his excellent speech in 1875, when he stated that the adoption of an idea sometimes tends to its realisation. I believe that is so in this case, and that if we get tight hold of the idea of Federation or Imperial unity we may proceed step by step to impress on the public opinion of the country the great and growing importance of this question, the very great difference the realisation of the idea would make to us and the world in general, and the cowardice which would consist in abandoning the unity of the Empire simply because the Empire is already very large. The feeling is growing, I believe, among our fellow-subjects abroad even more largely than in this country. They do not like to have the political cold shoulder from this country, and they are entitled to have from us, as we shall give them to-day, our hearty sympathy and our assurance that in the policy we desire to adopt for the future towards our Colonies we are looking to the idea, not of separation, but of giving them, in some mode or another, a more real part in the Government of this great Empire."

THE HON. H. FINCH-HATTON ON "ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES."

On the evening of January 1st, the St. Ann's Boys' Schoolroom, Nottingham, was crowded with an audience assembled for the purpose of hearing an address by the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, which was delivered under the auspices of the St. Ann's Church Institute, on "England and her Colonies." The Rev. Canon Lewis, M.A., presided, and was supported by a number of influential gentlemen belonging to the town.

The CHAIRMAN having opened the proceedings, introduced the lecturer.

The HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON, who was heartily welcomed, expressed his deep sense of the great honour they had done him in inviting him to come there and address them, and thanked them most sincerely for the cordial welcome they had given him. It was a matter of great regret to him that he did not come to that constituency bound by one of the most honourable ties which could bind a man to a town, namely, that of being its member in Parliament, but he could assure them that his interest in Nottingham was not one whit less keen than it would be if he had the honour of representing it in Parliament. (Applause.) He should always look back with the liveliest pleasure to the time when it was his honour to be their candidate for Parliament. It was one of the pleasantest recollections in a very pleasant life, and he took that opportunity of once more thanking any who might not have heard his words of thanks which he returned at the time, for the kind support they gave him in the recent struggle. While the fact that he was not a member of Parliament was a source of regret to him, still, to a certain extent, it freed him in treating of the very serious subject which he proposed to talk to them about. The subject he was going to speak about was one which ought to be very far removed from the region of party politics, and he was happy to say that they had at last discovered a question upon which they could bury the hatchet and forget the disputes of parties in trying to secure the good of the nation. If he brought any accusations against any politicians he asked them not to think that he was doing so because he differed from them in politics, but because he differed from them and their opinions on the grounds of common sense. (Applause.) He hoped he should not be regarded as a pessimist if he tried to impress upon those present his conviction that our country was in a very serious position at the present time. He was by no means hopeless for the future, but it was his firm conviction that we had arrived at a very serious crisis in the history of our country. Some politicians told them that the working men of this country had nothing to do with foreign politics, but he was certain that such a theory had long ago been rejected by the intelligence of such a town as Nottingham. (Hear, hear.) Most of those supporters of Mr. Bright, who were in accord with him on other points, differed from him on this. He was happy to say that on the question of the Federation of the British Empire the staunchest Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives alike were all agreed to combine; and when he said that the committee which had been formed for the purpose of advocating the Imperial Federation of the Empire, comprised such names as those of Mr. Forster, Mr. Goschen, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Alfred Simmons, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Broadhurst, and Mr. Cowen, he should be cleared of any accusation of treating this question as a party question. (Hear, hear.) In considering this question it was necessary to know something of our country's past history; and he only read history aright who, observing past events, applied the wisdom so gained to the solution of the problems of the present day. All the greatest wars that had occurred during the past 150 years had been nothing more nor less than a struggle on the part of the European nations to become possessed of the New World, and by the New World he meant what was now called our Colonies, together with the continents of North and South America. In that struggle the lion's share had fallen to our country. The bravery of the English race, their indomitable spirit that nothing could conquer, had won for us the most glorious empire the world had ever seen. Now, however, we came to a fresh point altogether, and that was, that whereas the nations had been struggling to possess lands, there were now no fresh lands to become possessed of. All the whole habitable portion of the world had been annexed by some nation or another. They knew that while the world did not increase in size the population of the world was every day increasing, and now the nations that formerly had plenty of room for expansion were beginning to jostle and to crowd each other in a very inconvenient manner, and, therefore, it happened that these Colonies of ours, which might have been regarded in times past as being more of an encumbrance than

anything valuable, were now becoming of inestimable importance to this country. They were rapidly becoming very cramped in this country; their population was increasing to an enormous extent, and after a country's population increased beyond a certain amount it became a source of weakness and not of strength. It was a serious problem what they were to do with the surplus population. Distress was increasing with giant strides throughout the country, and he had heard it said, by those best acquainted with the matter, that unless there was a radical change in a very short time there would be Communism in the country. In reference to this it was no solution of the problem, as Communism would not give the people anything to eat. With regard to the position of England at the present time, he contended that it was a very serious one. They had been accustomed to call her the mistress of the seas, but they must all of them own that such a term was not now applicable to her. Foreign powers had increased their naval and military armaments at a very much greater rate than England, and they saw at the present time that, instead of being absolute mistress of the seas, she was barely equal to France. Russia and Germany were increasing as military and naval powers to an alarming extent. The mistress of the seas meant not only that they ought to defend their own shores, but that they ought to keep the enemy off the high seas from one end of the world to the other, in order to allow the commerce to come into this country which was necessary to supply the population with daily bread. It had been admitted, he thought, by Mr. Bright, that one half of the population of the country depended upon foreign supplies for their daily bread. He pointed out that ships coming from their Colonies would travel by waterways that converged off the coast of Spain, and contended that a combination of Powers could cut off the supply of food at any moment from coming into this country. They might imagine themselves secure, but let them realise what would be their position if a stronger fleet were stationed off the coast of Spain. They would be able to cut off the supplies coming into the country, and they would starve us in a few weeks' time. It was not enough that they should be able to defend their shores, but they must be able to defend commerce coming into the country, or else they were liable to starvation. The country was in a most dangerous position. Thousands of their own countrymen did not realise and believe that it was so. In that lay the great danger, and the League to which he had the honour of belonging had been formed expressly for the purpose of awakening the minds of their thinking countrymen to the fact that they were sleeping on the top of a volcano which at any moment might explode and blow them into the air. Let them look at the state of Europe. Was it a time of universal peace? Europe was never in a more inflammable condition than at present. They had been living on the verge of a European war for several years past, and war, before many years were over, would break out, and what would be its effect it was very difficult to determine, but while peace lasted let them do all in their power to strengthen their position. (Applause.) The Hon. H. Finch-Hatton went on to point out to what an extent the population of the country was increasing, after which he said that some people said that their Colonies were a great nuisance to them. They pointed to the case of America, which, he said, they lost by their own stupidity. He wanted them to profit by that lesson, and take warning in the future and see that they did not lose the rest of their Colonies in the same way, by repeating the same blunders. Their Colonies, he regretted to say—and he brought the charge against both Conservatives and Liberals—had not been treated in that spirit which induced good feeling between them and the Mother Country. He was astonished that the good feeling was so strong between England and the Colonies; it was wonderful that they had not long ago set up for themselves, and rejected all connection with the Old Country, but they had put up with much for the sake of the Old Country. He pointed to the annexation of New Guinea by Germany as supporting his contention. Unless they showed that the sentiments that animated the Colonial Office at that time were not the sentiments that animated this nation, the Colonists would sever the connection between themselves and the country at no distant date. He regretted to say that Canada and New Zealand had been treated in exactly the same way. He was bringing those accusations against the politicians of the past in order that they might profit by the warnings arising from it and do better in the future. Their Colonies had been treated disgracefully by the politicians of the past, and they must now wake up and realise the fact that they could not afford to treat them so any more. On the mere grounds of self-interest it was expedient for the safety of every one in the country that they should establish better relations with their Colonies. Could they come down upon the taxpayers of Great Britain and ask them all of a sudden to provide an enormous increase to the strength of the army and the navy? They could not do it. The object of politicians should be to lighten taxation, and not to increase it. They could not call upon the taxpayers to provide money to increase the navy and the army to a proper extent. The obvious way out of the difficulty was to ask the Colonies to do it, and they were perfectly ready to do so. (Applause.) In spite of all the bad treatment they had received, he claimed, and he spoke with some authority, for he had taken great pains to sound the Colonies on the subject, that they had nothing to do but to hold out their hands to their Colonies and ask them to go into partnership with them and they would stand up and do it without any hesitation. The Imperial Federation scheme was simply to form some definite Federation of the whole British Empire, to combine the marvellous resources of it, for the purpose of defending their common interests, and of maintaining their common rights. They wished to ask their Colonies to help them to form an Imperial navy and an Imperial army sufficient to defend the whole Empire. At first sight it would appear that an increase of the navy would be all that was required, but a little investigation showed that that was not the case. In order to be mistress of the seas the Empire must also be mistress of the land. It was hardly creditable that at the present time the coaling stations of the British Empire were absolutely defenceless all over the world, and the navy was thus practically useless. An enormous outlay was required to put them into a

proper state of defence. Some insignificant sum was lately voted for the purpose, but they must ask their Colonies to assist them. Was it in reason that the people of this small island should provide defences all over the world, whilst the Colonies were prepared to do it? One of the most dangerous features of the British Empire at the present time was the defenceless state of the coaling stations. It was in the time of peace that they must make their preparations, and they must put aside all dreams of a universal millennium, for as long as the world went on men would settle their disputes by force of arms. He was not of a combative disposition, but it was a monstrous shame that they should not take some steps to defend those possessions which had been won for them by the prowess, the endurance, and the enterprise of many generations of ancestors. They were told by some that the scheme of federation was a delusion, childish and absurd. He denied that, and he said that unless they did it the sun of England's glory would have set for ever. The Colonies were ready to come into partnership with them, but he impressed most strongly upon them that whereas the Imperial Federation of the whole Empire would be of inestimable value to all portions of it, there was not a single part to which it would be of so much value as their own. It was simply a question of sentiment that bound the Colonies to England, but she was bound to them by the ties of self-interest and self-preservation. They could set up to-morrow if they chose as independent nations. What would be the future of England if they severed their connection with her? It was too dreadful a picture to look upon. He trusted that the day would never come, but they must make their choice now, because they themselves were most interested. He believed that the only way to relieve the present overcrowded state of the country would be to organise a State-aided system of colonisation. There were thousands of their countrymen who would be only too glad to seek a home in a distant land if they had only the means of getting there. If they organised a proper system of colonisation they would achieve very great results. They would enormously relieve the existing depression, and they would increase the strength of the Colonies, which, as long as they continued a part of the Empire, would be a source of strength to it. He had the honour of belonging to the society for advocating State-aided colonisation. They did not propose to go into big towns, take artisans from their trades and export them to foreign Colonies. That would be a very great mistake; but taking into account the depressed state of agriculture, they proposed that the agricultural population of the country should emigrate to lands where they would be better able to make a living than in England. They knew that they suffered from a constant influx of labourers into the towns, but they were unable to get a living there. They swamped the markets and did a very great injury. They proposed to divert that stream to the Colonies, where they would be a source of strength instead of a source of weakness to the Empire. They proposed to organise all over the Empire branches of the society for taking those men in hand when they landed at their destination, and exercise a supervision over them until they were able to shape for themselves. (Applause.) He sincerely trusted that when this scheme of State-aided colonisation came before the country—as it would shortly—it would be carefully considered. At first the scheme was called State-aided emigration, but at a suggestion from himself it was altered to State-aided colonisation, and they would readily see why. If it was simply State-aided emigration, the scheme might have been open to the charge of exporting people like cattle out of this country, and leaving them to shift for themselves in a foreign land. The advocates of State-aided colonisation, however, proposed to do nothing of the kind. They did not propose—in fact, they would directly oppose—aid in emigration to foreign countries; they would only aid emigration to British Colonies. (Hear, hear.) This was where we had made a great mistake for many years past. What little help had been given in the way of emigration had been to emigrate men to America, where they immediately became a source of weakness to this country by competing with us, by the production of goods at a much lower rate than we could produce them ourselves. (Hear, hear.) They proposed to get Parliament to put a veto on any State aid being given to emigration to foreign countries at all, but to encourage in every way emigration to our Colonies. They found, with regard to Canada, the class of men who got on best were the men who had no money when they went out there, and had very little theoretical knowledge of farming at all. The reason was to be found in the fact that every country had a different way of doing the same thing. The men who went out to Canada, who were called experienced farmers in this country, very seldom succeeded; while the men who went out there and knew very little of farming, took their notions from the men who lived in the country; and the system they adopted was to place an emigrant between two old inhabitants of the country. He watched what they did; they were ready to help him and show him what they knew, and he, profiting by their experience and help, generally succeeded very well. On the other hand, they found batches of emigrants going out from this country and settling down in a camp, as they got no assistance from the older settlers, very often came to grief. Those who went out without money generally did best, and the reason perhaps was that they had to start work at once, and continue steadily in order to make a living. He had seen a great deal of the Australian Colonies himself—and he believed the same thing applied to Canada—the man who went out to either country with a little money was in a very dangerous position. He would find many ready to suggest investments, or to go into partnership with him. The conditions were that the recent arrival provided the money, and the old resident the experience. In a short time the commodity generally changed hands—the old resident had the money, and the new-comer the experience. (Laughter.) When he had been asked his opinion by intending emigrants, his answer had always been this: that he thought any man with a trade—a carpenter, joiner, worker in iron, or what the Colonists called tradesmen—would make a much better living in Australia or Canada than in this country. The man who was not afraid of work, and the man with a large amount of capital lying idle, those were the two classes who should emigrate to our Colonies. The

detrimental reports which were received in reference to those countries came, he believed, from men who had emigrated to them with no wish to work. In Australia great loss had lately been suffered through drought. Over 20,000,000 sheep had died within the past few years in that country, and although this had ruined several of the squatter community, it had brought little distress upon the working classes, and no commercial panic had prevailed. As an instance of the value of land in certain parts of that Colony, he might mention that only the other day in Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, £1,200 a foot was refused for a site in the town. Intending emigrants with a little capital to invest should buy up allotments near towns. The great enemy of Australia was drought. But in Australia they could not be so miserable as in England, because it was much more comfortable to live in a warmer climate than in a cold one. Speaking of the gold diggings, he said he thought it would be found one of the worst paying concerns in the world. It was regular gambling, nothing more nor less. The curse there was drink, and when they heard of a man's misfortune, let them be careful to investigate the causes before forming an opinion. He had come to the conclusion that ninety-nine out of every hundred failed entirely from their own recklessness or their propensity for drink. It was a man's own fault if he did not succeed in earning a good living. He held out no promises of amassing fortunes without any trouble at all. If a man emigrated to Australia he would at least have a chance of making a fortune, which opportunity he had not got in this country. At present Australia was smarting under an unmerited injury inflicted upon it, and they must give some practical evidence that they desired that that connection should not be dissolved. In connection with this federation question there was an important point he should like to touch upon, and that was the connection it had with the kindred question of free trade and fair trade. They would remember how consistently he advocated a change in the fiscal system whilst he had the honour of being a candidate in the Eastern Division. He came as a Fair Trader, and nothing he saw during his campaign had altered his convictions. (Cheers.) On the contrary, the great amount of distress he saw had tended to confirm his conviction that unless they had a system of fair trade their course would be steadily downhill in the future. They must have a change, and he proposed retaliatory duties upon foreign manufactured goods. He proposed, also, that they should put a duty upon American and Russian corn, such a duty as would make it impossible for them to continue to export it into this country. The Colonies, if properly encouraged, could produce sufficient corn to supply all their wants. He said, let them say to the Colonies, "Come into partnership with us; help us to form a navy to defend the whole Empire, and let us have a modification of your tariffs in favour of this country in return for the prestige and protection we shall be able to afford you." The Colonies, he believed, would be perfectly willing to do it. They could form a fiscal power and such a self-supplying community that all the markets of foreign nations would have to open themselves before such a combination. Let them not leave the question till it was too late, but let them realise the deep seriousness of it at the present time. Now was the time for action. Before long he hoped to pay another visit to Nottingham—(cheers)—for the purpose of founding a branch of the Imperial Federation League in the town. He knew that he might be accused, seeing that the contest was such a severe one in the Eastern Division—that he might be accused of pressing it forward in a party way, but he should take the opportunity of hedging his position by bringing a strong Liberal to support him, to show it was a joint-stock company and not a party matter. (Applause.) He hoped they would ventilate the question as far as possible, as it was one that needed thinking out carefully and thoroughly, and it was one of the most important that ever presented itself in the history of the world. Should they allow the British Empire to dissolve itself into hostile and helpless fragments, or should they, by a wise and far-seeing policy, take advantage of the lessons of the past and unite those marvellous masses into a great and glorious federation which should secure to the masses of the Empire a reign of peace and prosperity such as had never been known since the Empire was founded? He asked them to endeavour to rouse interest in the subject, and, in conclusion, trusted that the friendship begun in the heat of his political campaign might continue till the end of his life. (Cheers.)

The REV. GEORGE BISHOP then proposed, and MR. WHEATLEY seconded, a vote of thanks to the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, who, in returning thanks, proposed a similar compliment should be paid to the Chairman.

This having been done, and the Chairman having replied, the proceedings terminated.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE OBJECT OF THE LEAGUE.

TIMES.

"THE obstacles to union interposed by distance and extent of territory have vastly diminished, and are diminishing from day to day. Steamships and railways, postal organisation, and, above all, the electric telegraph, have brought the most distant provinces of our Colonial Empire at the present day into intimate connection with the mother-country. Australians and Canadians are, in every real sense of the word, nearer to the centre of English social life and political activity than the country people of Scotland or Ireland, or even of England, a century and a half ago. Moreover, we must reckon with a new distribution of population and of power in the next or the succeeding generation. France and Germany, if the present movement of population continues, will then have fallen back into the second rank as compared with Russia on the one side and the United States on the other, and if England is satisfied to remain a purely insular State, she, too, will have to recede before younger and stronger communities.

"But it will be her own fault if she breaks the ties which bind her daughter nations to her. No doubt there are and will be points of difference between the mother-country and the Colonies, and a pre-

mature and ill-considered scheme of federation would be specially dangerous for this reason, because, unless the machinery worked well, it would inevitably lead to friction and irritation. Some difficulties are imaginary rather than real. The Colonists are quite prepared to pay their fair share of any expenditure incurred for the common benefit, if they be allowed by some means to have a voice, however limited, in determining the policy of the Empire. There is no fear that federation will be made a pretext for diminishing the local self-government of the Colonies. It is no less clear that Colonists cannot intervene in the domestic concerns of the United Kingdom. But there is a wide circle of interests common to the mother-country and the Colonies."

DAILY TELEGRAPH.

"What are we to do with our Empire? Is it to be retained as a priceless legacy from times gone by, or is it to be got rid of, piecemeal, with the utmost degree of speed consistent with Radical convenience? There is no doubt that the existing tie is loose, irregular, and so far unsatisfactory. It does not bring home to the popular imagination either of England or her Colonies the fact of the kinship between distant communities and the reality of our Imperial relationship. To numbers of our countrymen the first idea of the vastness and the grandeur of the Empire and of the reality of the newer Englands across the ocean comes with a sense of surprise as a result of travel; and those who do not make the trip to Canada or Australia often fail to receive the impression at all. Yet our Colonial friends would be making a real mistake if they supposed that there is one whit less of pride in the power and prosperity of those distant possessions now than in any previous period of our annals. It is possible, of course, that some day a Colony may drift away from us; Lord Rosebery's warning that we may delay Federation till it is too late to federate, is not at all unnecessary; but if that evil hour ever arrives we may be sure that we shall never realise so vividly the value of our Colonial Empire as when we are on the point of losing it altogether. We believe that no greater or nobler work was ever inaugurated than this of drawing together Great Britain and her insular and Continental offshoots into a federated partnership, in which all shall participate in the benefits, and of which the power will be infinitely greater for mutual good and mutual protection than in a loosely-bound congeries of atoms, such as is the British Empire of to-day. We must take account of the expansion of the Colonies. We shall soon have to do with peoples as numerous and as industrious as our own. Our Colonial children will outgrow their parent; they number already as many as all the population of this kingdom at the time of the American War of Independence; and we must think of them already as powerful kindred nations, soon to become still more powerful, whom it is alike our interest and our glory to join with us in directing the future course of our Imperial history."

DAILY NEWS.

"Our Colonial system has passed through several phases. Little more than a generation ago the unity of the Empire was maintained by the almost despotic rule of the mother-country over what were truly called her Dependencies. Since self-government was conceded to the Colonies the British Empire has consisted of an association of free States with a certain primacy and authority on the part of England, often little more than nominal and titular.

"This condition of things has been attended with a certain amount of inconvenience. There has been occasional discord, now and then threatening conflict, and there have been hostile tariffs, but the sentiment of union has been stronger than these difficulties; and without forecasting any scheme of Imperial Federation, we believe that one will gradually shape itself with a little aid from human wisdom as opportunity and necessity suggest. Such a system may be something new in human history; but history has not yet exhausted itself, and the living being may be trusted to create for itself an organisation suitable to its character and needs."

STANDARD.

"A dozen years ago the idea of Imperial Federation hardly existed except in name; or, if it did, it was subscribed to only by some hardy patriots and a few supposed crotcheteers. The Government of the day was known to be resigned to disintegration, and some of its prominent members were strenuous advocates of separation. The world was still oppressed by the idea of remoteness, and but imperfectly realised that by the scientific achievements of our own era distance had been virtually abolished. Dissolution was accepted as the inevitable fate of empire, and we were supposed to be exhibiting our enlightenment by promoting our own dismemberment. Moreover, Federation—the then doubtful experiment of the United States apart—was somehow associated with centralisation, with "Imperialism," with military despotism, and with a host of other more or less obnoxious doctrines, and was, therefore, supposed to be inimical to liberty. The conception of free States combining for self-protection on a grand scale was not yet understood. A great party was dominated by parochial notions, and a federation of the Colonies was, in spite of the development of political organisation, as inconceivable to many people as a kingdom of the Middle Ages would have been to the municipal statesmen of Attica. To equally erroneous, if more excusable, sentiments was added a perverted notion of our material interests, which, from its very selfishness, inspired a popular reaction that sensibly facilitated the progress of the Imperial idea. But even a more important agency than a growing appreciation of our national duty was the centripetal influence of the Colonies themselves. In Australia, in South Africa, in America, our kinsmen caught up the Imperial tradition with all the fervour of national youth, and not only refused to separate individually from the mother-country, but collectively interdicted the dislocation of an Empire in which they claimed an inheritance. This movement in the Colonies demolished at once the foundation of all the theories of Separatists. It was found that a tendency towards disintegration was not inevitable; that the action of our North American Colonies last century, which, till then, was held to govern all similar connections, was due to special and temporary

causes; and that the force of cohesion in politics might, under certain circumstances, be more powerful than that of dissolution. Nor has the selfish notion of a burdensome connection been less effectually controverted. The incidence of Imperial liability may not be yet scientifically adjusted, but the indirect advantages accruing to us are now admitted to compensate for much of our direct outlay, and the recent action of our Australasian Colonies respecting the administration of the Pacific proves that they would be by no means unwilling, under an organised federation, to contribute their quota towards Imperial expenditure."

DAILY CHRONICLE.

"Either federation must in course of time take place or 'disintegration.' To allow immense populations of the same race and language as ourselves, and living under the same laws, to separate themselves from us for ever, would be to bring about ultimately the isolation of England to an extent which would not only be fatal to her great influence among nations, but would seriously affect our commercial prosperity; for, as Mr. Forster observed in the course of his remarks on this aspect of the question, 'no fact is more clearly proved by practical experience than that the trade follows the flag.' The power of a country among the nations of the earth does not depend solely upon her wealth, and, even if it did, there are clear grounds for believing that if this Empire were reduced to 'two islands, one of which did not care particularly about the other,' that wealth would soon be seriously decreased. Fortunately, there is yet the warmest attachment to their native land existing on the part of the multitudes of people who have gone to Australia, to Canada, and elsewhere in search of that which they could not find here. The testimony is overwhelming on this point, and it is one of the most encouraging facts that can be cited in proposing to seek for the means of uniting this country and her Colonies into one great Power. How this desirable end is to be achieved remains to be considered, but that it is practicable we are fully convinced. This country would be weakened, beyond all doubt, by the loss of her great Colonies; but so, too, would they for many a year after that separation was effected. Where there is still a community of interest the task of formulating a scheme of Federation, whatever its difficulties, is one which may, as time goes on, be successfully accomplished."

MORNING POST.

"It is impossible for any one to study attentively the relations which at present exist between the parent country and her dependencies without agreeing with Mr. Forster that sooner or later there must be Disintegration or Federation. The question is not whether we shall keep our Colonies, but how we shall keep them; and, although it would be premature to ask in what manner this end is to be accomplished, it is none too soon to invite discussion as to the best way of solving this problem. It is, further, to be taken into consideration that the inventions of modern science have gone far to annihilate those difficulties of time and space which only a few years ago might have been supposed to raise insuperable obstacles to the realisation of such a scheme as is now advocated. It is not too much to say that our Canadian, South African, and Australian dependencies, not to speak of our Indian Empire, are now much closer to England than was Ireland at the commencement of the present century; and if it was then found not only possible, but expedient, to effect a union between the latter country and Great Britain, how much more so should it be now to establish a Federation between the United Kingdom and her various Colonies, however scattered over the face of the globe, which would have the effect of creating such a community of interest as would enable all to present a solid front to the rest of the world."

LEEDS MERCURY.

"The day is happily past when anybody who had the smallest chance of being regarded as a politician of importance could look with equanimity upon the prospect of a possible separation between England and her Colonies. The whole tendency among both political parties is now the other way. It is the object of every man with the slightest pretensions to statesmanship to bind the Colonies more closely than ever to the mother-country."

SCOTSMAN.

"If ever there was a time when it could be said of any influential party or section in British politics that it favoured the idea of getting rid of the undoubted burdens and responsibilities attached to the possessions of a Colonial Empire by getting rid of the Colonies themselves, that time is long past. The current of public opinion, on which such an idea never could have a real hold, has been setting strongly the other way. The changed conditions of commercial intercourse and of political thought have modified the whole aspect of the question of union between the mother-country and its family of Colonies. The facilities, and with these the desire for holding them closely bound to us by ties of sympathy and interest, have vastly increased. The Colonies themselves have grown enormously; they have become a possession such as no other nation in the history of the world could boast of; but with their growth in wealth and population there has been no corresponding development of impatience at the continuance of the Imperial connection, and of a longing for independent existence, as many had looked to see. On the contrary, the spirit of loyalty to the Crown, and the desire to remain part and parcel of the British Empire, were probably never stronger throughout the Colonies than at the present moment."

LIVERPOOL MERCURY.

"Of late years it has become increasingly evident that as future care of them we shall have to choose between allowing our Colonies to take care of themselves or providing some link which, without fettering their freedom, would mutually bind them and the mother-country in one vast commonwealth. It is beginning to be understood that, without imposing any restriction upon their laudable desire to grow strong and self-reliant, an arrangement might be feasible which would ensure a grand imperial union consistent with the fullest liberty of all the parts."

LIVERPOOL POST.

"Among the political movements of the day, few command more sympathy or seem less likely to be realised than the project for the Federation of the Colonies with the mother-country. To form a grand federation of English-speaking countries under the Sovereign of Great Britain is an idea that commends itself to the imagination, and as emigration from the British Islands must necessarily continue, and perhaps increase, it is pleasant to think that those who quit their native shore will still remain citizens of the Empire, and retain an interest in its prosperity and a sympathy towards those who remain at home."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

"The proposition that it is of the highest importance to the Empire that the Colonies should be kept in union with the Kingdom, and that 'some form of federation is essential' to prevent disintegration, may safely rely on the assent of all by whom the injurious consequences of losing the Colonies are duly recognised. Where there is a will, such as is shown in this instance, there is generally a way; and while complete federation must be rejected as futile, it is still possible greatly to improve the official methods and instruments of communication between the Colonies and the Imperial Government."

A BRITISH IMPERIAL NAVY.

SLOWLY and gradually, as befits the progress of a gigantic political growth, the idea of British Imperial Federation is acquiring material shape. Already, it would seem, one important principle is generally recognised. Were England at war, whether in defence of her distant possessions or otherwise, the Mother Country and the Colonies would be exposed to a common danger, which could be averted only by the possession of a powerful fleet, large enough to be available for service all over the world. But it is evident that if the Colonies are to be permitted to rely with confidence upon this outer bulwark, they ought to bear a proper proportion of the necessarily increased cost of the fleet. As Mr. Froude tells us in his newly published "Oceana," this obligation is already generally recognised in Australasia, where the institution of an imperially supported navy is almost unanimously approved. In Canada, also, as we learn from a report of the recent proceedings of the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League, the idea has already been adopted as indicating the first step that should be taken towards the grander schemes of federation. But the Canadian Imperialists have gone a step further in formulating a scheme for the raising of the extra revenue required for the enlarged fleet. They suggest that a duty of 5 per cent. should be imposed by the Colonies and Great Britain on foreign goods over and above the ordinary customs' tariff. According to this they calculate that the united Colonies would pay 10 per cent. of the total Admiralty charges—about the fairness of which proportion there is, probably, room for a good deal of discussion. The proposition, of course, involves a partial recognition of the principle of reciprocity in free trade. On the other hand, its advocates would argue that, as the differential duty is to be imposed for necessary purposes of revenue, and not for the purpose of commercial protection, it would not offend against the canons of strict economic science.—*Globe*.

THE PREMIER OF CANADA AT ST. GEORGE'S CLUB.

THE Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, was entertained at dinner on January 4th, at the St. George's Club, Hanover Square. Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada, presided, and about 250 guests were present, including Sir Alexander Galt (ex-High Commissioner for Canada), Vice-Admiral Sir Edmund Commerell, M.P., Sir Robert Herbert (Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), Sir W. C. Sargeant (Crown Agent for the Colonies), Vice-Admiral Sir A. Hoskins (Naval Lord of the Admiralty), Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen, Sir Arthur Blyth (Agent-General for South Australia), Sir Saul Samuel (Agent-General for New South Wales), Sir Charles Mills (Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope), Mr. R. Murray Smith (Agent-General for Victoria), Mr. J. F. Garrick (Agent-General for Queensland), Mr. George Stephen (President of the Canadian Pacific Railway), Colonel Hughes Hallett, M.P., Mr. John Bramston (Assistant Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies), Mr. Abercrombie Castle, Mr. A. J. Adderley, Mr. Frederick Young, the Hon. John P. Bigelow, Dr. Rae, the Hon. D. A. Smith (of Canada), Colonel Knollys, Mr. H. C. Beeton (Agent-General for British Columbia), Mr. S. Wymouth, Orient Steam Navigation Company; Mr. H. Moody, (Canadian Pacific Railway), Mr. Frederic C. Penfield (United States Vice-Consul-General), Mr. Sidney Castle, Mr. J. G. Colmer, Mr. C. M. Kennedy, C.B., Mr. A. J. R. Trendall, and Mr. Arthur Wade.

After the dinner the CHAIRMAN gave the toasts of "The Queen and the Empire," "The Prince and Princess of Wales, and the Royal Family," and "The Army, Navy, and Auxiliary Forces." VICE-ADMIRAL SIR J. E. COMMEREILL, M.P., responded for the navy, COLONEL W. W. KNOLLYS for the army, and LIEUT.-COLONEL T. H. GRANT for the auxiliary forces.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the health of the guest of the evening, reminded his hearers that Sir John Macdonald had been a member of the Dominion Parliament for 41 years, for 25 of which he had been a Minister of the Crown, and for no less than 22½ years Prime Minister of Canada. (Cheers.) During the whole of that period of 22½ years he had led the Liberal-Conservative party—a party which in Canada embraced the virtues of both great parties in the State here. (Laughter.) Time would fail him to glance even at the most important questions which during that long period Sir John Macdonald had successfully dealt with; but whether as Prime Minister, or as leader of a constitutional opposition, his career had been characterised by never-failing efforts to strengthen the tie that existed between the Mother Country and the Colony, and he had been eminently successful in carrying out a policy which had welded the provinces of Canada into a vast dominion, with a population of five millions of people, who entertained an unqualified sentiment of loyalty to the Mother Country, and was actuated by the single desire to perpetuate the blessings of freedom conferred by the British Constitution, and to maintain the connection with

the country from which they sprang. Having united together by one Constitution the administration of the seven provinces into which less than twenty years ago Canada was divided, Sir John Macdonald felt that it was necessary to do more, and accordingly the Intercolonial Railway from Halifax to Quebec, and then the Pacific Railway from Quebec to the Pacific Ocean, giving a means of intercommunication for the traffic of the Dominion, and, moreover, affording to the Mother Country a direct line of route for the purposes of defence from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were constructed under his auspices. (Cheers.) By this means an independent highway under the British flag had been opened from the heart of the British Empire in London to Australia, to China, and to India, and if Sir John Macdonald had no other claim upon the confidence of the people of Canada, and the cordial respect of the people of England, that of itself would be sufficient. But there had never been a time in the history of this country when the relations of the great American Republic with the people of Canada and of this country had been of such genuine and cordial friendship as at this moment. The existence of that feeling was largely due to the Washington Treaty, in which Sir John Macdonald, in connection with the Marquis of Ripon, the present Lord Idlesleigh, Sir Edward Thornton, and Mr. Montagu Bernard, had taken a very prominent part. In giving the toast of the evening, he (the Chairman) felt assured that he was proposing the health of one of the most deserving statesmen in the British Empire. (Loud cheers.)

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, who on rising to respond was received with prolonged cheering, referred to the able and energetic support which he had received from Sir Charles Tupper when the latter was a member of the Canadian Ministry. He next alluded to the great change that had taken place during the course of his official life in the feelings with which the colonies were regarded by this country. When, years ago, British America was divided into four colonies, all little weaklings, with hostile tariffs, and without any concert or united force, if the empire was threatened with any danger they were really a source of weakness. The Liberal-Conservative party in Canada resolved, as far as possible, to convert that weakness into strength, and it was the pride of his life to have been concerned in changing that spectacle into a transformation as magnificent in its moral effect as the transformation scene which he witnessed the other day at Drury Lane. (Laughter.) By it those four magnificent Provinces were united into one dominion, offering such inducements to their neighbours, and such pecuniary inducements perhaps to some Englishmen who held stock in the Hudson's Bay Company, that now, instead of being four wretched little provinces, they were a nation of 5,000,000 [of freemen. (Hear, hear.)] The union was effected by the free will of the people. There was no coercion from England, but they thought it out and worked it out for themselves, and when the proposition was made to the Mother Country the answer—as he must say it always was—was a gracious one. England said that she would assist and aid them in every way in this praiseworthy attempt. They succeeded, and now, as he had said, they were an auxiliary nation of 5,000,000 of people. Grattan, towards the close of the last century, said that he had sat at the cradle of the Irish Constitution and that he had followed its hearse. He (Sir John Macdonald) had sat at the cradle of the Federation of the Dominion of Canada, he had seen it grow up to a manly youth, and it now gave such promise of vitality that if there were such a thing as a Political Insurance Company he was quite sure the life of the Dominion of Canada would be accepted at a nominal premium. (Cheers and laughter.) Its constitution was a free one, based on the principles which had so long governed the Mother Country, and modified only to the extent which the differing circumstances of the two countries required. They had the common law in most portions of the Dominion, and in one of the old provinces of French Canada they had the French civil law—the best, the most scientific system of law in the world. The criminal law and the commercial law existed over the whole Dominion. He had been asked while in this country many questions with respect to the future of the Dominion. One of the questions was whether there was any doubt about the loyalty of the French-Canadians to the English Sovereign. He had the greatest pleasure in saying that if there was a loyal body of men within the bounds of the British Empire, it would be found amongst the French Canadians of the Dominion. (Cheers.) He would not enter into the causes of the sympathy which they felt with Riel, who was recently executed, it was a natural sympathy, but in no way affected the loyalty of the Canadians to the British Crown. It must be remembered that they became British subjects before the French Revolution, and the engagement to preserve their religion, their rights, their privileges, their institutions, and their property, had been religiously carried out. They had no sympathy with the modern infidelity, the rabid democracy, and the disregard of all authority which now existed in France. They were a moral and religious people, listening to their hierarchy and their priesthood, and as a Protestant he had no hesitation in saying that the best and finest moral police in the world was to be found in the priesthood of French Canada. He had been asked, supposing the restless ambition of France for colonisation should extend to French Canada, whether that would not be a disturbing cause. The answer was simply this, that we had got in the United States a powerful neighbour on the most friendly relations with Canada and this country, who was quite willing that we should remain as a separate nation in the northern portion of the Continent. Should France or any other European nation put its foot on North America the Monroe doctrine would come in, and France would find the same experience in Canada as she found in Mexico. Canada, therefore, was quite safe in that direction, and her existence and connection with the Mother Country would not be affected in any way by political disturbances. Pessimists, who were fond of proclaiming the decadence of England, said that other nations were increasing in population and power, while the limits of England prevented her from proportionately expanding. That might be if England had no colonies, but when they looked at the Dominion of Canada, with an area larger than the United States, every acre of which was in a beautiful climate, and with no impediments to the successful settlement of her vast and fertile soil; if they looked to Australia and to South Africa, they would see that if England remained comparatively stationary at home, she was increasing in her colonies in greater proportion than any other nation in the world. With regard to Imperial federation, he agreed that there must be something of the kind, and that as the auxiliary nations of Canada, Australia, and South Africa increased in wealth and population they must be willing to accept increased responsibilities. Speaking on behalf of Canada he declared that she was willing, and that she would be prepared to join the Mother Country in an offensive and defensive league for the maintenance of the empire and the flag of Great Britain. It had been asked why Canada should mix herself up in the conflict of nations. Her answer was that blood was thicker than water, and that her people were Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, far removed from the centre it might be, but still clinging to the Mother Country. (Loud cheers.) But, besides this sentiment, there was the feeling that England was the great moral force of the world, and that if sustained by these auxiliary kingdoms of hers she would always remain the greatest naval power of the world. Canada had the fourth

marine in the world, and both Canada and Australia could supplement the navy of England by powerful auxiliary fleets. With their aid assured, any Power which might be desirous of quarrelling with England would think twice before going to war, and England would be in a position to maintain permanently peace within her borders. In conclusion, Sir J. Macdonald adverted to the patriotic spirit and the military efficiency which had been displayed by the Canadian volunteers during the recent campaign against the rebels, and touched upon the subject of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which he declared to be a great imperial work. He believed that the route which it had opened was of vital importance to the Mother Country, affording, as it did, communication through British Territory direct from England to India, Australia, and China. The only Power by which it could be assailed was the United States, and such a thing now he regarded as being absolutely impossible. There was never a time when the two nations were so closely associated in feeling, sentiment, and goodwill as at this moment, and moreover they had discovered and carried into effect the means of preventing all wars by referring all their differences to arbitration. (Cheers.) He therefore looked to a great future for Canada. So long as she was connected with England she belonged to the sovereign nation of the world. There was no limit to her future expansion and progress. She might put aside all danger of foreign wars and all danger of having an unfriendly neighbour, and her people would look forward to their children and their children's children occupying Canada, and developing its great resources under the flag of England. (Loud cheers.)

A number of other toasts followed.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADA.

ON January 12th the monthly meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute was held at St. James's Hall, Regent Street, his Grace the Duke of Manchester in the chair. In spite of the very unfavourable weather there was a large attendance of members and friends. At the commencement of the proceedings a letter was read by Frederick Young, Esq., the honorary secretary, from General Fremantle, who commanded the brigade of Guards in the late campaign in the Soudan, and who bore emphatic testimony to the soldierly qualities of, and the excellence of the work done by, the officers and men of the New South Wales contingent attached to that brigade. After this a paper was read by Mr. J. G. Colmer, one of the officials serving under the High Commissioner for Canada, on "Recent and Prospective Development in Canada." A full report we have not space for, but the following extracts will be read with interest:—

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF CANADA.

"At first sight it may seem slightly humorous in speaking of recent development to refer to the growth of the public debt of Canada. But when the money which it represents has been spent upon the peaceful opening up of its resources, upon objects of public utility, for the general good, and, as in the case of all the Colonies, to strengthen its position as an integral part of the Empire, it will be seen that the question is an important one. The debt at the present time, deducting assets, is about forty-two millions sterling. Of this amount, excluding sinking funds, about three-fourths is payable in London, the remainder consisting of liabilities in Canada, such as the balances due to the various Provinces, trust funds, and the deposits in Government savings banks. It is equal to about eight pounds per head, and the annual interest to about seven shillings. This is not an unfavourable showing, and it may be mentioned that the money has been spent principally upon railways and canals, lighthouses, river improvements, harbours, docks, roads, public buildings, compensation to the various Provinces for property and revenue surrendered to the Dominion, and for the purchase and organisation of the North-West Territories. It is almost unnecessary to say that many of the works have been of Imperial as well as of local importance. Canada has never shirked responsibility in this respect. Her Majesty's Government, it is true, have on various occasions, and very properly, sanctioned guarantees for loans raised for such purposes, but the engagements of the country have always been promptly met, and for this reason the guarantees have not cost the Imperial Government a shilling. The great object has been to enable the Dominion to raise money cheaply, and this was done. The public debt differs in some respects from those of the Australasian Colonies. In the latter all the railways, or very nearly all, have been built with public funds by the Governments, but in Canada only about 1,000 miles come within this category, the remaining 9,000 miles being owned, constructed, and worked by companies. Some of them have received subsidies, but they are not Government railways. The revenue, which in 1869 was about fourteen millions of dollars, had increased, in 1879, to twenty-three millions, and, in 1884, to about thirty-six millions. The expenditure advanced in about the same ratio. Similar returns in Australasia include the railway receipts and expenditure, and this swells the figures in those Colonies. In Canada, however, this is only the case so far as regards the 1,000 miles already alluded to. The Dominion can borrow money at the present time at a rate much below that which had to be paid a few years ago. The loans of the Provinces, prior to confederation, were generally raised at five or six per cent., but recent loans were issued at four and three and a half per cent. Still, Canadian securities are not appreciated as they should be, and are comparatively much lower in price than their value warrants. English municipal stocks at similar rates of interest bring a higher price than Canadian Government stocks, but no forcible reason can be advanced why this should be. The Colony has never failed to meet its obligations, the security is the best that can be obtained, the money is spent, as a rule, on productive works, or for development; the indebtedness is not great, and the progress that will be made in the near future, as the resources of the country are brought under the influence of capital, brains, and muscle, makes the present debt sink into comparative insignificance. The time is not far distant, however, when Colonial stocks and debentures (all that has been said about Canada applies to the other Colonies equally) will be in much greater demand than now. The complaint is general of the dearth of good dividend paying investments at a reasonable price, and the public cannot do better than give more attention to Colonial issues. While upon this question, I must not forget to mention a concession made during the last Session of the Imperial Parliament, which is of much importance. The stamp duty prior to 1885 on bonds payable to bearer was half a crown per cent. This was increased to ten shillings in the last Customs and Inland Revenue Act, but I am glad to be able to say that upon the representation of the High Commissioner for Canada and the Agents-General for Australasia, Colonial debentures were exempted from the duty, placing them upon the same footing as Imperial and Indian securities. This is as it should be, and I trust that at no distant future the same treatment will be accorded to inscribed stocks."

DOMINION TRADE.

"The trade and commerce of the Dominion have expanded very largely within the last few years. There are now over ten thousand miles of railway open; in the last ten years the length of line has more than doubled, and it is an accepted fact that no better stimulus can be given to the development of any country than the construction of railways. The total amount of capital invested in such works in Canada to the end of the fiscal year, 1884, was about one hundred and twelve millions sterling. The canal system is too well known to require much comment, but it cannot in a paper of this kind be entirely passed over. It is sufficient to say, however, that by their aid an inland navigation has been formed for a distance of 2,260 miles—from the head of Lake Superior to the straits of Belle Isle—available for vessels of 500 tons register. The shipping interest is a powerful one, and Canadian vessels are to be found on every sea. Although many ships owned in Canada are registered in England, the tonnage of the Dominion stands fourth on the list of the maritime powers, according to recent statistics. Shipbuilding has been on the decline since the introduction of iron vessels, but, as the country possesses vast stores of coal and iron, it is almost certain that the industry will revive sooner or later. Indeed, a few iron ships have already been launched in the maritime provinces. The fisheries are of the annual value of about four millions, and are increasing. The coast abounds with all kinds of fish, and the rivers are full of life. The industry gives employment to nearly 60,000 men, the strength of which force, as a naval reserve, in time of war would be very great. No doubt there are many who can recall the Canadian court at the Fisheries Exhibition in 1883, which gave a good idea of the resources of the waters of the Dominion, and the measures that are taken to preserve and cultivate them. The manufacturing interests have increased very rapidly, and the amount of capital so employed, the number of men engaged, and the value of the products, has been much added to in a comparatively short time. In every part of the Dominion the chimneys of mills and factories may be observed, and the whirr of machinery is now a familiar sound. Cottons and woollens, machinery of all kinds, including locomotives, and manufactures of wood, iron, and other articles, may now be purchased of Canadian make. Of course agriculture is the first industry of all new countries, and it is a most important one in Canada. But she also possesses large quantities of coal and iron and other useful minerals, plenty of timber, and many of those advantages which have given to the Mother Country the pre-eminent position she occupies. In addition to this, Canadians are Englishmen. This is equal to saying that they are intelligent and energetic, fully imbued with the extent and value of the resources of their country, and determined to develop them to the utmost of their capacity. In the quinquennial period, from 1870 to 1874, the value of the annual import and export trade of the Dominion was nearly thirty-nine millions sterling, and from 1880 to 1884 it was more than forty-two millions. These figures do not include the trade that passes between the various Provinces, of which the railway returns, had I the space to deal with them, might give some idea. Adverse comparisons are sometimes made between the trade returns of the different Australasian Colonies and Canada, but it is not usually remembered that the former include the intercolonial commerce, while the latter do not embrace the interprovincial trade. The character of the exports may be gathered from the way in which they are classified:—products of the mine; fisheries; forest; agricultural produce; animals and their produce; manufactures and miscellaneous. Agriculture naturally supplies the most valuable portion of the exports. Large quantities of wheat and other cereals, flour, cheese, butter, live animals, and dead meat, are sent to England every year, and it is a business which is growing with much rapidity. With regard to cattle Canada enjoys a privilege possessed by only few countries, and the animals exported are permitted to land here and to be moved about with as much freedom as British cattle. This is owing to the immunity from disease, due to the stringent measures that have been taken to prevent its introduction. No animals are allowed to enter the Dominion without undergoing a strict quarantine of ninety days, and there is a Minister of Agriculture to continually watch over the interests of the farmers. A large amount of money has been spent in the importation of pedigree stock, and the farmers are beginning to reap the reward of their enterprise, in the dimensions to which the export business in live cattle is reaching. In 1877 the exports of cattle to England were 6,940, sheep 95,044. In 1884 the figures were 53,962 and 105,661 respectively. The total export, including Europe and the United States, in 1884, was 89,263 cattle, and 304,403 sheep. The large trade in agricultural produce is mutually important to the Mother Country and the Colony. It will be an auspicious day for the Empire when it can be said that it is able to produce all the food that it requires, as it will simplify many of the questions that now cause much discussion and difficulty. Because I have not dealt very fully with the various items of the export classification, please do not imagine that I am disposed to underrate their importance. I have already said a few words respecting the fisheries; the extent of the timber industry is fairly well known, while the minerals and manufacturing industries are beginning to attract the capital required to give an impetus to their development. It is generally supposed that the trade of the Dominion is confined to Great Britain and the United States. This is not the case, although the greater portion is with those countries. The exports find their way, in smaller or larger quantities, to every country in Europe, to South America and the East, and every endeavour is being made to extend these markets. It is well known that Canada has from time to time endeavoured to open up commercial relations of a closer kind than now exist with France and Spain, and although no treaties have yet been made, and like efforts on the part of the Mother Country have not been more successful, the discussion that has taken place encourages the belief that sooner or later some mutually satisfactory arrangement may be negotiated. I mention this to show the position the Dominion occupies in such matters, and I shall not be divulging a State secret if I say that Sir Charles Tupper was not long ago appointed jointly with Her Majesty's Ambassador to negotiate a treaty with Spain on behalf of Canada, had that country been prepared to grant the concessions which were required."

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

"The day cannot be far distant when some arrangement will be possible between the Imperial and Colonial Governments for the organisation of a systematic scheme of Emigration, in the spirit of mutual concession and financial assistance. It would be a source of general satisfaction if this should be one of the results of the forthcoming Exhibition. In most of the Colonies land can be obtained in large blocks, and a large and regular system of colonisation would provide employment for thousands, both on the land and in the other industries that follow in its wake. In Canada, the policy of the Government has been to offer to emigrants, in Manitoba and the North-West, 160 acres as a free grant, with the right to acquire another 160 acres, at from 8s. to 10s. per acre, payable in three years. Free grants of from 100 to 200 acres are also to be

obtained in most of the other provinces, and improved farms can be purchased on reasonable terms. There is also plenty of room, not only for those who have money to invest, but for men and women who are not afraid of hard work, and who are prepared to adapt themselves to Colonial life. The conditions of successful settlement are very similar to those that command success anywhere. Canada is not the place for what are known as "soft things," and I have no doubt that disappointment does sometimes arise from unrealised expectations of the kind, or from persons having proceeded without obtaining proper advice as to their suitability, or their prospects, or as to what they should do on their arrival. A very important part of the question, and one that is now being particularly felt, is the future careers of the rising generation. It cannot be denied that every year the difficulty of finding openings for them becomes greater. The reason is not far to seek. Many hundreds—one might say thousands—apply every year for appointments in the civil service, the army and navy, only a small proportion of whom succeed. The ranks of lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, and the other professional classes, are largely added to annually, but a few of them only have the chance of obtaining a lucrative living. An advertisement for a clerk brings hundreds of applications. The supply is greater than the demand, the market is overcrowded, and it is necessary to find some solution of the difficulty. There is nothing very new in emigration as a remedy, but it has not been taken advantage of to the extent that is desirable. Parents as a rule are not willing to part with their children, and the feeling is a natural one; but the time is rapidly coming when the choice will have to be made between the alternatives of keeping them at home, and impairing their chances of success in life, and of sending them to the Colonies, where there is plenty of room, and where they are wanted. It is advisable that the adoption of the latter course should be decided upon before young men fail in attempts to enter the army, navy, civil service, or the professions. A special training for a Colonial life is not necessary, but many things could be taught at school that would be most useful in such circumstances. Besides, it would make the parting so much easier than if suddenly determined upon. Emigration does not involve that complete separation that was the case thirty or forty years ago. Regular weekly postal communication now exists with the larger Colonies, and any of them can be reached in a few weeks. I do not mean to say that everybody is fitted for emigration, or that it is invariably attended with success, but it is certainly a remedy for the existing state of affairs that demands and deserves careful consideration."

SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

"The social condition of the people is also worthy of attention. Many of the questions, now being discussed in Great Britain, have already been solved in the Dominion. Long before School Boards were established in this country, Canada was in the enjoyment of a well-organised system. Every township is divided into sections sufficiently large for a school; trustees are elected to manage the affairs, and the expenses are defrayed by local rates and Government grants. In districts where the inhabitants are divided in their religious opinions, and mixed schools are not possible, the law enables separate ones to be provided. Teachers are trained at normal schools at the public expense. For those who can afford it—and the cost is very small—there are schools of a higher grade, managed also by trustees. At these, as well as at many excellent private establishments, a classical education is given, and pupils are prepared for the professions. There are also Colleges possessing University powers endowed with scholarships, open to youths prepared in the lower schools. Toronto, Montreal, and other places have schools of medicine; and the leading religious denominations have institutions at which young men are prepared for the ministry. For the higher education of girls there are also good schools—in fact, means of education both for the rich and the poor abound in the Dominion. Then, again, with regard to the liquor traffic, local option prevails, and there are many counties in the different provinces in which no alcoholic drink is sold, the inhabitants having decided by vote, under the terms of what is known as the "Scott Act," that its sale should not be permitted. In the North-West Territories, and in a part of Manitoba, entire prohibition prevails by special statute, and it is partly owing to this restriction, and to the care and good faith of the Hudson Bay Company in past times, that the Indians have been amenable to the good advice and counsels of the agents appointed to reside upon their reserves, and that they have made so much progress in civilisation. There is no State Church; religious liberty prevails, and this freedom has not given rise to any difficulties in connection with the education question. Each denomination raises the money required for its own purposes, and the clergy are selected and paid by the congregations. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is also permitted by the law of the land. A free and liberal franchise prevails; members of Parliament are paid for their services, and the Parliaments are quinquennial. The population of Canada is cosmopolitan, being composed of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, and their descendants, emigrants from Germany, Scandinavia, and most of the other European countries, and from the United States, but they all become Canadians, and join together in working out the destiny of their adopted country."

MR. FORSTER'S ILLNESS.—The illness of Mr. Forster, says the *Graphic*, has excited universal sympathy, and English politicians of all parties sincerely hope that he may soon be well enough to take his place in Parliament. By his high sense of honour, and by the sturdy independence of his character, Mr. Forster has made for himself a position of real importance in public life, and there are few statesmen whom the country could so ill afford to lose. At a memorable crisis in the history of the last Government he preferred to resign office rather than to associate himself with a policy of which he disapproved, and afterwards he did not hesitate to rebuke and vote against his friends when they seemed to him to be neglecting vital interests of the Empire. Action of this kind always exposes a statesman to misrepresentation, and Mr. Forster was probably not much surprised when he was told that he was a bitter enemy to Ireland, and that in attacking the Liberal Cabinet he was animated by motives of pique and jealousy. There are not many Englishmen who would now care to repeat these silly charges, for events have shown that he thoroughly understood the real wants of the Irish people, and that the Liberals would have acted wisely if they had followed his advice in the Sudan and in Egypt. In many other ways Mr. Forster has established a solid claim to the gratitude of his countrymen. His name will be always associated with the great measure by which our present educational system was established, and no one has defended more vigorously or so effectually the rights of the oppressed native races of South Africa. In connection with the question of Imperial Federation, too, he has done excellent service. There never was a more friendly feeling between England and her Colonies than at the present moment, and Mr. Forster is one of the foremost of those who have helped to bring about this good result.

LITERATURE.

- New India; or, India in Transition.* By H. J. S. Cotton, Bengal Civil Service. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square.
- Reform and Progress in India. A Few Thoughts on Administrative and other Questions connected with the Country and the People.* By an Optimist. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W.
- India, the Land and the People.* By Sir James Caird, K.C.B., LL.D., F.R.S. With Map of India. Third Edition. Cassell & Company, Limited, London, Paris, New York & Melbourne.
- Ideas about India.* By Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square.

WE have quite a plethora of books about India, indicative of the increased and increasing interest which is being felt in all that relates to that great dependency of the British Crown. The earnest endeavours of the late Mr. Fawcett, "the member for India," as he was called, to arouse Englishmen to a sense of duty in regard to Indian subjects, and to devote more serious attention to them, were not in vain; and the events of the past year, which saw us on the eve of a great war with Russia in defence of our Indian Empire, have been still more effectual. Perhaps never since Warren Hastings created—as he virtually did create—the Oriental Empire of Great Britain, and was impeached by his grateful countrymen for what he had done, have Britons been more conscious of the glory and responsibility attaching to their country in consequence than now. It is a good thing, and augurs well for both countries, that the inhabitants of Great Britain have at last begun to realise that the future of their country is bound up with that of India; that they cannot shake themselves free of the latter, and that they ought not if they could.

In the great speech on India which Mr. Bright delivered in Birmingham on the 7th of December last: the book which stands first in the list of four at the head of this article was thus referred to:—"I have been reading within the last few days a very remarkable book upon the whole of this question. It is called 'New India; or, India in the Transition.' The author of it is a Mr. Cotton, of the Bengal Civil Service. It is published by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., in London. I give those particulars because I wish to state that I think nothing could be more happy for this country and India than that the book should be carefully read by every man who, during the last fortnight has been elected to sit in the House of Commons." This means high praise, and means, of course, that the book in question is a book on India, much according to Mr. Bright's mind. Mr. Cotton describes himself as an official of twenty years' standing, and as being the son and grandson of members of the Indian Civil Service. There can be no question, therefore, as to his knowledge of the subject of which he treats. What then does he say of "India in Transition." He says, not simply that India is becoming leavened with our western civilisation and education, but that she is being revolutionised by it. Some time ago Professor Seeley pointed out with great force that our rule had become possible in India because India was not a nation, but an agglomeration of peoples, with no sense of national unity, and influenced by no national sentiment. He was bold enough to say, too, "If this state of things should alter, if by any process the population should be welded into a single nationality, if our relation to it should come to resemble even distantly the relation of Austria to Italy, then I do not say that we ought to begin to fear for our Dominion, I say we ought at once to cease to hope for it. . . . The moment a mutiny is but threatened, which shall be no mere mutiny but the expression of a universal feeling of nationality—at that moment all hope is at an end, and all desire ought to be at an end, of preserving our empire. Now, according to Mr. Cotton, the state of things in India is so altering that the differing populations are being welded into a single nationality; and a national sentiment is unmistakably growing, mainly through our own influence. He points to the demonstrations which were made in honour of Lord Ripon on his departure from India as affording evidence of it, declaring that the spectacle of a whole nation stirred by one common impulse of gratitude has never before been witnessed in Indian history, and that "no sign could show more clearly that the germ of a nationality has already developed into adolescence." He also finds evidence of it in the fact that on the death of Keshub Chunder Sen, "the natives of all parts of India, whatever their religion may have been, united with one voice in the expression of sorrow at his loss, and pride in him as a member of one common nation." He cites, too, in support of his contention the recent "unanimity of native thought in the protestations of India's loyalty to England," but warns us that undue importance must not be attached to those protestations of loyalty. He affirms, however, that there is no practical danger of the somewhat alarming future which Professor Seeley appears to contemplate. "We may assert with confidence," he says, "that India will no more break from its connection with England than it will from the Hindoo or Mahomedan periods of its history. We may anticipate a time when the existence of healthy relations will be guaranteed by the establishment of a Federation of native states—each with its own local autonomy and independence—under the immediate supremacy of England." Our occupation of the country, he considers, cannot be permanent, and for such a future condition of things as the quotation just made indicates, he bids us prepare.

Among other things, Mr. Cotton deals with "Native Opinion and Aspirations," "The Increased Bitterness of Race Feeling," "Administrative Reform," and "Political Reconstruction." The result is a book unquestionably able and important, and one which all who are interested in the future as well as the present relations of England and India should read.

"Optimist," in his book, follows on somewhat similar lines. He describes the country as being in a state of "acute development," and maintains that "all proposals for reform should be anticipated by the Government, and thus robbed of all elements of danger;" that the "people should be drawn closer to their alien governors, and should feel sure that any reasonable representation or complaint they may have to make will be sure to find a hearing." In his view a "middle

course seems required, in which all parties—the ultra-progressionists and the ultra-conservatives, the pessimists and the partisans of the 'New India' movement can join;" and it is with the hope of contributing some suggestions towards these great ends that he has written his book.

Sir James Caird's book is a book of travel and observation, and the same may be said of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's. After the great famine in India of 1876—7, Sir James was invited by Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, to become a member of the Famine Commission, which was appointed to inquire into the whole circumstances of that calamity, with a view to the adoption of such means as might prevent or mitigate future famines. As a member of this Commission he traversed the country, and undoubtedly had an unusually favourable opportunity for the observation of the "land and the people." Whatever was judged worthy of note was noted, and formed the basis of the portly volume before us. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, on the other hand, made his visit, or rather visits, to India in no official capacity, but simply as a private English gentleman, travelling for his own pleasure, and also to study the social and political condition of the country, with a view to its amelioration as far as articles in one of the Reviews and a book could accomplish it.

As to the need of reform in various ways in India, and the necessity, indeed, of ameliorative measures, the writers of these books seem to have no two opinions. Unquestionably the exceeding poverty of the poor of the country is a distinct danger. But how should the agricultural classes not be poor, or, at least, a large proportion of them, when the holdings are so small as they are in many cases? Sir James Caird speaks of a village where 350 cultivated acres were held by no fewer than 50 zemindars or landlords, the population of the village being 402. Another side, and a serious side, of this question is presented to us by "Optimist." He says: "It must have been noticed by any one who has noticed the economic changes going on at the present day in Northern India, that not only is the ancient proprietary body being ousted by the money-lending fraternity, but that simultaneously a movement is in progress by which the agricultural community is being gradually reduced to two classes—the rack-rented tenant and the too-often absentee proprietor." He warns us that unless something be done by way of remedy, we shall soon have another Ireland in Bengal, and an Ireland possessing no remedy like emigration for its economic evils.

The salt-tax is a tax which is often referred to, and not unfrequently denounced. We quote the following from Sir James Caird because it gives much information concerning it in a nutshell space—"I found the price of salt here (Dacca) three halfpence a pound. A family of four will consume four pounds a month, or 48 lbs. in a year, at a cost of 6s. The duty is nine-tenths of the price, or in this case about 5s. 5d., and, as the earnings of the family are 16s. a month, the salt-tax costs them the thirty-fifth part of their wages. This is equal in our term to a sevenpenny income tax, but it presses most heavily on the poorest, though it indeed is the only tax, direct or indirect, which the mass of the people pay."

Three of our four authors bear emphatic testimony to the prevalence of a bitter race feeling, and Mr. Cotton declares that it is increasing and deepening. No doubt race animosity has a cause beyond the control of officials, but it is not difficult from these pages to understand how this animosity is being intensified rather than softened and reduced. Take the following passage, and it is but a specimen of others that might be quoted from one or another of these four works:—"The proceedings of committees, benevolently designed by Government to bring together Europeans and natives as much as possible for the management of business, are conducted throughout with hectoring language and in a bullying tone; and a native commissioner who ventures to evince any independence of character, or to oppose an opinion of the chairman, may consider himself lucky if he escapes without personal contumely or insult. Native gentlemen go away silently; they rarely say what they feel; they would be horrified at anything like a scene, but they think and talk among themselves, and their feelings we may be sure are the reverse of respectful to our vaunted rule. At the same time we find in private life an almost universal use of irritating expressions in regard to natives, which are not the less offensive when they proceed from persons who hold an official position, and have in other respects the outward seeming of English gentlemen. Among women, who are more rapidly demoralised than men, the abuse of 'those horrid natives' is almost universal. Among men, how often do we hear the term 'nigger' applied, without any indication of anger or intentional contempt, but as though it were the proper designation of the people of the country! Even with those who are too well informed to use the term, the sentiment that prompts its use is not wholly laid aside." On reading such a passage as that, which one would like to believe was not well founded in fact, but which unhappily has the ring of truth in it, one blushes for his countrymen. The matter, indeed, is serious; for an increasing race animosity may become a most grave danger to the Empire. If officials laying claim to the character of English gentlemen do not realise what that demands of them they should at least, as Government officials, be made to understand that their words and acts have consequences which may occasion trouble.

For the promotion of social reform, "Optimist," who clearly is well acquainted with India and Indian subjects, recommends the formation of "an association, wherever possible, at district headquarters, with ramifications extending over the whole district: the association to take up such questions as matrimonial customs, education, sanitation, agricultural improvements, and kindred topics, and attempt to effect reform, or other desired objects, through the agency of special sub-committees, or assemblages of notable persons belonging to each section of the community concerned. . . . Assembled under their natural leaders in sub-committees, the people would express their views on the questions at issue, and make known by means of delegates to the district committee. The district committee would consider the results arrived at by the various subordinate bodies, referring them, if necessary, for reconsideration, and endeavouring to secure uniformity as much as possible; it would then communicate with the provincial or

higher organisation." One is startled by the boldness of the proposal; and yet simultaneously with the publication of the Optimist's book comes the news of the formation of a society very similar to that proposed. The society is called the "Central India Association," and not long since the *Deccan Daily Telegraph* contained a long letter from Mr. Mohendranath Chatterji, the honorary secretary, explaining its constitution and objects. The movement is significant as showing that, as Mr. Cotton contends, we have a "New India" now to deal with.

No one can read these four books without acquiring a mass of information concerning "India, the Land and the People," and becoming better informed as to India's present condition and needs.

New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen, 1840 to 1885. By William Gisborne. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886.

In writing this book, Mr. Gisborne's "hope has been to make men, who have filled high positions, and have been engaged in arduous political work in New Zealand, personally better known and understood; and, in that way, to add to the interest felt in that Colony." He has succeeded in producing a very readable little volume, full of epigrammatic descriptions of public men who have worked in New Zealand. The friends of some of these gentlemen will greatly enjoy the book, while a good number of the gentlemen themselves will be inclined to envy the earlier career of Mr. Hannibal Chollup, who had "draw'd upon a man and fired upon a man for less." One is an emotional politician; his feelings are too highly charged, and move him to and fro by jerks and starts; he is anxious to do what is right, but he is more afraid of doing what is wrong; and he wavers between opposite poles. Of another, a doctor, sarcasm is the prominent instrument; and the almost professional air of tenderness with which he uses it adds to the agony of his victim. Another overdoes everything; his praise is flattery and his blame vituperation; his orbit as a statesman takes the curve of an "hyperbole"—it may be presumed that a hyperbola is meant, and it is open to remark that it would be a blessing if a good many statesmen followed that curve and tarried long in infinite space between their disappearance from one branch of the curve and their reappearance in the other. The besetting sin of another is his sacrifice of principles to love of office; place is his political master; he almost begins to believe that he is New Zealand's only treasurer. Another has become taciturn, reserved and angular in his general relations; he is the monad of political life. The sarcasm of one statesman, always acrid, is at times vitriolic. Another was equally prepared to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. Another talks too much, puts himself too much in the foreground, and is wanting in suavity of manner; he is a man of great mediocrities; he can skim better than most men over thin ice, and when it breaks few can better make it appear as a part of the performance. One is a hard man to get on with unless he has his own way. The Antipodes have not a monopoly of quite all of these types.

From a larger point of view the value of the book consists in the remarks of a writer thoroughly familiar with the details of New Zealand history on one point after another in a long series of early blunders. "The Imperial Government, when everything was in their hands, had no native policy at all, but trusted apparently to Providence and procrastination." "Millions have been expended in suppressing native insurrections, the occurrence of which the antecedent expenditure of thousands in conducting some straightforward policy would probably have prevented." "The British Government, when further inaction was impossible, took, as usual, a definite course, but vaguely did as little as they could, and did that little badly; the old farce of allowing their hand to be forced was solemnly re-enacted." The book has plenty of remarks of this kind, well calculated to educate the minds of readers in the direction of a more scientific treatment of our vast opportunities and duties.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN CREDIT.

NOTHING is more sensitive than the Money Market, and nothing indicates with greater precision a nation's credit, or the stability, in the judgment of the world, of a nation's position. The "state of the funds" is a matter of absorbing interest to speculators and investors, and to the social economist, the politician, and statesman, though for other reasons, it is scarcely less so. The European Bourses are economic and political barometers of unerring accuracy, and the general tendency to buy "for the rise" or "for the fall" on the part of the keen gentlemen who do business upon them shows, on the whole, the tendency of a nation's course, whether upwards and onwards, or downwards and backwards. In view of these facts, then, the following table, compiled from quotations given on the 26th ult. of the condition of the market the day before, has a significance which cannot be missed or mistaken:—

BRITISH STOCKS.

British, 3 per cent. Consols	...	...	...	99½
India, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	102¾
Canada, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	104
Cape, 4½ per cent. ...	...	...	...	104
Natal, 4½ per cent. ...	...	...	...	105
New South Wales, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	104
New Zealand, Inscribed ...	...	...	...	102
Queensland, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	102
South Australia, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	102
Victoria, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	105

FOREIGN STOCKS.

Austrian Silver Rentes (Jan. 23) ...	...	...	...	68
" 4 per cent. Gold ...	...	...	...	90
French 4½ per cent. ...	...	...	...	109¾
" 3 per cent. Rentes (Jan. 23) ...	...	...	...	8r
Hungarian, Gold, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	80½
Italian, 5 per cent. ...	...	...	...	96½
Russian, 5 per cent., 1862 ...	...	...	...	96½
" 1871 ...	...	...	...	97½
United States, 4 per cent. ...	...	...	...	125¾

FORMATION OF BRANCHES, AND ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE.

BRITISH subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

THE SECRETARY,

Imperial Federation League,
43, St. Margaret's Offices,
Victoria Street,

London, S.W.

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

1. A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.

2. Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—

(a) A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

(b) A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.

Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.

(c) The names and addresses of the members of the Association.

(d) A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."

3. On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.

4. The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other, with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.

5. It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of Branches.

Such central organisations, if formed, would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.

6. Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.

7. Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.

8. Individual members may be supplied with all publi-

cations of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.

9. The General Committee hopes to be furnished with reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.

10. It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of Imperial importance.

11. By the aid of the organisation of the League information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.

12. It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in Parliament and in the press, etc. etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.

13. The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year. Annual registration fees paid before the 1st of January, 1886, will be considered as paid for the whole year 1886.

It is to be observed that the ordinary Annual Subscription by members of the League is One Guinea, but the Annual Registration Fee has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid. Although the General Committee only require the "annual registration fees" to be sent from Branches, still, considering the heavy expenditure which will have to be incurred in carrying out the objects of the League, they will thankfully receive contributions from the Branches as well as from private individuals.

THE PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL.—We regret that the name of Frederick Young, Esq., was left out of the list of the names published in the January number of this journal, of those who attended the Conference held on July 29th, 1884, at which the first steps were taken towards forming the Imperial Federation League. The omission was the consequence of following, without strict verification, a list which had already been published, and which, it was assumed, was accurate and full. It is, however, none the less regrettable on that account, especially as Mr. Young has been for many years an earnest worker in the cause, and this at a time when it was not so powerful and popular as now. Not only did Mr. Young attend the Conference, but he took public part in it, and so strong were his claims to recognition in connection with the movement felt to be, that his name was at first mentioned in connection with the Chairmanship of the Committee; but with admirable self-abnegation he declined the position, and urged that Mr. Forster should be elected, as being better able, on account of his public position and large influence, to promote the object in view. Mr. Forster himself generously said in reference to the proposal that he should occupy the position of Chairman, "If I am to be there, I shall have to get the assistance of Mr. Young, and I cannot mention the name of Mr. Young without saying that, through bad report and good report, and through no report at all—which is by far the most disheartening thing—my friend, Mr. Young, has stood by this cause of the permanent unity of the Empire for many years past." May Mr. Young live to see crowned with success the cause which he has so consistently advocated, and for which he has so patriotically toiled these many years.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

The Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., Chairman.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

W. Shepherd Allen, M.P.
 W. J. Allsup.
 Sir James Anderson.
 Sir R. Anstruther, Bart., V.C., M.P.
 T. Archer, C.M.G. (late Agt.-Gen. for Queens-
 The Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne. [Ireland].
 W. G. Aston, H.B.M. Consul-General, Corea.
 A. Baldwin (Kidderminster).
Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
 R. Beadon (Tasmania).
 Henry C. Beeton (Agent-General for British
 H. R. Beeton. [Columbia].
 Gilbert Beith, M.P.
 H. T. Mackenzie Bell.
 H. M. Bompas, Q.C.
 S. Barker Booth.
 W. C. Borlase, M.P.
 Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P.
 S. B. Boulton.
 Lord Brabazon.
 The Right Hon. Lord Brabourne.
 Sir Thomas Brassey, Bart., K.C.B., M.P.
The Hon. J. W. Bray (late Premier of South
 Rev. G. F. Browne (Cambridge). [Australia].
W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
 Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
 James Bryce, M.P.
 Professor Montagu Burrows (Oxford).
 J. J. Butcher (Newcastle-on-Tyne).
 W. S. Caine, late M.P.
 The Master of Caius College, Cambridge.
 Hugh Carleton (New Zealand).
 W. C. Cartwright, late M.P.
Lord Castleknock and Ossory.
 Sir R. Cayley (Stamford).
 Lord Eustace G. Cecil, late M.P.
 H. B. Christian (Cape).
 Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill.
 Hyde Clarke.
 Professor E. C. Clark (Cambridge).
 A. Clayden (New Zealand).
 Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
Arthur Cohen, Q.C., M.P.
 L. L. Cohen, M.P.
Captain J. C. R. Colomb.
 Sir John Cooche.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G. (late New
 A. Cameron Corbett, M.P. [South Wales].
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British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., has given notice that he will bring the subject of Colonial co-operation with the Mother Country for mutual defence, as suggested by the Imperial Federation League, under the notice of the House of Commons.

SEVERAL of our correspondents have suggested that the opportunity which the coming Colonial and Indian Exhibition will offer for holding a conference on Imperial Federation ought not to be lost. They will be glad to know that the matter has been under consideration by the Executive Committee of the League, and some of the more distant Colonial branches have been notified that such a conference will probably be held between the middle of June and the middle of July, and requested, if possible, to send delegates.

WE are glad to note from the report of the London Chamber of Commerce, presented at the annual meeting which was held at the Mansion House on February 11th, that that important body has considered in the past year, among other great questions, the question of Imperial Federation. Referring to this fact, in moving the adoption of the report, MR. J. H. TRITTON said:—"Imperial Federation was a grand phrase, and carried a lot of sentiment behind it, but what was required was that the links connecting ourselves with our brothers beyond the seas should be more complete than at present. At present a good deal of nebulosity attached to the question, but as time progressed, he hoped it would become a matter of fact." We welcome MR. TRITTON to the ranks of those who have declared for Imperial Federation, and venture to suggest that he would help to fulfil his own expressed hope by joining the League.

HOWEVER true it may be of some of our smaller Colonies, which in the strictest sense of the term are "dependencies," that they are "*in statu pupillari*," and "like children still require the care and guidance of the old country," it is not true of the great self-governing Colonies, as a public man has recently not over felicitously said. These Colonies are continually giving proofs of having arrived at a vigorous maturity, and of being worthy, like grown-up sons, of being admitted to close, equitable, and responsible partnership with the parent. So far from these Colonies being "*in statu pupillari*" to us, we are in many respects "*in statu pupillari*" to them. It would be the easiest possible thing to point out several important matters in which we could learn from the Colonies, and follow their lead with much advantage. To do so, however, would be to tread dangerously near, if not actually to trespass upon, the forbidden ground of party politics, and therefore we refrain.

A NUMEROUS and influential deputation waited on LORD GRANVILLE on February 19th, to urge the importance of State-directed colonisation and emigration. LORD BRAZON introduced the deputation, which represented, he said, 170,000 working men. MR. ALFRED SIMMONS, secretary of the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union, said "their proposal was that the Colonial Governments should place at the disposal of the Home Government, or of a board to be created for that purpose, various tracts of Colonial lands, upon which lands an almost unlimited number of persons might, under a carefully devised scheme of colonisation, be advantageously settled. They suggested that the money should be advanced on a loan, but not derived

from the rates and taxes, and that it should be repaid by the proposed Colonial peasant farmers in easy instalments. Other speakers followed, and in the end his lordship asked to have in writing the character of the intended loan, and the conditions which would attach to it, that he might submit it to the Treasury.

THE increased attention which is being devoted to the Colonies is very striking. Not only do the papers teem with discussions of Colonial subjects, but lectures on the Colonies are being delivered to large and most appreciative audiences all over the country. There was a time—nor is it so very long ago, either—when Colonial subjects fell flat; but now a lecturer can be sure of an audience if he announces a lecture on Canada, or New Zealand, or any other of the great Colonies. No doubt, this is partly due to the remarkable material progress which the Colonies have made, and their value to this country from a commercial point of view. No doubt, also, it is partly due, and very largely due, to the fact that Englishmen generally are awakening to a sense and perception of their importance, economically and politically. It is a satisfaction to feel that—of late, at all events—the Imperial Federation League has been influential in no small degree in producing this awakening. In particular, the publication of this journal has been the means of promoting the discussion, through the Press and otherwise, of Colonial and Imperial, as distinguished from parochial, questions; and in doing this in the future will, to a large extent, lie its usefulness.

WE note that, among others, PROFESSOR LAMB has been lecturing on Australia. The lecture in question was delivered on Saturday evening, January 30th, before the members of the Owen's College Union, Manchester. In acknowledging a vote of thanks, the Professor said, with regard to Imperial Federation, that "it could be accomplished after careful deliberation, and when the people of both countries had come to understand better than they now did, their respective and joint interests." His opinion was that the idea should not be lost sight of, but should be nursed until it was ripe, and "then, when we once again had a real statesman or two, the question might be settled." This is exactly what we are seeking to do. We are seeking to keep the idea well before the vision of the nation, to familiarise the minds of the people with it, and by thorough discussion of it to prepare it for the "real statesman or two" of the future, who will conduct it to realisation.

THE Melbourne *Leader*, commenting on the speech of the MARQUIS of LANSDOWNE, when on his recent tour in the North-West Provinces and British Columbia, says:—"He pointed out that, if the Colonies did not think themselves already sufficiently represented in London, they had only to say so; but he condemned the idea of colonial members of the Imperial House of Commons, on the ground that they would be simply 'lost' in that assemblage. Taken in connection with the recent pronouncement of the *Toronto Mail*—the organ of Canadian Conservatism—against confederation, this speech of the GOVERNOR-GENERAL's may be said to settle the matter as far as Canada is concerned." Our Australian contemporary must have curious ideas indeed as to the way in which matters are "settled"—especially matters of high Imperial and Colonial importance—"as far as Canada is concerned." We believe that a Governor-General is not an autocrat, "settling" Canadian matters by his own "I have said," and we presume that there is some appeal from the *Toronto Mail*.

MOREOVER, the *Leader* appears to think that there is no alternative to colonial members sitting in the House of Commons. Very shortly the February number of this journal will be in his hands, and then he will ascertain that SIR JOHN MACDONALD—the Premier of Canada, and “organ of Canadian Conservatism” more truly than the *Toronto Mail*—pronounces as emphatically against colonial members sitting in the British House of Commons as LORD LANSDOWNE, and for the same reason; and yet SIR JOHN is a decided and zealous Federationist. The fact is—and we would have the *Leader* take note of it—the possible, or, at least, the proposed solutions of the problem are not one, but many, and it must not be concluded, because one of these is objected to, that the objector objects to all, or declines to accept the principle upon which they proceed.

It is singular how unfortunate some speeches are. They are reported in the newspapers, and commented upon by editors, and at length, in some extraordinary and mysterious way, they are accepted and understood as conveying a meaning very different from that which the speaker expressed. LORD LANSDOWNE's speech on board H.M.S. *Dryad*, at Victoria, British Columbia, has suffered in this way. We read the speech more than once as it was reported in the Canadian papers, and, while it certainly contained criticisms of the views of Federationists, and indicated difficulties as regards Canada, it seemed conceived in a spirit of sympathy, as, indeed, we should have concluded it would be. There was nothing in the speech which would warrant the bringing of a charge of inconsistency against his lordship, if he declared strongly in favour of the Federation movement to-morrow.

We have made a note about the odd fate of some speeches, and the extraordinary way in which they are sometimes accepted as having a meaning which is not expressed by them, and which does not inhere in them. A similar thing may be said, not only about speeches, but also about some things which are written. We are reminded of this by the letters of two gentlemen who have favoured us with communications, one of whom discovers “Jingoism” in our journal, and the other rates us because we have attached ourselves—so he says, but we were not aware of it before—to the “peace-at-any-price party.” Truly, “what is one man's meat is another man's poison.” We suppose that what makes all the difference is the assimilative powers. It is told of HOGARTH that, on one occasion, a young lady was expressing her admiration and envy of his wonderful power of caricature. HOGARTH interposed by telling her that she need not envy him his gift, for by long exercise of it he had destroyed his power of perceiving and appreciating beauty, and that now he never saw even “the human face divine,” but only a caricature of it. Can it be that these gentlemen are caricaturists? It may be so. But more probably they belong to that infatuated class of people who wear coloured (political) spectacles. Everything they see is either blue or yellow, according to the colour of the medium through which they view it.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the two gentlemen referred to do not belong to the Imperial Federation League. Good Federationists do not look at the affairs of the Empire, or anything that concerns them, through coloured spectacles. The result is that they see things as they are a little more clearly than the coloured spectacles people. We would very respectfully and earnestly, ask these latter, when they honour us with a perusal of these columns, that they will be good enough, just for the time at least, to lay aside their blue or yellow spectacles, whichever they may have elected to wear.

THE fact is, we are neither Jingo-ists or Peace-at-any-price-ists (the one word is as elegant as the other, while both are a dishonour to our English speech). We certainly have no sympathy with a blatant war spirit; but we just as certainly believe in contending for God and our right. In seeking to bring about the Federation of the British Empire, we believe we are labouring in the cause of peace, and rejoice accordingly. Just as surely do we believe that we are labouring to place the Empire in a position successfully to uphold, if necessary by arms, her just rights against unprincipled foreign aggression, and as patriots we esteem this a privilege. On any other basis than that of peace and justice we believe that the Federation of the Empire would be impossible. SIR JOHN MACDONALD's recent words are significant in this connection. He believed, he said, that the policy of Britain was a peace policy, and this was one of the reasons why he wished to see the Colonies in the closest union with her. “With their (the Colonies') aid assured,” he declared it as his conviction, “any Power which might be desirous of quarrelling with England would think twice before going to war, and England would be in a position to maintain permanently peace within her borders.”

It appears that all the mail contracts for the conveyance of mails to the Australian Colonies, *via* the Red Sea, with the exception of a local service for the northern portion of Queensland, come to an end in February, 1888. A year ago the SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES sent a circular telegram to the Governor of each of the Colonies, asking that the question of the future carriage of mail matter should be considered. The Minister controlling the Post Office in South Australia, the HON. R. C. BAKER, having prepared a scheme to provide, not only for the future carriage of mails, but also for a Postal Union between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies, and gained the assent to it not only of his own Government, but of most of the sister Colonies, came to London, and has been negotiating with the Home Government. After some delays and differences, arrangements have been agreed to, on the strength of which a call has been made for tenders for weekly mail service in twenty-nine days from London to Adelaide, on the termination of the present postal contracts. All the details are not yet known, for, on enquiry at the office of the Agent-General for South Australia, we find that the convention has not been absolutely concluded; but, from what is known of them, we may look for such postal facilities as do not exist under the present arrangements. Nothing, however, can be deemed quite satisfactory, or final, till we get an Imperial Penny Postage.

THE new Secretary and Under Secretary of State for the Colonies are LORD GRANVILLE and MR. OSBORNE MORGAN. We trust that LORD GRANVILLE will prove himself to be an energetic and far-seeing Colonial Secretary; but it is a matter of common knowledge that he has not received his present appointment on account of any previously known or expressed sympathy with those whose fortunes were committed to his charge. It is equally a matter of common knowledge that he was Foreign Minister at the time when the unfortunate arrangements with regard to New Guinea and Angra Pequena were made. With regard to MR. OSBORNE MORGAN it can only be said that as he is altogether unknown to the Colonies, and is chiefly known to the public at home on account of his connection with the Burials Bill, it is perhaps hardly fair to say that he will not develop an interest in his new subject equal to that which he certainly displayed in his former one. But the real grievance that lies at the bottom of the whole matter is, that not a single Colony throughout

the world, either through its legislature or through its accredited representative in London, would have conceived the idea of nominating either LORD GRANVILLE or MR. OSBORNE MORGAN for their present posts. As long as we persist in making our Colonial appointments in deference to some wretched party necessity at home, instead of in conformity with Colonial opinion and needs, we are not only doing no good, but are doing real and lasting harm.

THE COMMERCIAL VALUE OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

FIRST ARTICLE.

THE Anglo-Saxon race is nothing if not practical. Whether resident in the Mother Country or the Colonies, an Englishman is more open to the influence of a promising commercial operation, than subject to the emotions of sentiment. Patriotism is, perhaps, the weakness to which we plead most willingly guilty, yet it is doubtful whether, at an important crisis of our national history—such, for instance, as a *plébiscite* on Imperial Federation—personal and pocket interest would not rank superior, in each voter's estimate, to the future of the British Empire. This is, doubtless, the weak point in our national character, and it prevails, it is but fair to confess, more widely in the Mother Country, where the intensity of the battle of life narrows and embitters our views, than in the Colonies, where the contest of the survival of the fittest is less extremely marked, and where money and money's worth is less exclusively the ideal of existence.

It would appear, at first sight, that an estimate of national character bears no connection with purely economic considerations, and that a cause, good in itself, whatever its purport, must sooner or later recommend itself to legislative enactment. Experience proves that this is not the case. The historian, the economist, and the statesman, know but too well how greatly the idiosyncracies of national character affect social and legislative progress. It is necessary, therefore, in any new scheme, to weigh the suitability of the proposal to the known or supposed feelings of the citizens whose present or future position is therein concerned. In this respect Imperial Federation is, confessedly, involved in complications of all kinds. The British Empire is composed of more heterogeneous elements than those of any other Power. Its enormous population of over 300,000,000 souls includes almost every known nationality, and every extreme, from the highest point of culture and civilisation as yet attainable, to the lowest degradation known amongst human beings. How is this enormous mass to be welded together in such wise as to work elastically as a harmonious whole, and yet with sufficient cohesion to withstand the occasional strains which divergent interests cannot fail to bring to bear? Such a herculean and unprecedented task may well appal the wisest, whilst it also attracts the humanitarian and the statesman, who feel urged and inspired, the one by a vision of universal peace, the other by the certainty, if successful, of inscribing a brighter page in the history of the world than has yet fallen to the lot of man.

No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and the principle on which this fact is based is equally potent in the relations between man and man. Legislation to be successful must be adapted to those who are to be regulated by its provisions. So also, to my mind, Imperial Federation, if it is to pass from the sentimental stage to that of a law, convention, treaty, or constitution, voluntarily binding our 300,000,000 subjects, must contain elements of attraction to all these subjects, whether civilised or barbaric, rich or poor. That universal element lies ready to our hand in the prospects of trade, combined, as it might be, with unprecedented security, ensured by the largest naval (and perhaps also in the future, military) power. If we can show all sides that each has something to gain from the proposed partnership, that the Old Country as well as the new and younger ones, will, in the long run, be richer, stronger, and less liable to the terrors of war if combined together, than if each pursues its separate existence, then the problem is as good as solved. If we can demonstrate that co-operation is applicable between countries across the seas, as advantageously as

amongst the inhabitants of any one locality, then will a demand for that mutual combination arise, which politicians will find as easy to satisfy as it now appears visionary and distant.

Let us examine whether the conditions for such a partnership between nations exist, and are applicable as between the United Kingdom and her Colonial possessions. I am strongly of opinion that each side has that to offer the other which is well and fully worth the acceptance of each; and, also, that the status and interchanging power of the whole, when combined, would be much more valuable to each member of the Federation than continued relations on our present basis of semi-independent countries.

In the first place, union can only be effected through the Mother Country. That fact is, in itself, an important asset to the political capital of the United Kingdom. Every Colony and possession can obtain from England greater financial, commercial, and naval assistance than from any Colony, or from all the Colonies combined. Without England, Australasia would not seek to federate with Canada; nor, without Britain, would India seek union with Africa, although the latter countries are geographically near to one another. Each Colony admits and recognises the utility (to itself) of an alliance with the Mother Country; but, except in the case of those which are naturally adjacent, they do not propose to federate.

The present position is greatly in favour of England. It is this state of affairs which I wish to bring home to residents within the United Kingdom. The old theory as to the uselessness and the dead-weight of the Colonies must be got rid of at once. We are still so far ahead of the Colonies in wealth, in industrial development, in political and naval supremacy, as a centre of the financial and commercial activity of the world, that we (the Old Country) are highly valuable as allies and as partners. In a few years—a few generations, at most—the position will be reversed. The population of the Colonies will then exceed that of the unfavourably situated little northern isles; industries, which as yet exist not, will have arisen, and will add their output to the glut of European production; capital, menaced by the new socialistic economies, will probably have left, in important quantities, our inhospitable shores. In a word, the Colonies will have become self-supporting, and the nucleus of production will have left Europe for trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific States. Then, it will be too late for us to join in partnership with the energetic, youthful communities; our opportunity will have been lost; and, fight as we may, there will be no future for us but to serve as the text for a further chapter on the rise and fall of nations. Nations, like individuals, have their opportunities; to ignore, and pass them over, is fatal to all concerned.

On the other hand, if the commercial community of this country reads aright the severe lesson now written in letters of fire before our eyes, in the words *Continental competition*; if we (wiser than our statesmen who, ostrich-like, hide their heads in the sands of partisan warfare, instead of mapping out the country's future with sagacious foresight) seize the golden opportunity whilst we can, and impose Federation as the first duty of our Government, then the Old Country will be saved, and will enter, re-invigorated, on a new period of prosperity.

I confess that Federation, in my eyes, is the only issue from the economic impasse in which England at present finds itself. Without Federation, popular ignorance, misled by self-interest, will force England into tariff warfare with other nations, under cover of which our trade and our industries will transfer themselves into easier and more natural channels—probably to our Colonies and the United States. Even if this pessimist view should prove exaggerated, it is clear that we shall, at an early date, have to reckon with a yet almost-unfelt, but most menacing factor—the competition of the States. It is evident to those who care to see (and nothing is more disheartening and ominous than the number of English statesmen, of both parties, who refuse to admit, or prepare for, what is coming) from the financial and industrial position of the United States, that we are rapidly approaching a radical change of the commercial policy of our energetic and intelligent American cousins. If that day arrives before England unites with

her Colonies in a Federated Empire, I sadly fear that the brilliant afterglow of the British sunset will date from that hour.

The commercial supremacy of the United Kingdom is thus distinctly menaced, on the East as on the West, in Europe as in America. We can see the waters yearly rising, we know how great the inundation of foreign products has been; are we to sit still, like fatalists, till the dam, which yet protects us, is sapped at the base, and until the breach widens beyond possibility of repair?

The issue is clear before the country. We appear to have but the choice of Federation on the one hand, or of retaliation on the other. We cannot remain as we are, and thanks to blindness in the past, surpassed only by our ministerial equanimity in the present, there are no new markets which can give immediate occupation to our operatives. Federation, with the consequent emigration, will relieve our congested towns, create new consumers, and set flowing afresh the numerous streams of trade which create the river of national prosperity. Retaliation and tariff warfare are simply other names for ruin.

The ideas thus summarily expressed are based on a close study of the movement and the direction of British trade. I could not claim, to-day, space for the figures and tables on which I have based my conclusions, but as the subject is well worth serious consideration, whatever the opinions others may be inclined to form, I will, as time permits, submit these data to the readers of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

KENRIC B. MURRAY.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY OF HER COLONIAL AND FOREIGN TRADE.

A SOMEWHAT exaggerated view of the progress of our exports to the Colonies, in comparison with those to the rest of the world, is often taken by those who, not unnaturally, conclude that the official figures for a series of years should exhibit an exactly similar statement of the figures for each year; because a minor change of system, duly set forth at the time of its adoption, is often lost sight of by those who now consult the trade accounts. Sir Alexander Galt was quite correct when, at the Mansion House meeting, he affirmed that since 1872 the exports from the United Kingdom had been steadily declining, whilst its trade to the Colonies had been steadily increasing; but not strictly accurate in the percentage of increase and decrease. Up to the year 1872 it had been the custom to specify all goods as going to the country in which the port for which the carrying vessel cleared out happened to be situated, without regard to their ultimate destination. In this way when the transit to India became overland through Egypt, consignments by that route to our Eastern possessions swelled the exports to Alexandria. Those destined for the West Indian Colonies, or for the continent of South America, when taken by the Royal Mail steamers, figured as exports to Barbados, or St. Thomas—the one a British and the other a Foreign island—according to whether the vessel cleared out at Southampton for the first or the last of these places. In the same way the winter traffic, which, during the months when the St. Lawrence is closed, goes by way of Portland to Quebec or Montreal, would not be credited to the Dominion of Canada, but the United States. This source of error, though noticed many years before, was not removed till 1872, when the senders of goods, on through rates, or where the real place for which intended was known, were required to so state their entry outwards. This change was at first only tentative, and not until 1874 or 1875 did it fully affect the respective totals. Its effect may be judged by the sudden drop in the exports of British produce to Egypt, which fell from £7,200,000 in 1872, and £6,200,000 in 1873, to £3,600,000 in 1874, and £2,900,000 in 1875. Not all of this would relate to our Indian trade, for that to China would share in the correction, and the frequent fluctuations in the shipments, both in quantity and value, might conceal its extent in the larger amounts going to these quarters. It may be noted, however, that the Statistical Abstract, which shows that the total of our British exports

fell from £255,000,000 in 1873, to £223,000,000 in 1875, assigns to India an increase from £21,400,000 in the former, to £24,200,000 in the latter.

Since it so happens that there are more foreign ports through which goods may pass from hence in transit to the hands of colonial traders than there are British ports through which foreign traders can receive their supplies, it is still not unlikely that the Colonies fail to be credited with the full amount they receive, on account of the numerous omissions made by shippers in describing the place to which their goods are going, rather than that where the break in carriage takes place. These, however they may impair the exactness of the totals, and so alter the proportions, will scarcely throw out the comparison of one year with another, for they may be taken to be of pretty regular recurrence.

The following figures of exports of British and Irish produce appear in the Statistical Abstract:—

	To British Possessions.	To Foreign Countries.
1872	£60,555,997	£195,701,350
1873	66,328,471	188,836,132
1874	72,280,092	167,278,029
1875	71,092,163	152,373,800
1876	64,859,224	135,779,980
1877	69,923,350	128,969,715
1878	66,237,486	126,611,428
1879	61,002,111	130,529,647
1880	75,254,179	147,806,267
1881	79,364,595	154,658,083
1882	84,826,435	156,040,727
1883	83,477,552	156,321,921
1884	80,875,946	152,149,296
1885	77,909,880	135,121,527
	£1,013,987,481	£2,128,777,902

It is difficult to estimate how much ought, for the reason before mentioned, to be transferred from the Foreign to the British possessions; but if we set the sum at between four and five millions we may say that, in round numbers, the Colonists took in 1872 £65,000,000 whilst Foreigners took £191,000,000 worth of home goods. Comparing these with the figures of last year, £78,000,000 as against £135,000,000, we find that the one shows an increase at the rate of 20 per cent., the other a decrease of 30 per cent. to have taken place in the short period of 14 years. Foreign countries then purchased from us very nearly three times as much as our own fellow subjects; now they take considerably less than twice as much. The same rates of progress for a similar period will bring them on a level at the close of this century. Can there be the slightest doubt as to which branch of our trade it is both our duty and our interest to foster? Our imports have not advanced in altogether the same ratio, but the particulars of these must be reserved for a future occasion. At present the figures for last year are worthy of closer inspection as well as of comparison with those of the preceding year (1884). Condensing these into groups by a geographical division, for the purpose of saving space, they stand thus arranged in order of importance:—

British Possessions.		Foreign Countries.	
East Indies	£32,182,465	United States	£21,977,344
Australasia	25,147,178	Holland and Belgium	16,691,165
North America	7,207,049	Germany	16,402,091
South Africa	3,825,861	France	14,978,367
Hong Kong	3,758,406	Southern Europe	14,410,808
West Indies	2,497,087	Turkey and Egypt	9,700,926
Other places	3,291,834	Northern Europe	9,614,402
	£77,909,880	China and Japan	7,297,848
		Other parts Asia and Africa	5,529,547
		Other parts America	18,519,029
			£135,121,527

Leaving aside the trade to Northern and Central Europe, it will be seen that we now send to our own possessions about as much as to the whole world besides. Coming to a closer comparison, Australasia takes considerably more than the United States. Our Eastern Empire absorbs of our products as great a quantity as the whole of the Mediterranean, Turkey and Egypt, China, Japan, with other Asiatic and African places. Our Canadian, African and West Indian settlements, together with some others scattered elsewhere, are fully equal in their demands upon us, to the whole continent of America with the exception of the United States. Of the trade with the most ancient empires of the East, together with the nationalities of the South and those of the New World, one-half flows into the hands of those

who own the same Sovereign as we in the United Kingdom. Depreciated prices caused the values of the Colonial portion to fall from £81,000,000 in 1884 to £78,000,000 in 1885, although in bulk there was some increase; but at the same time the Foreign portion fell, owing to the combined effects of lower prices and shorter shipments, from £152,000,000 to £135,000,000—a rate of decline in the latter case three times as great as in the former.

One other mode of comparison may heighten the effect of the contrasts already drawn. Of the £213,000,000 at which the whole British exports of last year were valued, £102,000,000 were the products of our textile industries, and £43,000,000 resulted from our workings in metals and minerals, to which two branches of our manufactures we thus owe fully two-thirds of the merchandise with which we are able to supply the world. In 1884, of £233,000,000 which comprised the whole of the goods that the United Kingdom exported, £110,000,000 was in textiles, and £50,000,000 in metals. There are no figures yet published which will show the relative proportions of each kind which went to the Colonies; but as regards the textiles, it can be ascertained that of certain principal articles £33,000,000 were taken to the Colonies, £8,000,000 to the United States, and £20,000,000 to Central Europe. These values were less than those in 1884 by £1,800,000 in the Colonial portion, £1,000,000 in that of the United States, and £2,200,000 in that of Europe.

Of the mineral branch, the specified articles were supplied to the Colonies in the proportion of £15,000,000 as compared with £6,500,000 to the United States, and £9,500,000 to the before mentioned countries in Europe. These sums were less than those of 1884 by £400,000 Colonial, £600,000 United States, and £1,500,000 European. Examinations like these, which might be carried to other details of our export trade, show not only in how great a degree our home industries depend upon the maintenance of the Colonial and Indian markets, but how much more steady these are than those of foreign countries—the one, as before shown, having a constant tendency upwards, the other an equally persistent downward course.

Another point of no little importance to the Mother Country is that almost all these goods are carried to their Colonial destinations in vessels belonging to the United Kingdom, whilst some portion, though not so large as it used to be, of those to other parts of the world are transported in those sailing under foreign flags, and that the values above given would be considerably augmented by the inclusion of ships built for Colonial owners.

Surely these facts furnish abundant proof of the props to her trade which her Colonial population provide, and of the increasing importance to the Mother Country of cultivating to the full extent the advantages they yield. But these benefits are mutual, they will be multiplied by a more general tightening of the bonds binding together all portions of the British Empire; and it is for the Colonists to see how far they can increase their own share of the blessings to be derived from closer union by a more liberal treatment of the parent than many of their tariffs offer. Amidst the deepening gloom of trading and manufacturing depression, the one bright feature is that on every side those of the same blood, and those under the same Crown, are alike learning the lesson that the strength of each portion is to be found in its firmer attachment to the other and of all their parts together.

STE. BOURNE.

SCHEMES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE Imperial Federation League has hitherto abstained, as a League, from putting forth any precise plan for carrying out the great national object for which it was founded. Hitherto it has been satisfied to arouse public feeling throughout the Empire, to recognise the fact that some form of Federation is required, and to endeavour to point out the national advantages involved in this supremely important question. Hence it has demanded the recognition of the principle of Federation, as a preliminary, and has been content to leave the details of a practicable plan for carrying the principle out to be hereafter formulated, when the matter was more thoroughly understood and accepted.

The time must undoubtedly come when this judicious reticence will have to be abandoned, and when some definite scheme must be put forward by the League, as the one for which it claims support, for giving practical effect to the principle it advocates—the Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies.

Meanwhile it will be of interest, and certainly historically valuable, as well as useful for future reference, to place on record a summary of some of the various plans which have been proposed by those who have studied this question, and who have taken a prominent part in connection with one of the most momentous political movements of our time. Space permits but a mere bird's-eye view of the various schemes here mentioned. They are all put forward more or less in detail in the published writings of their authors. As an epitome is all that can be given of them, reference is earnestly suggested to these publications, in order that justice may be done to them by careful study; and also for the purpose of obtaining an adequate and correct conception of the arguments by which the different schemes are supported by their authors.

A full list of these publications will, the Editor informs me, be found in the present number of this journal.

So much by way of introduction. I now proceed to set forth the schemes and suggestions to which allusion has been made.

WILLIAM BOUSFIELD, M.A.

An Imperial Parliament, having its seat in London, consisting of the Crown, an hereditary House, and an elective body, with representatives from the United Kingdom and from every Colony having representative institutions; that this Parliament should possess over every part of Her Majesty's Dominions the supreme power now vested in the present British Parliament. That under this Imperial Parliament there should be in the United Kingdom, and in each Colony, or confederation of Colonies, a local legislature having the power of taxation within its own limits, and allowed, subject to the veto of the Crown, to legislate uncontrolled in all affairs within those limits. The Imperial Parliament to assume sole supervision of the foreign policy and the defence by land and sea of the Empire.

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB.

The appointment of an Imperial Commission, composed of representatives of the Mother Country and representatives chosen by the Colonies having responsible Governments, to inquire and report to Her Majesty on what basis Imperial Federation for purposes of common and joint defence can be adequately attained.

G. C. CUNNINGHAM (Toronto).

The admission of Colonial representatives to the Imperial House. The matters submitted to the House would be matters of Imperial interest, matters upon which representatives of any or every part of the Empire would have a right to express an opinion, and upon which they would be in a position to form sound judgments, or offer valuable advice. In the Imperial House every part of the Empire would be represented. The Imperial House would stand in the same relation to Australia or Canada as to England or Ireland. The Imperial House might be composed of 300 members, distributed in the following manner:—

England	185	Ireland	40
Scotland	25	Colonies	50

The matters falling within the province of the Imperial House would be chiefly comprised under the following heads:—

- (a) Maintenance of the Royal Family.
- (b) Control of the Army and Navy.
- (c) Relations with Foreign Powers.
- (d) Inter-Provincial relations with various parts of the Empire.
- (e) Marine and Shipping affairs.
- (f) Customs and Finance.
- (g) Postal affairs.
- (h) Justice.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P.

A Colonial Council, or Board of Advice, composed of delegates from the self-governing Colonies. This might constitute an organisation for common defence and an official acknowledgment of the right of the Colonies to have a voice in the determination of foreign policy, especially when such policy directly affects their feelings or interests.

THE RIGHT HON. EARL GREY.

The appointment of the Agents of the Colonies as Privy Councillors and their constitution as a board of advice to assist the Cabinet, and especially the Colonial Secretary, in the management of Colonial affairs.

SIR J. E. GORST, Q.C., M.P.

The admission of the Colonies to a more direct share in, or stronger influence upon, the executive Government of the Empire, the several Legislatures remaining entirely separate from, and independent of, each other.

A. STAVELEY HILL, Q.C., M.P.

Representatives to be appointed from the Colonies to consult with the representatives elected in the United Kingdom, in a High State Council, to deliberate and legislate upon all matters connected with the general weal of the Empire.

¶ F. P. LABILLIÈRE.

An Imperial Confederate Parliament in which the whole Empire could be represented, under which the members representing the United Kingdom and the Colonies in the Parliament of the Empire would be elected directly by the people. A distinct separation between Imperial and local questions, the former being under the control of the Imperial Parliament, and the latter exclusively under the various local legislatures.

THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE, K.T., G.C.M.G.

A Council of Envoys, consisting of the Agents-General for the Colonies, who may consummate treaties and enforce agreements; they should be given places, but without votes, in the English Parliament.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P.

A Council to advise the Colonial Secretary. The Council to vote subsidies for naval and military purposes, and their voice in the government of the Empire to be in proportion to the subsidies they vote.

JEHU MATTHEWS (of Toronto, Canada).

1. That the colonies should be left in possession of the system of local self-government at present enjoyed by them, and that means should be taken to secure the same privilege to the United Kingdom.

2. That the revenue required to meet the expenditure of the Federal Government should be raised on a uniform rate of taxation, though not necessarily on a uniform system, over the whole of the Empire, and that the inhabitants of every part of it should be equally liable to military and naval service.

3. That a Federal legislature, consisting of two chambers, should be formed, the lower House to consist of representatives returned on one uniform system by the British islands and the Colonies, and that provision should be made for Colonial representation in the Upper House also.

4. That the Federal legislature should succeed to all the prerogatives now enjoyed by the Imperial parliament, excepting only those granted to the body or bodies appointed to legislate for the local government of the British islands, and should also enjoy the right of taxation all over the Federation.

SIR HENRY PARKES, K.C.M.G. (New South Wales).

A council of Australia, to sit in London, whose functions should embrace the transaction of all political business between the English administrations on the other side of the globe and the Imperial Government in England. This council to be consultative, deliberative, receptive, communicative, with the freest possible scope for offering and receiving information and counsel, explaining the objects, and interpreting the wishes of the distant governments, and assisting to reconcile conflicting interests in furtherance of the general good of the Empire.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

Colonial delegates who should sit in the House of Lords as life peers.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON.

An Imperial parliament of two Houses to deal with Imperial affairs, and also national or Colonial parliaments to deal with the necessary legislation for each nation or colony. The Imperial Federal parliament might consist either of one or of two chambers, to be elected by each division of the Empire having representative institutions.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

The construction of a new Imperial parliament on the lines of the British Constitution, containing representatives in equitable proportion from every part of our home and colonial Empire, to manage and settle Imperial questions; local questions being entirely under the absolute and independent control of local parliaments, both at home and in the colonies.

This would necessitate the formation of local parliaments for England, Scotland, and Ireland, on the principle of those already existing in the Colonies, for dealing with local as distinguished from Imperial subjects. The latter would be under the exclusive control of an Imperial parliament, or senate, of Great Britain and her Colonies, which would, in all its external relations, as well as in all other Imperial questions, jointly govern the Empire.

Whatever may be the destiny of Great Britain herself, in all her hallowed associations of centuries of progress, and in all her past greatness and glory, she will still live at the Antipodes, and bloom across the Atlantic.

A careful study of the various views contained in this list will provide rich material to assist men of "light and leading" in evolving some workable plan of Imperial Federation. Here is a great constitutional question of national importance, which demands the highest qualities of statesmanship, as well as the purest patriotism, for its solution. Surely these must be found among the leaders of the British people, when the nation unitedly demands them. The idea of Imperial Federation has no origin in a desire to foster a spirit of Jingoism—such an impression is as false as it is misleading.

In the present dark hour of social and political peril at home, the best and brightest hope we can indulge in is to be found in the adoption of a complete Empire, the different members equally participating, by a system of Imperial Federation. If signs of decadence and decline in the Old Country seem to be looming ominously near, the fairest chance of rejuvenescence in her national life is in a closer political union with her vigorous offshoots over the seas.

Those who advocate the realisation of this noble ideal believe, that the type of modern British civilisation being what it is, the union of Great Britain and her Colonies in a Federal bond, "strong as iron, but light as air," would not merely be of inestimable advantage to the future of the British Empire, but would also greatly tend to promote the peace, progress and prosperity of the rest of the nations of the world.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

IN accordance with the 8th clause of the constitution of the League, the following gentlemen have been nominated by the Liverpool branch to represent it on the general committee, and were elected by a vote of that committee on Feb. 8:—L. R. Baily, M.P., T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Presiding Judge of the Court of Passage, Captain Cotton, M.P., David Duncan, M.P., A. B. Forwood, M.P., J. G. Gibson, Q.C., M.P., Lord C. J. Hamilton, M.P., H. Seton-Karr, M.P., and Baron H. de Worms, M.P. The general committee has also added to its number Mr. J. Vaughan Morgan and Mr. J. Stanley Little.

ANERLEY LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY.—The weekly meeting of this society was held, on February 8th, 1886, in the small Lecture Room at Jasmine Grove, when a debate took place on "Imperial Federation." The discussion was opened by Mr. Muggeridge, who spoke at considerable length upon the necessity of some definite scheme by which the interests of both the Mother Country and the Colonies should be placed upon a fair and lasting basis. Messrs. Hawkrigge, De Pury, and Latham also took part in the discussion, and the following resolution was eventually carried:—"That a scheme of Imperial Federation is the only means of avoiding the disintegration of the Empire."

BURY.—The *Bury Guardian* of the 13th ult. reports that Imperial Federation formed the subject of a paper by Mr. A. Wood on the previous Wednesday evening, in connection with the Beaconsfield Club Debating Society, when the chair was occupied by J. W. Kenyon. An interesting discussion followed, it states, and the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That this meeting is of opinion that our local manufacturers might with probable success take up the question of Imperial Federation, and so work in unison on commercial matters in this direction as would result in a considerable incentive to local trade."

CRADOCK, SOUTH AFRICA.—In the first number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION we reported the recent formation of a branch at this place. It has begun well, and promises to be a strong and useful one. The secretary, Mr. J. C. Cross Baker, in a communication recently received, says, "This branch started with twenty members, and already numbers sixty-two. The committee will meet in a few days' time to consider the best means of diffusing information re Imperial Federation, and securing members. Our next general meeting will be held the first week in March, when the country members of the committee will be elected. . . . Mr. E. J. Wilks, of Middleburg, to whom you forwarded pamphlets some time ago, has been working most energetically for the cause, and to-day brought me the names and subscrip-

tions of twelve members from his neighbourhood. I am writing to the Kimberley, Graham's Town, Port Elizabeth, and Queens-town papers this week, suggesting the formation of branches in their towns. People in this town and district take a deep interest in the subject, and you may be sure that we will do all in our power towards bringing about Imperial Federation."

FREDERICTON, NEW BRUNSWICK.—Mr. George R. Parkin writes from this place sending the names of six subscribers to the journal, and reporting the interest which is felt in the Imperial Federation movement in his town and neighbourhood. He regrets that his health has been such as to prevent his taking advantage of this interest for the purpose of establishing a branch of the League. "There has been wanting," he writes, "just the one individual who would set the machine in motion," and referring to the subject generally he continues, "Everywhere out here it has become a constant subject of discussion in the press. The League has far more than justified its existence by the immense impulse its formation has given to the consideration of the question." He declares that the League has proved a rallying point of the greatest importance for the friends and advocates of a Federated Empire. "It has made people feel," he says "that Englishmen are not indifferent to the Colonies, and it was on this presumed indifference that Annexationists and Independence advocates nourished their hopes."

HAVERHILL.—The Rev. John Cottingham is interesting himself in the movement here. He has written for Federation literature, and has distributed it among those who are likely to aid. He writes, "Englishmen are slow to receive a new idea, but let us be cheered with the fact that when they do receive a worthy political conception they grip it well."

MONTREAL.—In the last issue of IMPERIAL FEDERATION appeared a paper which was read by Mr. Thomas MacFarlane, F.R.S.C., before the Montreal Branch of The Imperial Federation League in Canada, on the 21st of December last. On the 19th of January the members of the Branch met for the purpose of discussing the paper and the proposal it contained. The reader moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. H. H. Lyman:—

"That this meeting suggests for the consideration of the executive of the League in Canada the proposal of raising the revenue required for the maintenance of the Imperial Navy by a duty of 5 per cent. on imports from foreign countries into all parts of the Empire."

MR. JUDGE, in supporting this resolution, gave a considerable amount of information relating principally to the question of bread-stuffs, showing that the price of wheat is now extremely low, that the amount produced in foreign countries, and capable of being produced in the British possessions, is so great that there would be little danger of the price advancing to any considerable extent. India, Australia, and the Canadian North-West can supply immense quantities. He therefore considered that the objections on this score were not of great weight.

MR. MCGOWN commented on the paper with a view to showing that England would still, after the imposition of a 5 per cent. duty on foreign imports, be more of a free trade nation than any other, except possibly Belgium and Holland, with which countries she could make advantageous treaties, and would thus be able to retain her carrying and most of her foreign trade. By developing her colonies she would produce a population under her own flag, which would be a much better consuming market than foreign countries. Canada would develop all her natural industries, of manufacturing and natural produce, by having an advantage of 5 per cent. in the best market in the world, would attract a large and useful population, and would advance rapidly in prosperity.

MR. CHIPMAN approved of the proposed policy, believing that its main object was not to enable England and Canada to increase their wealth, though it would have that effect, but to meet the expense of a navy, of which all have the advantage, in an equitable way.

Several others having spoken, the resolution was carried unanimously.

OXFORD.—On Monday, February 15th, J. F. Heyes, Esq., M.A., F.C.S., F.R.G.S., gave a lecture on "The British Empire," to the Church of England Young Men's Society. Colonel Impey took the chair. The lecturer exhibited some of the interconnections and prospects of the Empire, and advised those whom he addressed to look into the nature and objects of the Imperial Federation League. "The audience listened most attentively to a long lecture," says an Oxford correspondent, "and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more."

PLYMOUTH.—At the meeting of the Plymouth Debating Society last evening, Mr. W. Square opened a debate on the division of local and Imperial Parliamentary business, Mr. S. H. Phillips, the president, occupied the chair. Mr. Square pointed to the present Parliamentary block as making change necessary, and instanced the United States as an example of Federation. The type was good, though he admitted the somewhat rowdy character of American politics. That, however, came from the best citizens shirking their citizen duties—a state of things sometimes to be observed in Plymouth. England must do

something to retain her Colonies, or she would sink to the condition of Holland. One difficulty would be how to distinguish between local and Imperial matters. Imperial matters, he took it, would mean everything affecting king or queen, army and navy, customs and excise. These should be dealt with by an Imperial Parliament, and every boy who left our shores to become a settler in Australia should continue, through his representative, to take an interest in everything that affected the Mother Country in common with the Colonies of the Empire. Besides this Imperial Parliament there would be one or more local Parliaments in every Colony or country. England would be too large for one local Parliament, but the counties would be too small and too irregular for the purpose. Mr. Square concluded by moving:—"That in the opinion of this meeting, federation is the best method of dividing local from Imperial Parliamentary business." Mr. W. J. Square opened the discussion along the same lines. He desired federation, but pointed out some of the difficulties in the way. He thought Ireland ought to be content with such local Parliaments as were given to the other countries of Great Britain, and those local Parliaments must come about long before federation.—Mr. Greenlaw did not think there could be two opinions about the desirability of federation. The question was, how was it to be brought about? Mr. Smith spoke of the necessity of automatic action being secured in any Imperial form of Government set up.—Mr. Davis thought Imperial Federation was in the immediate future.—Mr. W. W. Rikeard alluded to the difficulties that would arise in the matter of taxation.—Mr. Sach thought that, like the British Constitution, Imperial Federation must grow, and it would grow all the faster if our Foreign and Colonial Ministers watched their opportunities for cementing the tie between the Colonies and the Mother Country. Such cries as "Perish India," and expressions of discontent with regard to our present responsibilities to the Colonies, were a great detriment to federation in the future.—Mr. Monk remarked that under federation it might be determined to remove the centre of Government altogether from England.—Mr. J. R. Lake said that though he disowned any such sentiment as "Perish India," or any disregard of the Colonies, they ought to have to share our war costs on their behalf.—The President agreed that federation must grow. It must first be a Zollverein, and then an offensive and defensive alliance. Mr. W. Square replied, and afterwards mentioned that a branch of the Imperial Federation League would shortly be formed in Plymouth.

ROTHERHAM.—The League has a warm supporter here in the person of S. W. Brewis, Esq., of the Borough Collegiate School. This gentleman has devoted both time and money to the furtherance of the objects of the League, and with good results. He reports, "I have now, I believe, nineteen members enrolled, of whom ten have paid their fees. I fully expect more than the twenty within a few days; we shall then hold a preliminary meeting." We heartily wish Mr. Brewis all success, and trust that his expectation will be fulfilled, that there "will be an efficient branch ere long" at Rotherham.

TRURO.—A series of lectures was inaugurated at the Truro Liberal Club on Thursday evening, Feb. 18th, when Mr. Henry James read an able and a comprehensive paper on "Imperial Federation." Mr. Silvanus Trevel was to have lectured on "Home Rule," but being detained in London he was unable to fulfil his engagement, and his lecture has now been fixed for Thursday week. The reading of the paper was followed by a discussion, in which the president (Mr. W. H. P. Martin), Messrs. J. Hearn, R. Dobell, jun., W. Norton, J. H. Tregaskis, W. T. Eastlake, and J. Opie took part. All, with the exception of the latter, expressed themselves in favour of a federal union, and encouraged the belief that the difficulties which seemed to present themselves were by no means insuperable. The formation of a local branch of the Imperial Federation League was suggested.

WESTMINSTER.—On Wednesday, the 10th of February, the Westminster Debating Society, popularly known as the "Westminster Parliament," debated the subject of Imperial Federation. Mr. Jones, member for Pembroke, moved, "That the time has now arrived for taking steps to bring about Imperial Federation." This was seconded by Mr. F. Young, member for Tynemouth. Among those who took part in the discussion were Captain Colomb, and Messrs. Labilliere, and Mowbray. On the question being put to the vote, a storm of "Ayes" arose, amid which were heard a few "Noes."

MANSON HOUSE HOSPITALITY.—When the Liverpool branch of the League was formed, Sir R. Fowler, Bart., who was then Lord Mayor, went down to Liverpool, and was one of the speakers at the public meeting which was held in connection with it. When in Liverpool, Sir Robert was entertained by the Mayor of that city, and, on the recent occasion of the holding of the annual meeting at the Mansion House, reciprocated by inviting the Mayor of Liverpool, and other influential members of the Liverpool branch of the League, including Mr. Sebright Green, the Secretary, to lunch with Lord Mayor Staples. His worship of Liverpool, however, was not able to come to the metropolis, and share with the other Liverpudlians the hospitality of the Mansion House.

A NEW BRUNSWICK CLERGYMAN ON FEDERATION.

THE *Gleaner* of Fredericton, New Brunswick, contains the following:—At the Rev. Robert Wilson's lecture last night (January 29th) in the Temperance Hall, those who were fortunate enough to be present were well repaid. Mr. Martin Lemont occupied the chair. The lecture of the rev. gentleman was listened to with rapt attention, and was again and again applauded as he described, in beautiful and eloquent terms, the might and majesty of the British Empire.

The lecturer began by saying that though domiciled in this Dominion, and loyally attached to this Canada of ours, and fully expecting to live and die under the shadow of the maples—a Canadian through and through—he rejoiced in the broader name of Briton. For the grand Old Mother Land he had ever cherished, in his heart, a fervent affection. In all that concerned her welfare he was profoundly interested, and to promote her prosperity, and increase her greatness, he would gladly contribute. He read her history with a patriotic pride, and felt that the man who could peruse the glowing record with eyes unmoistened and with heart unthrilled, was unworthy the name of a man. If to have been a citizen of Rome was once the synonym for honour and dignity, the proudest boast of mortal man, to be a citizen of this British Empire, was a much more exalted privilege, an honour of a far higher character.

With reference to the vast Empire, it was well to comprehend that a very small portion thereof is included within the limits of the British Isles. But what the heart was to the body the Mother Land was to the rest of the Empire—the seat of life and vitality, the great source from which emanated the influences and pulsations which moulded the opinions and shaped the destinies of the British people the world over. Placed alongside of France, Germany, Russia, or China, these isles of the ocean were very diminutive, and were they drowned in the deep sea their absence would scarcely be missed. But when we left behind us the lands of the Rose, the Thistle, and the Shamrock, we were delighted to find that, go where we would, the British flag was waving in the wind and British rule recognised. In Europe, many places recognised the authority of the British Queen. Passing down the African coast, the royal standard waved us welcome all along. Gracefully reposing beneath the long waving folds of the cross of St. George, were India and its teeming millions. Further southward were the rapidly rising colonies of the southern seas. In America, with other possessions, this Canada of ours—the fairest child of the mother of nations, geographically the nearest to her honoured parent, in manners and customs the most like her.

What an Empire! What vast and extensive regions have become the heritage of the British race. The empires of antiquity, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, were mere garden spots compared with this one. Greece nor Rome, in their palmiest periods, never swayed their sceptres over regions half so extensive. The lands conquered by Alexander, Hannibal, or Napoleon dwindle into insignificance when compared with it. Within its limits all climates are included, all races are represented, and untold and marvellous wealth is contained. Our morning gun awakens to activity a slumbering world, and the soft, sweet strain of our National Anthem lulls the nation to rest. Over every seventh acre of earth and every fifth of the human family our flag is flying, and upon our territory the sun is perpetually shining.

To the future, he said, we turned with mingled emotions of fear, and hope, and anxiety, and anxiously inquired, "What will the fate of this Empire be?" Would we, like the nations of the past, only live in history, and the records of her glory be read to fire the heart of some new and rising nationality? Such may be the case, but he hoped not, and believed that the God of nations has for her better things in store. Be it remembered that as the individual so in the national duties must be discharged and obligations fulfilled. Only three courses appeared to him open to the Colonists, viz.:—Absorption by kindred nations, Independence, and Federation. Some change was necessary in our relations with the Mother Country. The speaker went on to show how that Colonial connection cannot long be continued as at present. Some held that annexation with the United States would be better for the prosperity of our country, and with two countries so closely connected in customs, manners, &c., there was much to be said in favour of the scheme. But did they ever think of the price they would have to pay to be called American citizens? The perpetual excitement over the polls, the vexatious and troublesome mode of selecting their chief ruler, the election of judges, the easy divorce, the Utah pest-house, were only a few of the objectionable features. Others claim that independence would be best. This idea, said the lecturer, was a taking one, the arguments quite plausible, and among its advocates were some clever men. To live under our own flag, to elect our own chief rulers, to be officially represented in foreign countries, &c., certainly meant a good deal. But the establishment would be an expensive one, and the experiment could hardly prove a success. To maintain an independent existence under the pressure of influences, the poor, puny nation-

ality would have to submit to the inevitable, and Brother Jonathan might be importuned to take the national baby under his arms. He would go for annexation in the first place.

The third course was federation, which, though beset at the beginning with the greatest difficulties, promises, when consummated, the grandest results. There were many objections to the scheme. Some claimed that the distance was too great, but when we remember how closely distant countries have been brought to one another by the revolutions in modes of travel during the past century, and that we may expect as great changes in the near future, that difficulty would not be so great after all. Others held that the great interests of the different countries, so differently situated, would clash. But if a British Columbian and a Prince Edward Islander could sit together at Ottawa, and discuss the interests of their country, he thought such an objection was faulty. It would be too expensive, others argued. We have our civic legislation, our county legislation, our Provincial, and our Dominion legislation, and now they wanted to add Imperial legislation. He believed our present system too expensive, and thought that the Province could do very well without our local legislature, or if that may not be done the representation by counties could be reduced, and the legislature to meet every two or three years instead of every year. The present system of legislation was altogether too cumbersome and expensive. The speaker went on to show the commercial advantages that would arise from the federation scheme. Canada and Australia were England's best customers, and their commerce would be greatly extended by the closer union. Imperial Federation was needed for the mutual defence and protection of the Empire. The days of war were not yet over. The Eastern Question can never be settled without a gigantic struggle between Russia and Great Britain. France looks coldly upon England, there was not much faith to be put in Germany, and the only guarantee of peace was a confederation of all the Colonies and the Mother Country. The remodelling of the House of Lords would then be effected much more easily than at present, as the presence of such men as McDonald and Blake would then become a necessity, and the general interest of the race would be largely promoted by welding into one such a number of powerful and prosperous countries.

In conclusion, the lecturer expressed the opinion that this was to be the overshadowing question in the near future—a question that would break up existing parties and erect a new platform of principles—a question that would demand the most judicious handling because of the issues involved and the interests at stake. To him it seemed that every man with a drop of British blood in his veins or a spark of British feeling in his soul ought to wish well to such a scheme; that every one who appreciates the splendid patrimony to which he has fallen heir should encourage and work for its realisation, and that every believer in the religion and institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race, should pray and labour to render it an accomplished fact.

A NEW BRUNSWICK BARRISTER ON FEDERATION.

THE following article appeared in the *Daily Sun*, a St. John paper, on January 30th. It is from the pen of A. B. Walker, Esq., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law. We are anxious to present Colonial opinions on the subject of which it treats, to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as home opinions to the people of the Colonies, and are, therefore, always glad to have Colonial discussions of Imperial Federation brought to our notice, that we may in time bring them to the notice of our readers in the "Old Country." It should, however, be always borne in mind that we do not endorse all the views which are expressed in papers, and other communications, to which we give insertion:—

One of the greatest questions of the day, or the question about to become the greatest of the present century, is that of Imperial Federation—uniting the whole British Empire as one people under one simple form of government. It is a vital question. The carrying of it into effect will most wonderfully improve the condition of the whole Empire. It will benefit the whole human family. It will fashion a nation such as no man ever saw. It will crown Greater Britain—the Federated Empire—the mistress of the whole earth. It will make her mandate the political decalogue of every foreign power. It will draw the citizens of the whole Empire together in the strongest and closest tie of union and brothership. It will set firm examples to other nations. It will put new life into every form of enterprise. It will diffuse trade and commerce as never before. It will open new avenues of business. It will encourage the capitalist to invest his money in all manners and kinds of profitable speculations. It will increase the demand for labour. It will develop and foster scientific and mechanical skill. It will elevate the condition of the artisan. It will raise the standard of agriculture. It will settle and people our unoccupied lands. It will diminish taxation. It will simplify our laws and modes of legal procedure. It will stimulate and heighten education. It will quicken the aspiration

of the citizen. It will sharpen the ambition of public men. It will create and stir up a healthier national pride. It will acquire new territory. It will add other conquests. And it will expand civilisation to every part of the globe.

Up to a very short time ago England kept ahead of her foreign competitors, but at the present time her competitors seem to be crowding her and shortening the lead. In other words, they are almost at her heels. Germany, France, the United States and Russia, among the most formidable of her rivals, are struggling hard for the winning post—the palm of international sovereignty. This is quite praiseworthy on their part, yet England should not leave a single thing undone to excel them at all honourable hazards. To hear of the success of our neighbours should be a great pleasure; to know of our own a greater pleasure. We are not advancing as we should in order to retain our place on the roll of nations. As we are now, we are not in a condition to advance. Our present political constitution is not conducive to national thrift. It has outlived its usefulness. The wants and needs of the nation have outgrown it. Hence, we must now turn our attention to its reformation. We must devise new plans and methods for our national preservation, growth, and development, and at once adopt them, or we will surely be overtaken and passed by our competitors, who it would seem have no other hope of winning the race than our neglect to put forth our superior powers.

The time has come when Great Britain and her Colonies must unite and thrive as the most powerful empire on the earth, or divide and be scattered to the four winds. True, there is a fervent feeling or spirit of loyalty to the Mother Country in the Colonies, but how long may it continue? Is it reasonable to suppose that it will continue for all time, and we remain, as we now are, mere dependencies, without a vestige of right to say a word on Imperial affairs, unless they concern alone our own threshold, and, even then, only as humble petitioners? The time may come, unless there is a closer union than that which now exists between us, when Colonial loyalty will dwindle down to historical love—a kind of loyalty or affection not always to be relied on. Men have been known to withdraw their support from wealthy and well-paying partnerships, destroy the concern, and forfeit a handsome income and fortune, simply because their names were not allowed to appear in public. If the constitution of the whole Empire be not changed very soon our high spirited Colonial statesmen may some of these days advocate independence of the Colonies. If such event ever comes about the fate of the Empire will be doomed.

There are opposed to Imperial Federation two schools of political philosophers—the independent school who go in for independence of the Colonies, and the let-alone school who go in for remaining as we now are. To my mind, the philosophy of the independent school is suicidal, that of the let-alone school non-remedial. At first thought the independent philosophy seems plausible, but after a second thought its plausibility merges itself into an inconsistent dream. It is a most delusive fallacy to compare a colony entering to-day upon its national infancy with 5,000,000 of scattered people, to England in the dark ages. At that time England, although she had but a few million people, was in a better condition than any of her foreign rivals. None of them could put into the field of battle a better equipped or disciplined army than she could. In other words, England commenced her career on equal terms with her contemporaries, grew up with them, and finally outgrew them. But the independent philosophers do not appear to take this fact into account. They appear to leave out of consideration altogether that there are now at this very time more than a dozen recognised nations, some of them with twenty-five times their colonial population, and none of them with less than double, who have had centuries of sore experience as independent powers. It is unreasonable, then, to say the least, to suppose or predict for an infant nation nowadays any other end than an untimely one.

The moment a Colony secedes from the Mother Country all Imperial interest in it will disappear. Then will be the beginning of its sorrows. Willy Powers will lay traps and make plots to involve it in some international difficulty where its honour will be at stake and its overthrow imminent. It will be subjected to all manners and kinds of snubs and insults without being in a position to resent them. Very trifling things sometimes bring about war between nations, and more especially so when the party feigning to be injured or dishonoured has good reason to believe that its helpless foe is unarmed or unprepared to resist an attack. This sentimental talk about international peace at any price, of turning the sword into knives and forks, the cannon into pots and pans, the man-of-war into a pleasure yacht, and so forth, is very pleasant gossip to pass away an evening, but it is very poor philosophy indeed to solve the destiny of a nation. It is contrary to the spirit of both history and revelation. Just so long as there are different nations on the earth, just so long will there be imperative need for munitions and ordnance of war.

Small independent States are always at the mercy of large ones in matters of diplomatic strife. Their ambassadors are sneered and scoffed at and spit upon whenever it so pleases

their superiors. Just imagine a young and inexperienced nation, with five millions of citizens to support its contentions, settling an international issue with Russia or China and getting fair play. Can any one fancy either of these haughty Powers ever allowing itself to be governed by precedent. No, no; the only way to make them observe the law of nations is to summon them to appear before the high court of war. In this court, England, very fortunately for all mankind—her enemies as well as her friends—has presided as chief arbiter.

What possible recompense could an independent New Zealander expect from Russia or China for a breach of international comity? How much would they care for the whining watchword, "I am a New Zealander?" Nothing at all. They would snap their fingers and tell him to do his best. To console disinterested Powers who chanced to be looking on they might patch up some unfounded charge to disguise their perfidy. At all events, they would so manage the dispute as to come out the gainers. But on the other hand, just let the self-same New Zealander be able, in truth, to tell them that he is a citizen of a mighty Empire; an Empire composed of nearly three hundred millions of brave and hardy people; an Empire prepared at any moment to roll down all the thunder of military vengeance on a foreign foe, and they would be only too glad to ask his pardon with their faces in the dust of the earth. It should not be forgotten that the present behaviour of foreign nations is due more to the high place occupied by England in the annals of war than their natural disposition for peace and fair play. Put England once in jeopardy where her supremacy may reasonably be questioned, and the scene will soon be changed. A sorrowful day indeed would it be for the human race if England should ever be placed in such a position with rival nations that she could not resist successfully an insult to her honour by the stern knuckles of shot and shell.

The let alone philosophy is just as weak and dangerous as the independent philosophy. It only postpones the calamity to a later day. It makes us followers instead of leaders, and learners instead of teachers. In order to occupy the proud position of arbiter of the world, we must so arrange the policy and constitution of our Empire as to enable us beyond all possibility of doubt to keep ahead of all our competitors. We must go around the ring twice to their once. It will not do for us to recline in political and national indolence, and let our rivals adopt a plan to augment their strength before we shall have enjoyed its first-fruits. Hence, if we expect to wield the sceptre of international sovereignty, we must adopt plans for the expansion of our power at double the ratio of that of our nearest and proudest rival. The only plan now open for us is Imperial Federation. By its adoption we will make our nation the immortal judgment-seat of the whole earth and the arbiter of all mankind.

Yea, make our Empire great and dear,
Our people happy and free,
That none save foes have need to fear
The mistress of land and sea.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION again presents a large amount of excellent matter bearing upon the object at which it aims. Canon Dalton's article on the meaning of Imperial Federation, and Mr. Howard Vincent's upon the Colonial view of it may be specially mentioned.—*Literary World*.

THE second number of this useful monthly keeps well up to the mark, the contributions being vigorous and full of information on the topics taken in hand by the various able and well-known writers on Colonial matters. There is a decided sphere for this organ of the Imperial Federation League.—*Dundee Courier*.

To those who take a special interest in this question this month's issue will be found invaluable.—*Western Daily Mercury*.

THE February number of the new organ of the Imperial Federation League looks well. The signed articles are by Canon Dalton, Col. Sir C. H. Nugent, Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., and the Hon. W. Gisborne. Such able discussion of a great question can scarcely fail to further its progress now growing so rapidly.—*Westminster and Lambeth Gazette*.

THE Imperial Federalists have commenced to publish a special organ of their own with the self-descriptive title, IMPERIAL FEDERATION. It is, we candidly confess, a well-written periodical, containing much matter of interest, and putting with urgency and force the arguments that can be adduced in favour of some scheme for uniting England with her scattered colonies in a great confederacy that would extend over every sea, and touch the shores of the five continents. Such a *Bund* would be nothing new. In ancient times the great colonising cities of Greece held some such relation—not quite so intimate, indeed—towards their offshoots. The confederacy of several States, each locally independent of the rest, into one League for the purposes of common protection is to be witnessed in all quarters of the globe. The fundamental conception of all such amalgamations is that each of the several parties to the contract of Union should be locally independent—that they should, in fact, enjoy extensive powers of home rule, and that there should be a central legislative authority with power of making laws for the common weal that would bind the various members. . . . Union is good. In union there is strength; but it must be a union between homogeneous elements, union on a common basis, and for the advantage of all united. It must not be the union of which we in Ireland have known something for eighty-five years past.—*Freeman's Journal*.

PUBLICATIONS

Having Reference to Imperial Federation.

For the following list the Editor is indebted to Mr. James R. Boose, of the Royal Colonial Institute, who has taken great pains to make it accurate and complete. It is given for the information of readers, and without committing the League to the views contained in any of the works mentioned in it:—

ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES. By THOMAS POWNALL	1765
THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. By ADAM SMITH, LL.D. 4 vols.	1835
THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN	1837
THE COLONIES AND GREAT BRITAIN MUST BE INCORPORATED, and form one Universal and Indivisible Empire	1839
AN ESSAY ON THE GOVERNMENT OF DEPENDENCIES. By GEORGE CORNWALL LEWIS	1841
BRITAIN AND HER COLONIAL DEPENDENCIES, AND THEIR RIGHT TO BE REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT. By THOMAS BANISTER	1844
SPEECH OF MR. ROBERT LOWE IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NEW SOUTH WALES, August 20, 1844. Debates, August	1844
THE COLONIES AND COLONIAL GOVERNMENT. By COLONEL THE HON. SIR EDWARD CUST	1845
PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT OR RESPONSIBLE MINISTRIES FOR THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES. By H. S. CHAPMAN	1854
SPEECH OF THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE ON THE UNION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES AND ON THE RIGHT OF BRITISH COLONIES TO REPRESENTATION IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT	1855
REPRESENTATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES IN PARLIAMENT. Report of the Proceedings at a Meeting of the General Association for the Australian Colonies, held at the London Tavern, July 15, 1857, to consider the subject of Colonial Representation in Parliament, William Charles Wentworth in the Chair	1857
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. Should the Colonies be Represented? By T. C. MOSSOM MEEKINS, B.A.	1859
HISTORY OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By E. A. FREEMAN	1863
THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE. By HON. JOSEPH HOWE	1866
CONFEDERATION CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE. By the HON. JOSEPH HOWE	1866
A REVIEW OF THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE'S ESSAY ENTITLED "CONFEDERATION CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE." By P. S. HAMILTON	1866
A REFORM BILL—A FAIR AND FULL REPRESENTATION IN THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND FOR THE WHOLE ENGLISH EMPIRE. By COLONEL HENRY CLINTON	1866
THE INCORPORATION OF BRITAIN'S COLONIAL INTO HER HOME EMPIRE. By C. FLINDERS HURSTHOUSE	1867
TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG. By C. W. EDDY	1867
THE CONFEDERATION OF THE BRITISH NORTH-AMERICAN PROVINCES. Speech of the EARL of CARNARVON in the House of Lords, Feb. 19. (Hansard)	1867
INTERCOLONIAL TRADE OUR ONLY SAFEGUARD AGAINST DISUNION. By R. G. HALIBURTON	1868
THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY. By WILLIAM WESTGARTH. Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. I.	1869
THE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH THE COLONIES. By R. A. MACFIE	1869
THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE COLONIES. By SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF	1869
THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Proposed institution of a joint Committee of the Legislatures and Governments of the Empire, having periodical meetings in Great Britain. By HENRY KILGOUR	1869
FUTURE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES. By F. P. LABILLIERE. Social Science Congress, Bristol	1869
THE STORY OF OUR COLONIES. By H. R. FOX BOURNE	1869
NATIONAL DISINTEGRATION. By EDWARD WILSON	1870
TWO LECTURES ON COLONISATION. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM DENISON, K.C.B.	1870
CONSTITUTIONS OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES. By F. P. LABILLIERE. Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. II.	1870
IMPERIAL STRATEGY. By CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB	1871
THE COLONIAL QUESTION. By W. WESTGARTH. Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. II.	1871
COLONIAL QUESTIONS PRESSING FOR IMMEDIATE SOLUTION IN THE INTEREST OF THE NATION AND THE EMPIRE. By R. A. MACFIE, M.P.	1871
THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONIES TO THE PARENT STATE. By A. C. CATTANACH. Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. II.	1871
IMPERIAL FEDERATION. By EDWARD JENKINS. <i>Contemporary Review</i> , January 1871	1871
THE CRISIS OF THE EMPIRE—IMPERIAL FEDERATION. By R. A. MACFIE. Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. III.	1871

For continuation see page 86.

NOTICES.

We desire to remind all Members of the League that their Subscriptions for 1886 are now due, and there will be a great saving of expense and clerical labour if they will kindly remit the amount without delay. This notice applies to—

- (1) Original Donors, who are invited to renew their subscriptions annually, in whole or part.
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- (3) Subscribers of One Shilling as an annual Registration Fee. And
- (4) Subscribers of amounts between One Guinea and One Shilling.

We may point out that the work of the League depends entirely upon general voluntary subscriptions, and not upon subventions from individuals. Its work can only be effective in proportion as it is steadily and generously supported by the regular contributions of its members.

Secretaries of Branches are specially requested to bring this notice to the attention of their local members.

Subscriptions to the League may be made payable to "The Imperial Federation League," and should be addressed to the Secretary, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, S.W.

We respectfully invite all who are interested in the great movement we are seeking to promote to become subscribers to IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and to introduce the paper to their friends. The annual subscription may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It should be carefully noted that it will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance. Subscriptions should be sent to the Secretary of the League.

Imperial Federation.

MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1886.

AN IMPERIAL EMIGRATION DEPARTMENT.

THE subject of emigration has been repeatedly brought forward of late, and urged upon the attention of the public. Nothing could be clearer than that it is likely to be, in the future, perhaps, even with greater frequency, brought forward, and discussed, and urged upon the attention, both of the general public and of Parliament. The population problem is a growingly serious one, the solving of which, with such depression of trade as this country has suffered from now for some years, cannot be much longer postponed. At all events, the desirableness and urgency of an attempt to solve it are being strongly impressed upon us by circumstances. Such occurrences as were witnessed on the 9th ult. in the metropolis, when some thousands of unemployed men, after demonstrating by meetings and speeches in Trafalgar Square, marched to the West End, and proceeded to smash club-house and shop windows, stop carriages in the middle of the streets, and snatch jewellery from the persons of their fair occupants, forcibly enter shops and pillage them, and commit other similar outrages, compel us to think on our social problems. It is useless to say that these riotous and lawless acts were not committed by *bonâ fide* unemployed artisans and labourers, but were the perpetration of the riff-raff quasi-workmen, who are with us at all times and under all circumstances, and who would not work even if they had work to do. To ignore the gravity of the situation, which gives occasion, though not the slightest justification, for such proceedings, is folly, and worse than folly. That there is great and widespread distress, on account of lack of employment, is incontrovertible. If trade and agriculture do not revive, this distress, so far from abating, will, we may expect, increase; unless, indeed, measures be taken to relieve and prevent it. "Means must be found," wrote Lord Brabazon, as far back as November, 1884, "and that quickly, to put an end to the fearful struggle for life which is to be met with in the East and South of London, and in most of our large towns;" and declared that the congested population of our large towns was a "social malady, which, if allowed to continue unchecked, must inevitably end in some fatal national catastrophe." His lordship is not one of those who loudly declare that something must be done, and do no more. He has a remedy to propose. In his opinion, "some well-

considered scheme of State-directed emigration appears to me the only remedy" for effectually dealing with this disordered condition of the body politic. He would have the Home Government and the Colonial Governments co-operate in this matter, and jointly bear the expense, and carry out the operations necessary for the translation of our surplus population to the rich plains of the North-West of Canada, and to the unoccupied lands and vacant spheres of employment offered by our Colonies at the Antipodes and elsewhere.

The grounds for such a proposal are briefly these:—The population of these islands is increasing at the rate of about 400,000 annually, and this notwithstanding the fact that a great multitude—roughly speaking, three-fourths of the number added to the home population—yearly emigrate. Notwithstanding this high and constant increase in the population, the area of the British Isles, not being elastic, remains the same; and, unhappily, our trade has been declining, while agriculture has been in a condition that is simply deplorable. Dr. G. B. Longstaff has declared that "75,000 more persons are born every year in the agricultural counties of England than can find employment." Some of these thousands, no doubt, emigrate, and others betake themselves to the mining districts and the large towns. Besides these, there are the foreign immigrants to be taken into account—German, French, and Italian workpeople—who number some 70,000 arrivals per annum. The consequence of all this is that competition is becoming more keen, the pressure of circumstances more embarrassing, and the struggle for existence more severe. While this is the case at home, we have Colonies abroad with great absorbing powers for English labour, possessing virgin lands "only needing," as a rhetorical orator said, a little while ago, "to be tickled with the plough to smile into a harvest." There was a time when the Colonial governments gave free passages to certain classes of artisans and labourers; but the free passages have been discontinued, and emigration, as a result, has been largely reduced from what it was, many persons who are eligible for emigration, and wish to emigrate, being unable to pay for their passages.

In these circumstances, what can be done? What ought to be done? It seems to us that so great and serious a problem ought to be fairly looked in the face by the Government. There are some who would be ready to object that, even if the direction of emigration was not outside the sphere of governmental duty, its assistance is. But such a position, surely, cannot be maintained. By the enactment of the Poor Laws, the principle has been admitted that it is the duty of the State to assist its poor. As Lord Derby has said: "If it is right to feed a man when he cannot support himself, then there can be no argument, on the ground of principle," against assisting him—when he cannot get his living in one land, but could in another—to reach a land where by his own labour he can get his bread.

There can be no objection, then, on the ground of principle; there may be on the ground of expense. But this is an objection that will not stand. It is estimated that a million pounds would suffice to transplant 10,000 persons from England to the North-West of Canada, provide them with a wooden house, seed, implements, and support for a while, till they would be supporting themselves; and, surely, we who can afford to spend millions upon fruitless and not very honourable wars, can afford so comparatively small a sum for the purpose, not of destroying men, but of helping men to live, and those men our fellow-countrymen. Moreover, the million need not be expended absolutely, and in an eleemosynary manner, but simply advanced as a loan. We print elsewhere some details of a scheme which has been elaborated by Mr. Brunnschweiler, of Manchester, and which provides that the State should be reimbursed by the emigrant for every penny which it expends upon him, and should receive a handsome interest as well. Whatever objections might be made to Mr. Brunnschweiler's scheme—and we admit that strong and, perhaps, valid objections could be made to parts of it—we feel that its weakest point is not here. About six years ago, the Canadian Government submitted a memorandum to the Home Government, containing proposals for assisting "their fellow-subjects in Ireland in their distressed circumstances . . . by

means of a systematic immigration from Ireland." After explaining their plan, and going into the question of cost, they said, "for the reimbursement of the outlay for transport and for establishing the immigrant upon his farm, it is suggested that the Canadian Government would provide that the total cost, as certified by their agent, and acknowledged by the settler, should form a first charge on the land, payable by certain annual instalments with interest." The meaning of this is that the Government should hold a mortgage on the emigrant's farm until he had fully paid back with interest the money advanced to him by the State. It is difficult to conceive any good reason why this should not be done.

It might be objected, and has been objected, that a large number of men in a Colony indebted to the Home Government would be a menace to the integrity of the Empire. There would be a strong temptation to break away and repudiate the indebtedness. Such an objection could not possibly lie were the Empire federated; for the indebtedness would then be to the entire Empire of which that Colony formed a part; nor would it hold good, even under the present arrangements, if the indebtedness were in part to the Home Government and in part to the Colonial Government under which the emigrant lived.

The subject is as large as it is important, and we shall doubtless recur to it again and again.

WHAT WE OFFER TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

SECOND ARTICLE.

WE spoke in our last issue of one of the great boons which it was in the power of an Imperial Federation to confer upon the working men of this country. We showed in very scanty outline, some of the reasons why a United Empire, guided by statesmen who had deliberately elected to cut themselves adrift from Europe and from all European complications, was an Empire which in all human probability would enjoy that greatest of blessings, PEACE. We are glad to know that this presentation of the question has already found favour and aroused interest among that class of the community for whose special notice it was intended. We can give no better counsel to those who wish to befriend the cause, than that they should state, re-state, and once more repeat this great fact, that through Federation lies the road to peace. We must accept things as we find them, and in this age of hurry and competition it is only by insistence that attention can be obtained. Once get the great truth, of which we have spoken, firmly implanted in the minds of our working classes, and the end for which we strive is all but obtained.

Life is too hard now-a-days, the margin between subsistence and abject poverty is so narrow, the reaction of any failure in our commercial system is so rapid and so thorough that the consequences of war have become even more terrible than they were in the past. The British working man knows this, and if he be but shown an honourable way by which he can escape the dangers of a conflict he will assuredly follow it. But though peace is much it is not everything, and in our modern civilisation it is only too true that the misery of war is often rivalled by the misery of peace. We have no party, nor do we desire to be considered politicians in the modern acceptance of the word. But every fact and every change that bears upon the great cause of Federation it is our duty to discuss. The recent disturbances in London may be attributed to many causes; but whatever may have been their immediate origin, they are an indication of the great fact that underlies the whole constitution of modern society. To the enormous majority of the inhabitants of these islands life is an endless round of drudgery, unrelieved by any interval, unadorned by any grace. We do not mean to say that among those whose lives have least apparent sunshine, and least apparent opportunity for enjoyment, there are not very many who succeed in importing into their lives a brightness and a fulness which their hard surroundings would seem to make impossible. But generally speaking it is true that, to one man out of two, the opportunity for rightly and honestly enjoying the gifts which Nature has intended for them is denied; and from their cradle to their grave will never be granted to them.

The comfortable tendency which has led mankind to fashion their habitudes in accordance with their misfortunes has led us into the terrible extreme of glorifying work simply as work, and of applying a variety of sound maxims, dealing with their dignity of labour, to the cruel and heart-rending slavery which has become the lot of millions of our countrymen.

It cannot be said too plainly or too decidedly that by far the greater part of the labour which is gone through in the twenty-four hours in London is not dignified nor desirable, but is an intolerable result of unrestricted competition or short-sighted selfishness. An Eight Hours' Bill, or the results of an Eight Hours' Bill without legislation, may be a happy ideal which can never be reached; but it is one which no one should be ashamed to strive for. We cherish no illusions; to follow in England the good example set us by more than one of our Australian Colonies would, under present circumstances, be to hand us over commercially to the operatives of the Continent. But again, through Imperial Federation, we see the way to a deliverance from this intolerable tyranny. At present we certainly have no chance of acting in real concert with the working classes of France and Germany. That may come, but as yet we do not see eye to eye with them, and the occasional exchange of courtesies between British and foreign trade societies serves rather to accentuate than to compose existing differences of view. But in Greater Britain there is no such discrepancy; already waves of thought are acting and re-acting to and from the Antipodes, and what is said in London is understood in Sydney, what is done in Melbourne has already formed more than one precedent for London. The tyranny of excessive labour can be broken down in one way only, namely, by the mutual agreement of the labourers; but another condition is essential, the agreement must affect a number of persons large enough to be independent of the pressure of outside nonconformity. When in the world's history has such an opportunity presented itself for laying down the burden of toil, too heavy to be borne, as at this moment? Let the Empire once think together, act together, and speak together, and the natural birthright of man, the power to use his own mind and his own taste in his own way, to control some portion of his own day, to have time for pleasure, time for sorrow, time to love, to learn—and, in a word, to live—will be at last within measurable distance. This is the second great boon Imperial Federation offers to the working classes; we hardly think they will reject it.

THE VALUE OF COLONIES.

THIS question of Imperial Federation is as much a working man's question as any, for it is intimately bound up with the question of trade and emigration. Our hope is that the time is not far off when the Legislature will deal with a matter which so vitally concerns the working classes at home and the colonies abroad in a manner befitting its importance. In the meantime, the question of trade is an all absorbing one; for the fact that trade has so seriously fallen off, with the result of diminished employment for our industrial classes, furnishes to us, in addressing the working man, an *argumentum ad hominem*, the force of which he must inevitably feel. If, therefore, any working man under whose eyes this may come, misled by "tribunes of the people" and other unsafe guides in matters of social economy, has been so obfuscated as to think, or suppose he thinks, that the colonies are worthless encumbrances, and that England would be better off without them, let him carefully consider a few facts which we will now set before him. These facts are partly supplied by Messrs. Bolling and Lowe in their annual iron trade report. This report states that "the colonies and India are the backbone of our trade, and the figures adduced bear this statement out. In 1885, during the first eleven months of the year, Australia took iron from England to the amount of £3,039,107, Canada to the amount of £1,130,004, and South Africa to the amount of £204,525. Our great dependency India took iron from us to the amount of £2,570,010, thus coming next to Australia. Yet there are those of the "penny wise and pound foolish" school who teach us that we should be better off were the Queen's dominions confined to these islands, that colonies are only a source of expense and trouble, and the only use

or value of India is to afford "pasture land for the young men of these islands"—only, however, to some of the young men of these islands—"some scores of them every year," who there have the opportunity to "earn a livelihood in the service of the Government," and "to obtain for themselves handsome salaries and handsome pensions."

But, it would be probably argued, our colonies and dependencies would deal with us as much after separation as before. To this it is sufficient to say that our separated colonies in America, having now a population of fifty millions, purchased iron from us in the period specified above only to the value of £3,779,359. If only the United States had dealt with us in iron to the same proportional extent as Canada, they would have done trade with us in that article alone to the amount of £30,391,070.

But take the question of trade generally, and the necessity of colonies to us, increasing colonies, and even new colonies, will appear. The trade of the United Kingdom with foreign countries in 1872 was more than £248,000,000, and in 1882 it was £214,000,000. There was thus a decrease in the ten years of £34,000,000. The trade of the United Kingdom with British possessions, which in 1872 was £66,000,000, had increased in 1882 to £92,000,000. While our trade has suffered a positive decrease, we have to thank our Colonies for saving it from a much larger and more serious decrease, taking it altogether. The fact cannot be too strongly impressed upon the minds of our artisans and trading classes generally that our trade with foreign nations has been, and is, largely decreasing, while our trade with our own Colonies has been, and is, largely increasing, and shows every likelihood of increasing more and more every year.

The importance of India to us is so generally recognised that we were lately quite ready, if things had come to the worst, to go to war with Russia, and spend probably £100,000,000, and thousands of lives, in order to preserve it as a part of the British dominions. Why? For more reasons than one; but one of these, and a very potent reason it is with many, is that, as a great trading nation, we could not afford to lose India, who is one of our best customers. But let it be remarked that although India contains the vast population of upwards of 250,000,000, she buys from us only a few millions sterling more than the comparatively small number of between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen who are found in Australia. Let it be remembered, too, that a customer like Australia we could, with our annual surplus population of a little under 400,000, create every ten years. What we want is to recognise the oneness of the colonies with Great Britain, and to make that oneness more of a political and national fact. Then, with a well-devised system of State-regulated and, to some extent, State-aided emigration, we shall promote the prosperity, power, and happiness of our people both in the old country and in the new countries which her sons have created at the ends of the earth.

The foregoing was written for our last issue but was crowded out. Since it was written we have received an able article from our esteemed contributor, Mr. Stephen Bourne, who is an authority on all questions relating to trade statistics; as also a very valuable article from Mr. Kenric B. Murray, whose name in the higher trade circles carries great weight. These articles are authoritative, and will be found in another part of our present issue.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE annual general meeting of the Imperial Federation League, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been held in the autumn of 1885, was delayed on account of the elections, and your committee are thus enabled to take a wider survey of work done and progress achieved than would otherwise have been possible. Fourteen months have now passed since the formal establishment of the League, and eighteen since the first conference in July 1884.

The organisation of the League has been developed without intermission; its principles and aims have been made known in every part of the world. In all the great self-governing Colonies, and many of the smaller Colonies and Dependencies, its objects have been approved. The colony of New South Wales at an early stage of the movement authorised its agent-general to act

upon the committee of the League. The Premier of Victoria wrote an important despatch to the agent-general of that Colony in England, instructing him to give a general support to the movement. More recently a branch of the League has been formed in Melbourne under the auspices of the mayor and leading citizens; a thousand members were enrolled in the course of a few weeks, and subordinate branches were established in other parts of Victoria. In New Zealand the House of Representatives debated the subject of Imperial Federation, and a number of resolutions, framed in the precise words adopted as the constitution of the League, were voted without division. In Tasmania a branch has been formed by some of the most influential residents; in Queensland and South Australia our members include ministers and men of high official standing. Canada has founded a distinct League of her own, adopting the London constitution and rules *verbatim*. It comprises no fewer than sixty members of the Dominion Houses of Parliament, besides a large number of judges, government officials, professors, merchants, and others; and it has branches in Montreal, Toronto, Victoria (British Columbia), and elsewhere. The remarkable utterances of Sir John Macdonald, the Canadian Premier, on his recent visit to this country, show that in Canada the question is considered to be both practical and highly important. In South Africa, where the Empire League sought affiliation with the Imperial Federation League at the beginning of last year, there are now two thriving branches; and many members of the Cape Government and of the Representative Assembly are on the committees of the Central League in London, or subscribe to its funds. Other branches have been formed at Singapore, Hong Kong, Barbados, and Gibraltar, whilst volunteers are working in other places with an enthusiasm which warrants the belief that there will soon be no considerable part of the British Empire from which a demand for Federation will not be urged.

At home the question is agitated with constantly-increasing force, the patriotic offer of troops for the Soudan campaign by all the self-governing Colonies having materially contributed to advance the movement. From such important centres as Liverpool, Newcastle, Nottingham, Cambridge, Oxford, Brighton, with many other places, the advocacy of Imperial Federation has made itself heard and felt; but still more significant is the verdict of the British Press, which, by a large preponderance, is now given in favour of the principle. In view of these facts, the testimony of mere figures is of little importance; but the League has ample cause to congratulate itself on the number of its members, and on the support which it has received from over a hundred meetings in Great Britain alone, and from the pens of many able writers. During the last general election—in which the League deliberately abstained from interference—the closer union between the Mother Country and her Colonies was advocated by a large proportion of candidates of both political parties; and your committee believe that the seventy members of the House of Commons who are now on the general committee of the League do not by any means represent the number of those who are in favour of a closer union on a basis of Federation.

Hitherto the work of the League has been confined for the most part to disseminating information in regard to the Colonies, distributing the writings and speeches of competent authorities, and the reports of public meetings, and promoting the discussion of the question in all parts of the Empire. Upwards of seventy-five thousand pamphlets and leaflets have been printed and circulated for this purpose, at a very considerable cost. A far greater expenditure would have been necessary to accomplish the same result if it had not been for the zealous and generous assistance of the local branches, and of a host of voluntary distributors at home and abroad; and your committee take this opportunity of thanking those who have co-operated in the work.

With a view to extending the operations of the League, it was resolved some months ago to ask for a special fund for the purpose of establishing a monthly journal. Early in November, owing to the liberality of Mr. S. V. Morgan, his brothers, and others, a sufficient amount had been subscribed or guaranteed to secure the publication of the journal for two years; but it is most desirable that the number of donors to this fund should be still further increased, in order that the guarantee may not fall too heavily on individual members who already figure as liberal subscribers. The first number of the journal appeared on January 1st, 1886. Its special object is to record progress, to facilitate the interchange of views between Great Britain and the Colonies, to collect and classify the opinions of men qualified to deal with the subject, and eventually to furnish statesmen and the general public with material for deciding upon the best mode of establishing an Imperial Federation.

The work of the League has thus been successfully begun. It remains to familiarise the minds of the masses with the elements of the problem, in order that their co-operation may be forthcoming in the framing of a practical scheme. For the accomplishment of this object, your committee would point out that the League not only needs large special contributions, but attaches the greatest importance to extending the number of its

annual subscribers of half-a-guinea and upwards, in addition to those who are able to contribute only the nominal registration fee of one shilling. The two gentlemen—Messrs. H. O. Arnold-Forster and F. P. Labilliere—who, at the request of the first meeting of the League, kindly undertook the duties of honorary secretaries, have found themselves unable to continue to discharge those duties, and your committee desire on this occasion to record their sense of the high value of the services rendered by these gentlemen.

Your committee cannot conclude this report without referring to the serious illness of their distinguished chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., and expressing their sincere sympathy with him. They feel that the cause has sustained a great loss in being thus for the time deprived of his invaluable services, and they hope that he may soon be restored to health, and resume his activity in the League.

HERE AND THERE.

THE friends of the League have every reason to congratulate themselves on the success of the Mansion House meeting. A more unfavourable day could scarcely have been. The cold drizzle was, perhaps, even more trying to most people than a good downpour, making home, or office, a much more desirable place than the streets, even in the case of those who had no more experience of it than was inevitable in a short walk from home or office door to a carriage or the station, and from carriage or station to the shelter of the Mansion House. In spite of all, the reception room, I was glad to see, was so well filled that many behind could not find seats, and were obliged to stand.

THE meeting, it was pleasing to note, was not only numerous but influentially attended. But for the dislocation of arrangements which, I understand, was occasioned by the change of Government, there would doubtless have been a much larger attendance of persons of influence in various ways. I was disappointed to find that LORD ROSEBURY could not attend, but while sorry for his absence, I rejoiced in the occasion for it, namely, his being a member of Her Majesty's Government. His lordship's appointment to the Foreign Office is almost as happy an appointment as his appointment to the Colonial Office would have been.

I AM not going, Mr. Editor, never fear, to make any invidious comparison of the speeches, but I would like to say how much I enjoyed, and how thoroughly I endorsed almost everything I heard. MR. LIONEL COHEN made so effective a speech, though short, that, called upon, as he said, unexpectedly, he showed himself to be possessed of ready speaking power of no contemptible kind.

SIR ALEXANDER GALT's speech, evidently carefully prepared, bristled with points. There will, doubtless, be a full report of the speeches in IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and, therefore, I need not point these out, as your readers will have an opportunity of noting them for themselves. His array of figures showing that the volume of the trade of Britain with the Colonies was an increasing volume, while that with foreign countries was decreasing, was very telling. There is no argument with a City audience like a commercial one.

THIS reminds me of what the CHIEF JUSTICE for Tasmania said. He made it clear that the power of foreign nations to undersell us was a distinct danger. Patriotic, he affirmed, the Colonies were; but unequivocally declared that they were not so patriotic that they would buy of England when they could buy as good an article at a lower price of the United States. At a time when our trade with the Colonies is the only part of our trade which is increasing, this ought to be seriously pondered by our artisans, manufacturers, and merchants. "Sentiment," said CHIEF JUSTICE DOBSON, "is strong, but self-interest is stronger."

MAKING this quotation brings to my mind what MR. FROUDE has said of sentiment, in that "Océana" of his concerning which all the world has been talking. He is referring to this very question, Imperial Federation, and of the present and possible future relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country. "This may sound sentimental," says he, "but the chief part of the reality in questions of this kind is sentiment. Family affection is sentiment; friendship is sentiment; patriotism is sentiment. A nation with whom sentiment is nothing is on the way to cease to be a nation at all." I make the quotation for the benefit of some of those who are constantly saying of Federation that "there is a good deal of sentiment mixed up with it," and who say this with a lofty air, as though they were infinitely superior to "that kind of thing, you know."

THE references which more than one speaker made to the journal were, I noted, carefully *not* reported in the daily papers, which are notoriously afraid of giving publicity to any other paper than their own, especially if it be a new one. I am told that each one of the great London papers believes in itself so much that it sees no occasion, or need, for the existence of any other paper. Surely egoism could not reach a more ludicrous height.

THE usefulness of the journal was incidentally illustrated by SIR A. GALT'S speech. The articles contributed by SIR C. H. NUGENT had evidently made an impression on his mind. This was clear from his pointed reference to them. I thought it was with deep emphasis that he quoted SIR CHARLES, as showing that the maintenance of our Empire, in other words, of our world-wide communications, was necessary, not only for the protection of our commerce, but for the maintenance even of our food supply.

SPEAKING of sentiment reminds me of a paragraph which has been appearing in some of the Scottish papers. It is said that in the new Parliament there are nine Scottish members who have declared themselves in favour of all officials, officers, and other representatives of the British Government, of any grade whatever, being instructed and enjoined to avoid using, in an Imperial sense, the terms "England" and "English," and who have pledged themselves to endeavour to give effect to the policy involved, and either personally to take steps to carry it out, or to support to the utmost those who may do so.

I HEAR that MR. HOWARD VINCENT, C.B., M.P., is engaged upon a map of the Empire, which will shortly be published by MR. KEITH JOHNSTON. It will, I believe, possess several novel features, and give other information, besides that which is geographical, concerning the dominions "on which the sun never sets."

THE other day I cut the following out of the *Melbourne Daily Telegraph*. It is from a letter signed by "Wood's Point Native."—"Give us *Imperial Federation*; then our nationality, freedom, and every right will be preserved to us. I would go with MR. BOOTH, and advocate the federation of all Anglo-Saxon races, and form the grandest empire the world has ever seen. But, as that is hardly possible, let us see to it that we close all loop-holes for separation by federating with Great Britain. Let all those who profess loyal motives prove them by agitating for this step, and then we shall have some means of judging their profession." The question is being discussed in the Colonies, and not a few, I hear, of the Australians are more in favour of Imperial than of Colonial Federation, believing that the latter is likely to retard the former.

FEDERALIST.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS ON A RECENT LECTURE BY PROFESSOR FREEMAN.

PROFESSOR FREEMAN took the opportunity offered by Washington's birthday, February 22nd, of expounding his ideas on "Imperial Federation" before the University of Oxford. The subject announced was "George Washington, the Expander of England." Those who, from the hint suggested in the title, expected that the Regius Professor would deliver himself of ideas on "the Expansion of England" were not disappointed, although many would have been glad to hear something of the life of Washington.

Some of Professor Freeman's views on Federation have been already published, and it is probable that the eloquent written declamation given on Monday will be printed. Written from memory, therefore, the few notes which it is here possible to give the readers of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* in the March number must only be taken as giving the impression left upon the mind of one of his auditors, who would shrink from consciously misrepresenting the Professor. He referred in passing to the famous saying "Perish India," for which he had so often been blamed. He explained it by the remark that "Perish America" and "Perish British Dominion in America" were two very different matters.

The expression "Imperial Federation" was evidently most distasteful to the Professor. Empire involved "not brotherhood but subjection" and dominion of subjects who might even be "unwilling subjects." He was severe upon such phrases as "*Our Indian Empire*" and "*We govern India*." Yet as regards the Colonial Empire, *Empire it is*. The Professor discussed the different characters of the colonies of "Old Hellas" at some length, and considered that the Colonies should no longer be ruled of "our grace and favour." We presume everybody is agreed on this; but considering the cautious way in which the League is setting about the discussion of a work which, as Professor Seeley wrote in our first number, may be said to contain a whole system of politics and social philosophy, it seemed hardly just to describe it as a "confused babble" about a "patched up" British Empire. Who could possibly bring forward a "plan" of Imperial Federation now? It would be insane to do so. The members of the League at home and in the Colonies are determined not to entangle it in party politics, but they will reject the interpretation which Professor Freeman apparently places upon their conceptions. Unless our impression is quite wrong, that interpretation might be briefly summed up as *Jingoism* enlarged. Imperial Federation would indeed seem to be, in Professor Freeman's eyes, the expansion of *Jingoism*. It is a "contradiction in terms," dangerous to liberty and independence. No doubt the adjective "Imperial" has not a peculiarly pleasant look to the student of history; perhaps also "Federal Commonwealth" would better describe the relationships in question. But these are rather verbal or historic niceties than practical difficulties, and it is not likely that our growing Colonial brotherhoods will, even after they have been lectured to upon all the atrocities of empires, shrink from avowing pride in their glorious associations with the British Empire, which bases its great future, and is becoming increasingly willing to stake its existence, upon a conception of empire with different characteristics to those which have gone before. "Is there not a more excellent way than federation?" said the Professor. "May there not be an expansion by cutting short?"

This was a favourite view among many politicians not long ago, but no party in the House of Commons dare bring it forward now, nor until the memory of the Colonial contingent bringing their lives into the hands of the Queen's generals at *their own expense* is forgotten. The expansion of England should refer only to wherever there was "an abiding place for English folk for ever," to countries which they are "not merely to rule over but to dwell in." England is "the land of the English wherever they may dwell." Hengist was as much an expander of England as was John Smith. All these statements are worthy of discussion, but they can only be mentioned as bringing in what seemed to be uppermost in the mind of the Professor, the necessity of reckoning the United States as the main factor in the expansion, and their people as the chief "English" constituent in the ethnic brotherhood he had in view. If we are in the habit of looking upon the Americans as "foreigners," the constant correction of the Professor is necessary. And if by the expansion of England is meant "the expansion of the dominion of England," as he seemed to suspect, it is indeed well that we should be reminded of the lessons of the American wars. But it cannot mean this, or not a single Colonist would join the movement. It would be bureaucratic. There must not only be a deep sentiment about it—and no great movement can succeed without—but there must be an element of self-interest as well. And these must be mutual.

A Colony is "held to imply dependency." This may, perhaps, still be held to some extent at the Colonial office, or at a Governor's council; but the people of England and her children abroad do not, it is believed, hold this doctrine. Yet, it is a dependency which the Imperial Federation League advocates: not the dependency of bond servants, but that of

free men. It is, in fact, an independent dependency. Imperial Federation, like George Washington, thus becomes a paradox. The thirteen United Colonies of America might, certainly, have become an integral portion of this great commonwealth. But, despite the blood connections, it is severed from the Mother Country; and, as a great political unit, for almost all purposes, it is a "foreign country." Whatever is in the "dim vista" of the future, Federation, like charity, begins at home. It was not the people of England, but a rotten Parliament, which lost us the thirteen Colonies. Bolivar was not the expander of Spain, but he was a liberator of South America. Washington was the expander of the United Colonies, but surely not the expander of England any more than he was that of France. The Imperial Federation League seeks the unity, not the uniformity, of the Empire. The union must be organic, not legalistic. The present abnormal connections cannot last very long, but neither can a few Parliamentary lawyers effect true Imperial Federation. The people of this ocumenical England must study it, and will finally deal with it. "We are," said Mr. Froude, in his new book, "Oceana," "passing through a crisis in our national existence, and the wisest cannot say what lies before us." The British Parliament is face to face with serious problems nearer home. It is getting increasingly involved in social questions. It has not for many years exhibited any special aptitude for, nor even decent thoroughness or patience in Colonial questions. Yet nobody denies that Britain is above all others the extra-European Power. Englishmen have to effect both Parliamentary and Colonial reform, and to see through the paradoxes of home rule and federal dependency. All the English-speaking nations seem destined to render a paramount moral service to mankind. The future of the highest civilisation and progress is in the hands of the Christian Aryan races. England must either rise to the occasion or give way to her growing rivals. J. F. HEYES.

THE FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE first annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League was held on Monday, February 15th, in the reception-room of the Mansion House, London, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor (Mr. Alderman Staples). The room is the anteroom of the Egyptian Hall, in which the Lord Mayor's official banquets (except that of the 9th of November) are given, and the reception-room was so full that, soon after the commencement of the proceedings, some one suggested an adjournment into the Egyptian Hall itself, but the proposal was not pressed. Amongst those who attended were

Baron Campbell, Viscount Folkestone, M.P., Viscount Lewisham, M.P., Viscount Sidmouth, Sir H. Barkley, C.M.G., Sir A. T. Galt, G.C.M.G., Sir W. McArthur, Sir C. Mills, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for the Cape), Sir Lewis Pelly, K.P., Sir R. Rawson, Sir Francis Smith, Sir Charles Tupper (High Commissioner for Canada), Hon. H. Holbrook, Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, Hon. C. Todd, C.M.G., Alderman Sir W. McArthur, General Lowry, C.B., Colonel Coysgarne Sim, Captain J. C. R. Colomb, Professor J. R. Seeley, Dr. John Chapman, Dr. Hyde Clarke, Mr. L. Cohen, M.P., Mr. C. A. V. Conybeare, M.P., Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P., Mr. C. Hall, Q.C., M.P., Mr. F. Hardcastle, M.P., J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Mr. H. Kimber, M.P., Mr. W. F. Lawrence, M.P., Mr. A. McArthur, M.P., Mr. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Mr. C. J. Valentine, M.P., Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., Mr. W. J. Allsup, Mr. W. Ahearne, Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C., Mr. W. J. Browne, Mr. S. Bourne, Mr. W. J. Courthope, Mr. T. Douglas, Mr. C. Washington Eves, Mr. W. S. Sebright Green, Mr. J. S. O'Halloran, Mr. G. D. Harris, Mr. J. Stanley Little, Mr. B. S. Lloyd, Mr. A. H. Loring, Mr. P. Lyon, Mr. A. Mackenzie-Mackenzie, Mr. P. Menell, Mr. A. P. Martin, Mr. O. B. Martyn, Mr. Kenric B. Murray (London Chamber of Commerce), Mr. L. E. Nathan, Captain C. Norton, Mr. W. L. D. Osborn, Mr. H. Cameron Ross, Mr. G. W. Rusden, Mr. R. Scott, Mr. Clarence Smith, Mr. R. Murray Smith, C.M.G. (Agent-General for Victoria), Mr. S. Trevail, Mr. C. H. Tripp, Mr. A. Turnbull, Mr. T. D. Wanliss, Mr. E. Wilson, Mr. Broomes Witts, Mr. J. Dennistoun Wood, Mr. J. A. Youl, Mr. F. Young. The meeting included, besides these, other influential gentlemen and a considerable assemblage of ladies.

Letters expressing regret at their inability to attend had been received from, among others, his Grace the Duke of Abercorn; Joseph Cowen, Esq., M.P.; Sir Robert Fowler, Bart., M.P.; Nicholas Fitzgerald, Esq.; Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P.; General Sir Henry Norman, K.C.B., Governor of Jamaica; the Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.G.; Samuel Morley, Esq.; Professor Sir George Paget, K.C.B.; the Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Tennyson.

The annual report, having been printed and circulated, was taken as read.

MR. LIONEL COHEN, M.P., in moving "that the report of the general committee be adopted," said: My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I have been somewhat unexpectedly called upon to take the place of my hon. friend, Sir R. Fowler, who is prevented attending by an unforeseen engagement. The duty which is cast upon me is one I have great pleasure in discharging. It is not the first time that in this hall I have had to advocate the cause of institutions pregnant with importance to the future of this country, of either an eleemosynary, a political, or a commercial character. Although the League on whose behalf I move this resolution does not belong to any of these three categories, yet it seeks to promote objects which in some degree appertain to every one of them. Whatever be the position in life of a citizen of this country, there cannot have been a time in the history of England when it was more important for the citizen of England

to look to the ties which bind the Colonies of England to the Mother Country as a means of relieving some of the trouble and anxiety by which we are now oppressed. It is specially useful to do so at the present time, when in the East of Europe we have recently seen carried out measures which it would be unbecoming in me to characterise, but the effect of which undoubtedly has been, and will be, to cast upon the overcrowded labour markets of the West of Europe a number of persons who have been forced to leave the country in which they have resided for a number of years. At the same time, there are economical circumstances in America, which have had a tendency to induce the authorities there to draw tighter than they have been accustomed to, the conditions of the free immigration of persons from Europe. Therefore, we stand in this position: While our country is being filled, on the one side, we have not, on the other, the means we have hitherto had of relieving our overcrowded industries by emigration to America. It is a happy circumstance that these troubling events should have a natural and inevitable tendency to draw closer the ties which must bind by a community of self-interest our Colonies to the Mother Country. The object of this League is not of a political character, in the sense that it is not the outcome politically of any one political party. Allegiance to the great Empire of which we form a part is, I hope, the common bond which still binds us all together; and it was a happy inspiration on the part of the promoters of this League to draw their prominent supporters and their pioneers from political men of both shades of opinion. I am happy to say that that combination is reflected in this day's meeting; and, having myself been for some time a watchful observer of the progress of the League, I can say that its object has been to steer entirely clear of political controversy; and in the recent elections care was taken that no political capital was drawn from its existence, either on one side or on the other. (Hear, hear.) The report gives details of a very large amount of useful work. In putting it before you, and asking you to adopt it unanimously, we, the promoters of the League, look for something more than the mere holding up of your hands to adopt this simple document. We take the adoption of the report to signify adherence to the principles on which this League has been founded; and, if there be any doubt in men's minds as to what those principles are, it is only shared by the promoters of the League in as far as it extends to the application of those principles. Every new doctrine, and especially every new doctrine which has to touch existing institutions without subverting them, has to be carefully and anxiously studied. I assert that the principles on which the League are founded are certainly broad enough to claim adherence from those who would prefer a close parliamentary alliance between the Mother Country and the Colonies; those who would prefer that we should try the system of government which has succeeded for India, namely, that of a council, and those who would prefer that each colony should be represented in the British Parliament. The League has no settled opinion. Each member is at liberty to retain his own opinion upon every one of those points. What we ask for is support to this sentiment—and there are many sentiments which are stronger in their hold upon us than any formal resolution can be—we ask you to support that sentiment of common allegiance to a common Empire which is expressed through all their differences of opinion by the residents in this country. We ask you to give effect to it by drawing us into closer alliance with the Colonies, with the view of discussing and of formulating what should be the outcome of that principle of Federation which we point out as necessary. There are several questions which concern alike the Mother Country and the Colonies. There is the question of emigration, to which I have alluded; there is the question of the fiduciary relations between one colony and another; there is the question of a common coinage and of the standard of money, which many believe to be at the bottom of the present distress; and there are also the questions of the defence of the Empire, of the occupation of new territory, and of the terms on which persons should be allowed to land, and on which goods should be allowed to pass from one colony to another. All these are questions which are of common interest to the Colonies and to the Mother Country; and, therefore, I hope, notwithstanding the differences arising from political and party strife in this country, they will arouse feelings outside the realms of party, and therefore deeper, and stronger, and broader than any party feeling. Those who agree in supporting the claims of commerce should make themselves heard in this country, without being fettered by the yoke of one party or the other in politics. I point to the report, which shows how many branches of the League have been established, as the best evidence of the work which has been done throughout the year. I ask the meeting, not only to support the League directly, but also to support it by giving the widest publicity to its journal, which contains many facts deserving of attention from Englishmen and from Colonists. I ask all present to act as missionaries, and to spread abroad in every district of the Empire in which they have influence that sentiment of allegiance to our common country, which is all we are at the moment endeavouring to implant, with the view of that plant bearing fruit in the future as it has borne it in the past. (Cheers.)

MR. H. W. L. LAWSON, M.P., in seconding the motion, said:—Like Mr. Cohen, when I came into the room, I had not the slightest idea of being called upon to speak; but I rejoice at the opportunity given me if it is only to show that this League, true to the intentions which were announced at its first conference, keeps itself entirely clear of party politics. If this question is to be approached fairly it must be approached without regard to the questions of the hour which separate the two English political parties one from the other. The work of the League is summarised in the report. It does not say too much, I think, when it tells us that it has made a successful beginning. I might even add to one sentence I find at the end of the report, that I do not believe it is necessary for the first time to impress upon the masses the importance of the problem that is before them; they are already aware of it; they know what a vast question it is; and as you have wisely abstained from suggesting any formula at once to be adopted, as you have not tied yourselves, nor pledged the League, to any cast-iron system suddenly to be imposed upon the British Empire, you will heartily

welcome, I know, the co-operation of the masses in solving the problem, as well as the advice of the peoples of the colonies and the dependencies. The Marquis of Lorne, in the work he has written on the subject, has advised us all to go slowly; and I myself could not have joined this League if at the present time I had felt thereby pledged to any one particular scheme. Everything up to the present has been tentative, I think wisely tentative. The movement is in its infancy, and it would only have arrested its growth if there had been any attempt made to raise questions of detail with which, you will agree with me, you are not at present ready to deal. The difficulties of the government of this country have been eloquently described in a book, which is attracting general attention, by Sir Henry Maine; but the difficulties of government in England are nothing to the difficulties of the government of the Empire. We no longer speak as in a fit of absence of mind of the way in which we were supposed to have conquered half the world. We are now, I think, fully conscious of our vast responsibilities, and that is a happy fact. We are conscious of the way they were acquired, and that in our present position we must take full account of the facts of the past. You will all hold with me that we wish to hear every possible view upon the subject. We want criticism abroad and at home. To use an expression which has obtained a good deal of celebrity of late, I would say, to those who stand aside from the League, whatever their politics may be, if they have any useful criticism to give, or any representation to make on behalf of the colonies, "Come over and help us." (Cheers.)

MR. J. DODSON, Chief Justice of Tasmania, in supporting the resolution, said,—I feel that this great and largely representative meeting will have very useful results upon the sentiments and feelings of those distant Colonies which, together with the Mother Country, make up the British Empire. I am sure that all colonists will be glad to hear that both the great political parties in this country concur in holding out the warm hand of fellowship to England's remote dependencies, and that both parties in the state desire to see drawn more closely those links which bind England to her Colonies. However fervent the feeling of Englishmen may be to draw the colonies into closer union with this country, I may say, as far as a colonist may represent one of Her Majesty's dominions, that the feeling entertained by the colonists is still more strong than that of Englishmen. When I state the reason, the meeting will concur with me. An Englishman, when he becomes a colonist, does not cease to be an Englishman. He is still proud to be able to claim the right of being a citizen of one of the foremost nations of the world. He is proud to claim as his fellow-countrymen the great men whose names are recorded in the roll of England's celebrities. There still lives, as of old, the strong sentiment which prompted the Romans to say "Civis Romanus sum," and a similar sentiment pervades the breasts of English colonists. As to the practical form that Imperial Federation is to take, nothing particularly definite is suggested, and I think there is good reason for it. I am quite sure that within this city, and within the walls of this building, nothing definite can be done. I believe that definite suggestions must come in the first instance from the outside, and gradually flow from the outside to the centre. We shall see the process of crystallisation commencing in distant parts of the British Empire, and when Colonies themselves have federated into groups we may see the groups federated to the Mother Country. The first cause of federation will be that which strikes home to all of us, that of mutual defence. Speaking as an Australian, I can say I am satisfied that no one part of Australia can be attacked, much less occupied, by any foreign power, without the whole of Australia suffering. The banks and the insurance companies in one colony have branches in the other; the owners of property in one have property and interests in others. While at this moment there may be doubts and jealousies in the way of federation, still the matter is already under discussion, and already the principle is commencing to take effect. Union of course is strength, and if we can look forward to the time when England will have a population of 100 millions she will be a power of which Colonists, as well as inhabitants of Great Britain, may well be proud. I am satisfied that such an alliance will be an alliance that will help to maintain the peace of the world. (Hear, hear.) Colonists are sensitive, and why not? All Colonists desire to see rights and liberties respected, and they naturally make emphatic protest when they see a large portion of a neighbouring country taken possession of by a foreign power, or by another made the receptacle for its criminal population. In such circumstances emphatic protest there must be, and I hope it will have its weight. In regard to commercial matters, no doubt there are very great difficulties. I can quite understand that it will be a mutual advantage to England and her Colonies that they should interchange goods to a larger extent than they do now; but there are great difficulties in the way of an increasing trade between England and her Colonies. So long as the Colonies were small they attracted but little attention, and other countries did not compete much with England in colonial markets; but now other countries are underselling England in her colonial markets, and are shutting out English goods which were formerly taken from English makers. America, in spite of her protective policy, is able to undersell England in agricultural implements and hardware, such as axes, hoes, and spades. Those now used in the Australian Colonies are almost universally of American make; these are matters to which political economists and manufacturers in this country should look. The markets of the colonies are open, and, like Englishmen, colonists are inclined to buy in the cheapest market and to buy the best articles. Sentiment pervades English communities and they have great patriotism, but if a foreign spade or plough, better and cheaper than an English one, be in the colonial market, we are inclined to accept the better and cheaper instrument, and not to let patriotism stand between us and our pockets. I desire to add the Colonists' view to that so ably expressed by two members of the British House of Commons, and to assure you that however strong the feelings of Englishmen may be for drawing the bond of union closer between the British Colonies and the Old Country, that sentiment is very much stronger indeed in the breasts of the British Colonists. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

SIR ALEXANDER GALT moved the second resolution :—"That this meeting commends the objects of the Imperial Federation League to the hearty support of all British subjects throughout the Empire, and invite their energetic co-operation." He said: I can quite understand that the committee, in asking me to propose this resolution, had the desire to show their appreciation of the warm expressions of feeling that have come from all outlying portions of the British Empire in favour of drawing the bonds of union closer with the Mother Country. I could have wished that this resolution had been proposed by one of the able representatives of our Colonies in London; but we can quite understand that, as they represent Governments, it would scarcely be possible that they could speak with that candour and freedom that an unofficial colonist may venture to do. There can be no question whatever as to the universality of the feeling detailed in the report on the part of the Colonies in favour of a closer union with the Mother Country. That feeling, as has been ably stated by the Chief Justice, rests upon a double basis. One is the sentiment of loyalty to the Queen, of reverence for the institutions under which our prosperity has grown up, and of pride in the past history of this country, and a desire that the colonists in a foreign land should be identified with the continued progress of this, which has been called "the Mother of free nations." But while the sentimental relation is one which I hope will never cease to exist between the Colonies and the Mother Country, still there is a stronger bond of common interest, which can scarcely fail to have due weight in the councils both of this country and her possessions. This includes the defence of our enormous commerce, which very nearly equals that of the Old Country itself. It is represented by a tonnage nearly equal to that of the Mother Country. The defence of it is more necessary for us than for you, because we are scattered over every portion of the globe. We are exposed to foreign attack in case war should break out between this country and a naval power. We are more exposed, and therefore we have a stronger interest in maintaining the connection with a powerful country like this, which commands the ocean, and which we trust will ever do so. If this commerce may be accepted as sufficient to explain the warm interest manifested in every part of the British Empire on behalf of a closer union, still I believe that there are stronger reasons, much stronger, why the Mother Country should desire to draw the bonds of union closer with her own possessions. Otherwise how can you explain that this movement has arisen here, that it was taken in hand first by a statesman of the standing of Mr. Forster? I am sure I express the feelings of all present when I say that I deeply regret the cause of his absence. (Hear, hear.) He is a statesman who stands in the very first rank; he is a firm and unflinching patriot, and has done his duty in every position to which he has been called (cheers); and he will in the future set his duty to the country above all personal considerations. Therefore we regret his absence, and I trust that we may soon have him amongst us, taking that part in the councils of the nation which cannot fail to be beneficial to us all. It is not only he who is with us, but we have seen other statesmen of the greatest eminence and belonging to both parties who have adopted the idea of Federation. We have seen it brought forward at various public meetings in this country, and also taken up by the press. Now there must be some strong and powerful reason why in this country there should be growing up such a universal desire to draw the bonds of union closer together. I believe it is to be found in the development of the institutions of this country. I believe that parliamentary pressure necessitating the devolution to local bodies of much work now done by the Imperial Parliament, is one cause that local interests and requirements are occupying so much of the time of the Imperial Parliament that the very first questions of foreign and colonial policy are necessarily, for the moment, put aside. Who can, moreover, doubt the effect which will be produced by the extension of the franchise of this country, namely, the putting of the government of it practically in the hands of the whole population, will be to give still greater prominence to merely local subjects?—that they will displace, to a certain extent, the consideration of the foreign and the colonial policy of the Empire? I do not mean to say what position may hereafter arise out of that state of things. It may be you will find it necessary to import into the Confederation of the Empire some balance which will keep in check democratic tendencies, which must necessarily arise, when here, as in the Colonies, we have almost universal suffrage. But, be that as it may, it is certain that the position of England is becoming more and more, in one sense, artificial than before. Look at the last census returns. More than two-thirds of the population are in the urban districts, and only one-third in the rural. There are 212 souls in the towns for every 100 in the country. It is a very significant fact, indeed, and it indicates a most important conclusion, namely, that the employment which will give relief to the existing distress must be found in the commerce of the country. Any one who will look at the figures of the trade of this country for the past few years will see that the distress is due to the falling-off of the export trade. That explains why tens of thousands of people have no work to do. I have just taken from the "Statistical Abstract" some figures which furnish a comparison between 1872 and 1884. In 1872 the value of the exports to Europe and her Colonies, excluding Turkey, and to the United States, amounted to £145,279,533; and for 1884 they amounted to £111,536,060, showing a decrease of £33,743,473, or 23 per cent. In 1872 the exports to foreign Asia, Africa, America, and Turkey amounted to £50,421,817, and in 1884 to £40,613,236, a decrease of £9,808,581, or 20 per cent. The two decreases amount to £43,552,054, or 22½ per cent. To British possessions the exports amounted to £60,555,997 in 1872, and in 1884 to £80,875,946, being an increase of £20,319,949, or 32 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Are not these figures most significant in regard to what ought to be the policy of the country? Whatever may be the cause out of which this diminution of trade arises, whether it be produced by the protective tariffs of other countries, or the additional hours that their people work compared with the people of this country, the fact remains that our exports to foreign countries are rapidly decreasing, while the exports to our fellow-subjects—those who are united with us in blood, and language, and laws—are rapidly increasing. Surely, that points in the direction

of Federation. It means, if anything, that it is the interest of this country to draw closer the bonds of union with her own possessions. Then, as to emigration, instead of our sending a large part of our surplus population to the United States, or to any other part of the world, we desire, and we will have it so when union is realised, that the stream shall be directed to our own Colonies, where every man will not only be happy himself, but will also be the means of bringing comfort and employment to those belonging to him in the Old Country. The objects of the League ought to commend them to the hearty support of all British subjects, not only in the Colonies, but also in the Mother Country. It may be said—"Why have you not some plan prepared?" Well, in regard to the general discussion of this question—and the useful work of the JOURNAL in this respect has been already referred to—it is very much better that the views of all able men on questions of detail should be ventilated and weighed by the public before the League attempts to give anything like form and substance to them. There is one subject, I venture to think, is ripe for action, viz., the common defence of the empire. This is a question that I do not believe ought to wait. Let us consider for a moment the position of this country, which now depends upon the means and resources of Great Britain herself. If you once get the Colonies united with Great Britain, you have added a population of 10 millions to the recruiting field for your troops. In Canada alone you have added 60,000 to those who can serve on board your fleets. That is no slight accession of Imperial strength. At the same time the necessity for the employment of greater means of defence is daily becoming more manifest. Look at the enormous commerce of the Colonies. Look at our own commerce, equally dependent upon the maintenance of our command at sea. Look at the necessity which has been set forth by Colonel Nugent, in the last number of the League's JOURNAL, for preserving the means of communication between various parts of the world. Upon it you depend not only for commerce but absolutely for food. How, then, can the defence be better provided for than by taking the Colonies into your confidence, and asking them to share in the defences of this country, by recognising the fact that they have interests equal to yours? How can it be best done? I say the feeling in the Colonies is ripe for the discussion of the problem. Look at the history of the last twelve months. Look at the contingent sent by New South Wales to the Soudan; at the services of the Canadian boatmen on the Nile? In Canada we put down a rebellion promptly, without a shilling of British money or the aid of a man, except the general who commanded our forces. Therefore, the question of defence is one for which we are ready. I hope the League will press it upon both the Government and the Parliament of England. It is not necessary, it is not desirable, it would be foreign to the genius of the British people to put before them any cut and dried constitution. Experience tells us that in this country reforms are the outcome of necessity, that they grow up out of the necessities which arise and force the reforms upon the people. That I believe is the case with regard to the question that I have referred to—that of defence. I believe it is now ripe for discussion. Why should not the Imperial Government invite the representatives of the Colonies to confer with them in regard to the fair apportionment of the burden. They would meet with a ready response from the representatives of the self-governing Colonies. There is no uncertainty as to what the result would be. Let me recall a little of past history. Towards the close of the rebellion in the United States, twenty-two years ago, when our relations with the United States were not as agreeable as we could wish, delegates from the Canadian Government came over here. They were Sir John Macdonald, the present premier of Canada; Sir Geo. Cartier, Mr. Geo. Brown, and myself. They met the then Mr. Cardwell, the Duke of Somerset, the present Marquis of Ripon, and Mr. Gladstone. The result was a plan for the defence of Canada was agreed upon, in which the United Kingdom and Canada each had to bear what was considered to be its fair share of the burden. I believe that it was out of that arrangement made in 1864 that the feeling of the country sprung which supported the Confederation of the provinces of British North America. The discussion of the plan by the representatives of the several governments necessarily led to the discussion of the question of finance. All agreed that that question ought to be met. That led to the discussion of commercial questions, and of the resources out of which the means were to be provided, and so in the end we came to discuss a plan for the formal Federation of the country and the union of its several parts. If there be a noble work in which England could be engaged, it is that of the consolidation of the British Empire. It is to it that the world looks for progress, and more than that, in these days, when we are threatened with war from one cause or another, it is well there should be a great power whose influence will be exerted on the side of peace, and which will have, in every part of the world, strength to put down disturbance and turmoil whence and wheresoever it may happen to arise. (Cheers.)

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID, Bart., M.P.: As an early member of the League, I look upon this day as one which will give it a great impulse. I think, generally, when any proposition has been adopted by the Lord Mayor, as representing the people of London, it soon comes to be appreciated by the people at large. In this matter, what is wanted is the more general appreciation of the subject among Englishmen. It has struck me in attending the meetings of the council of the League, what warmth, energy, and zeal in this cause was displayed by our Colonies and Colonial representatives while comparatively little was done at home. I should like to see a change in that respect. If the Colonies will be benefited by the proposed union, it is clear the Mother Country will be benefited still more, because now the whole burden of defence is thrown upon her, whereas the Colonies are prepared to share that duty with her, and therefore, in that respect at least, England will be a gainer. There is another more serious condition which ought to be brought before Englishmen, and that is that although we are thirty-five millions of people to-day, and the Colonies are ten millions, I believe that in the course of fifty years the relative proportions will be reversed, and that they will be more numerous than we are. The consequence

of that will be that, if we are united with them, we shall have the support of nations more powerful than we shall be, and our united voice will be heard accordingly in the councils of the world, as it is heard now, as the most powerful voice of the world. This is a matter that interests us all, and therefore I am delighted to see that you, my Lord Mayor, have given this League your sanction and approval by allowing the annual meeting to be held here under your presidency. As we all know, Mr. Forster has shown a deep interest in Colonial questions, and an earnest desire to increase the union between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and consequently we miss our head at this meeting. We hope ere long to see him taking his proper place at our meetings, where his presence and advice will be so useful. (Hear, hear.) As the Colonies have taken up this League so warmly, I trust the English people will by voice and subscription show their earnestness in this cause. I am satisfied it is the cause of progress and of civilisation. There is nothing to which a man can contribute which will have greater results in time to come. In these Colonies there is room for millions more, while there are millions who cannot find work in the Mother Country. Therefore, for personal reasons as well as for Imperial reasons, it is important that the work of this League should be encouraged and promoted, and that we should expedite the coming of the time when there will be a common system of defence for the whole Empire, in which England and the Colonies alike will have their share. I believe that the more you bring this matter before Englishmen the more you will promote these results, and therefore have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

MR. W. F. LAWRENCE, M.P., in supporting it, said: I feel it no little honour to be asked to attend this meeting as representing the great city of Liverpool. I much regret that Lord Claude Hamilton has not been able to do so. At my election meetings it was remarkable what interest was manifested in Colonial questions, and I hope the time is coming when the agricultural labourers and people in urban centres will give special attention to them, as their interests depend very largely upon the maintenance of our Colonial Empire. I do not come here mainly as an official representative of Liverpool; I have a personal interest in the Colonies. For 200 years my family have held property in one of our older Colonies; and I speak, to some extent, as a Colonist as well as an Englishman. I should like it to be remembered that Colonists have interests as deep, and as important to them, as we think our interests important to us; and that it is most essential that we should send our best men to the Colonies, and employ our best men here in safeguarding their interests. It is very wrong that the interests of the Colonies should be sacrificed to party exigencies at home. I speak as a Colonist and I feel as a Colonist. Statistics have been quoted which show that it can be no longer said, as it was by Sir Henry Parnell fifty years ago, that the Colonies can give no military strength to this Empire, that no money is to be made by trading with them, and that no financial gain can result from arrangements with them. After the experience of recent years, when we have seen the markets of the Colonies rapidly become so important to us, is it any wonder that we should see a change in public opinion, and a disposition to hunt down, as altogether unworthy of support, any Government that undervalued our Colonial Empire?

The resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

LORD CAMPBELL: There are many circumstances that may afford encouragement to the League at the present time. It is not, indeed, the first public meeting that has agreed upon Imperial Federation; but it is the first time that the City of London has given its sanction and authority to the movement. While there is nothing to cause despondency, there are many reasons for activity. You have formidable adversaries—or, at least, eminent men who have withdrawn from, or declined, as yet, to acquiesce in your proceedings. But it does not follow that you are likely to be annihilated; and it would be unwise to abandon the cause you have espoused. I have been thinking that the time may have come for some inquiry in the Colonies themselves, based in some degree upon the well-known precedent of the mission of Lord Durham. If the League should, after reflection, form a judgment of that sort, they might suggest it to the Government either in Parliament or by a deputation to the Colonial Office. There will be no difference of opinion as to the gratitude we owe to the Lord Mayor for the time and halo he has given to the movement, and on that point there will be complete and cordial unanimity. I have great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to his lordship.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM, M.P.: I have great pleasure in seconding the motion. This is not a merely formal vote. All who take an interest in the movement, whether present or absent, rejoice that we have held this meeting in the centre of the capital of this Empire which it is our object to bring into closer union.

The motion was carried with acclamation.

The LORD MAYOR: I have had great pleasure in placing the Mansion House at the disposal of the meeting to-day, because I think the attainment of the objects of the League are likely to be beneficial to all who are concerned. If there be any who have changed opinions they might have formed on this subject, this meeting, and the operations of the League, will afford to still larger numbers a means of forming an opinion; and I would ask you to think how many there are who, up to the present time, have formed no opinion at all on the question of Federation. I have a strong feeling on the matter myself, and have entertained it for some years. I think it is only necessary for Englishmen and Colonials to confer, in order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions; and I trust that the Exhibition, in the course of the year, which will bring so many Colonial friends to this city, will be a means of consolidating the good results you hope for from the meeting of this afternoon.

This terminated the proceedings.

THE organ of the Imperial Federation League presents in its second number abundance of matter bearing on the subject.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS ON THE LEAGUE'S FIRST YEAR OF WORK.

The *Daily News* says :—

The first annual report of the Imperial Federation League is a striking record of progress. / There are not many movements the advocates of which have been able to boast that in a little more than a year their principles had spread all round the world. Yet this is literally true of the Imperial Federation League. The idea it was founded to express has not taken very definite form and shape ; but it is in the air, and is met with everywhere. It is as vague but as real as the aspirations of the Germans for the unity of the Fatherland was five-and-twenty or thirty years ago. / It is infinitely desirable ; but nobody can show how it is to be brought about. But when everybody desires a change it is sure to come in one way or another. German unity was a sentiment which grew in spite of discouragement, which desired the apparently impossible, and which at length brought the impossible to pass. So it may be with the Federal unity of the British Empire. When the desire for it is universal, the opportunity for bringing it about will come in some unexpected shape. The Federation League is therefore wise in directing its efforts to the propagation of the central idea. Here is an Empire spread all round the globe. How is it to develop all the advantages of its widespread territory and its irresistible power? The answer of the League is—By drawing closer together its scattered parts. Obviously the first step towards that closer formation is to produce, in all the parts, the desire for nearer alliance. The year's work of the Imperial Federation League has produced ample proof that this desire exists, that it is growing, and that it will continue to grow. It is from the Colonies themselves that the first attempts towards putting the desire into tangible shape must come ; and it is in the Colonies that the greatest success has attended the operations of the League. Every true Briton is proud of the British Empire, and desires that its shadow, under which freedom everywhere flourishes, may never grow less ; and the Britons of Great Britain are more and more sharing the feeling. The advocates of Mr. Forster's view have every reason for hope. The League reports that the idea of Federation is being taken up with a zeal which warrants the belief that there will soon be no considerable part of the British Empire from which a demand for Federation will not be urged.

The *Morning Post*, the day after the annual meeting, had a long and able leader on the subject, from which we cull the following :—

Of all the great questions which have ever engaged the attention of politicians, Imperial Federation is probably the only one which has escaped all taint of party feeling ; and it is refreshing to find that there are still men left who are capable of honestly grappling with the greatest problem of statecraft which the world has ever seen, and of handling it in a manner worthy of the interest and importance which are attached to it. Whether the efforts of the Imperial Federation League be ultimately crowned with success or not, it is impossible to deny that great credit is due to the founders of the movement both for the solid basis upon which their work has been begun, and for the discretion with which it has been conducted. Entirely unmoved by the taunts and jeers of those who do not believe that any Federation of the Empire is possible, the League has so far carefully abstained from officially promulgating any definite scheme of its own, and has confined itself to inviting suggestions and encouraging discussion on the subject by all who are interested in it. / Although the time is rapidly coming when some defined scheme will have to be brought forward, or the whole project abandoned, great wisdom has, we think, been shown in allowing public opinion time to form itself, and the merits of the question to be properly appreciated. To have advanced prematurely any cut and dried plan of Federation, no matter how perfect, would have simply been to court failure. / The object of the League has rightly been to arouse public feeling throughout the Empire as to the necessity of some form of Federation, and to combat the mischievous idea that we are very well as we are, and that if the existing state of things be only not interfered with it may be expected to continue for an indefinite period of time. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the people of this country that it is impossible that the existing relations between England and her Colonies can reasonably be expected to last more than a few years longer, and are such that a crisis might at any time be precipitated ; in fact, that their choice lies between Federation and disintegration. To this we hope and believe the inhabitants of this country are now becoming alive ; and as the League is the focus for all the statesmanship of the whole Empire, we may reasonably hope that the difficulties which are undoubtedly in the way of any form of Federation, though very great, will not prove unsurmountable. In spite of the time chosen being anything but a favourable one, the meeting of the Imperial Federation League, which was held yesterday at the Mansion House, was numerously attended. The Lord Mayor himself presided, and although the absence of Mr. Forster created a want which nothing could replace, the meeting was a thoroughly representative one, and especially interesting from the number of Colonists who were present.

We endorse with the deepest emphasis the opinion of the *Post*, as expressed in what constituted the concluding paragraph of the article, and which was as follows :—

We hear a great deal of talk about the strength of the sentiment which binds together the various portions of our Empire. That such a sentiment exists we do not for a moment deny, but we cannot conceive anything more dangerous than to rely upon it entirely for securing the permanent union of the Empire. It is with unfeigned regret that we see Mr. Froude has fallen into the error of supposing that if only we leave matters alone the ties which bind our Colonies to us will grow on increasing in strength. Had Mr. Froude remained long enough in Australia to become thoroughly acquainted with the temper and dis-

position of the rising generation, we cannot but believe that he would have modified his opinion considerably. We must remember that in a rising community in a far off land the ties of mere sentiment which bind the inhabitants to the country from which they originally came become sensibly weaker with each succeeding generation. The traditions of a land which he has never seen, and which to-day represents the sentiments of a young Australian, are very different to the personal recollections of his father or his grandfather, who, perhaps, did not leave England until approaching middle age. Unless we can combine self-interest with sentiment, our chances of permanently retaining our Colonies is very small indeed. We must be able to show them that their interests will no longer suffer as they do at present from being under the control of men who do not understand them, and we repeat that we must be prepared frankly to acknowledge that it is of infinitely greater importance to ourselves than to them that they should remain portions of a united Empire. We stand to-day on the watershed of English history, and upon our actions with regard to the Colonies will depend whether in the future our path leads down to the plains of peace and plenty or to the barren desert of disintegration.

The *Morning Advertiser* of Feb. 17th said :—

Although at home there is much to disturb the national mind, much talk of disruption of the United Kingdom, and social uneasiness, it is pleasant to note that the Imperial Federation League, the outcome of sound patriotic feeling, is making good progress. Its first annual report is very satisfactory reading indeed. In all the great self-governing colonies, and in many of the smaller colonies and dependencies, its object has been approved of. From the beginning we ourselves have given it a cordial support, and are heartily glad of its success, which is one of the surest harbingers of the continued greatness of the British name.

After reviewing the statements contained in the Report it continued :—

Altogether a great conception, founded on the facts of the historical development of our nationality, has been worthily put before the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and they have responded to the idea in such fashion as to show that it was timely and opportune in finding expression for itself. The response from the English race everywhere would scarcely have been so warm and hearty if Imperial Federation did not so patently harmonise with the fitness of things. The seed fell into good ground. So rapid now is the development of events that we need not despair of realising at an early date a practical scheme for a closer Imperial unity.

The Chief Justice of Tasmania remarked on Monday at the Mansion House that, "however strong feeling and sentiment might be among Englishmen to draw the bond closer between the Colonies and the Old Country, that sentiment was, if possible, stronger in the breast of the British Colonist," and Sir Alexander Galt subsequently defined this feeling. "It rested," he said, "upon a sentiment of loyalty to the Queen and of reverence for the institutions of the Old Country, and a desire that the Colonists should be identified with the continued progress of this, which had been called 'the mother of free nations.' Moreover, it is a fact that the commercial and shipping interests of the Colonies are enormous, and all that they have to protect them is the naval might of Great Britain." We stand between them and the armed Powers of Europe. For us, on the other hand, the Colonies offer not only a home for our surplus population, without which the sufferings of our unemployed would be tenfold greater than they are now, but they are almost our only increasing markets. In 1872 our exports to Europe and her colonies, excluding Turkey, amounted to 145 millions, and in 1884 to 111 millions, being a decrease of 23 per cent. in twelve years. Our exports to foreign Asia, Africa, and America, fell off 20 per cent. in the same period. In 1872 our exports to British possessions were £60,555,997, but in 1884 were £80,875,946, showing an increase of 32 per cent. These figures offer a sound commercial reason for drawing closer the bonds of union between Britain and her colonies. Mutual defence will probably be the line along which the federal energies of the race will be drawn, and, considering our vast frontiers, active work here cannot too soon be begun. The Colonies are ripe for the discussion of the question, which, we trust, will soon form matter for the best thought of our Houses of Parliament.

The *Saturday Review*, in its issue of Feb. 20th, remarks :—

The first annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League has met to report progress, and it has a fairly respectable record. The absence of Mr. Forster, who is Chairman of the League, and who, it may be said without disrespect to anybody, did more than any of the members to give it importance, was a misfortune. But even without his presence the meeting was interesting. From the first annual report it appears that the League has been active in doing all it can do to forward a closer union between Great Britain and the Colonies, which we take to be about the most patriotic and useful occupation a body of Englishmen could well devote themselves to at the present time. The fact that men of reputation and standing, not only at home but in the Colonies, are engaged in trying to tighten the bonds between all parts of the Empire, even though they can only cast about for the best means of doing a very good work, is in itself a timely protest against the mischievous activity of other persons in a quite contrary direction. As yet the League has done, and tried to do, no more than promote inquiry ; but that is at least the necessary preliminary to discovery. By dint of trying hard, with a wish to succeed, the League may perhaps find some method by which the Mother Country and the Colonies can act together more conveniently than at present, when Downing Street is allowed to manage for them all.

In reference to the subject of Emigration, the last-named journal says :—

Here, then, is a problem which the Imperial Federation League,

since it prefers postponing the task of finding a basis of Federation (and very wisely, too, on the whole), may profitably set itself to solve—to find some scheme by which the overstocked labour market at home may be relieved, without sweeping away the pick of the working class, and also without offending the Colonies by threatening to swamp them with paupers. The solution will not be easy to find, but the League is more likely to be successful in this task than in any efforts it may make to frame a federal constitution for Great Britain and the Colonies.

The opinion of the *Court Journal* is thus expressed:—

Imperial Federation, apparently begun as a fancy, and sounding for a long time more romantic than practical, by degrees has lost these characteristics, and has worked itself into a form that claims respectful recognition. The issue of "a first annual report" brings the Federation before the British public in a way which it appreciates, and to its mind gives the required quality and business stamp. At this first report no one is absurd enough to look for an account of substantial benefits realised, only for the proof of thorough agreement and unity of feeling on the part of the Colonies and the Mother Country. This will be found. All seem to desire a closer tie with England—that there should be in spirit one Empire, and in practical action one Empire also. The sentiment has been expressed by Sir Alexander Galt in these words, which are pleasant reading indeed in these days:—"The Colonies feel a sentiment of loyalty to the Queen, and of reverence to the institutions of the Old Country, and a desire that the Colonists should be identified with the continued progress of England, which has been called the mother of nations." There is no doubt that our Colonies are not over comfortable at a moment when European Powers are sending their men-of-war prowling about in their waters, and are anxious for a federation of strengths amongst themselves and with the Mother Country for protection; while, on the other hand, England has reached a climax in her relationship with European Powers, and stands somewhat isolated among them for many reasons which need not be related, and most naturally turns to her Colonies, grown strong and able, to rally about her. We are told that Continental nations see force in this union which England does not. Perhaps we know our own interests best, if we do not talk so much about them. Though the basis of this year's Colonial Exhibition that succeeds the Inventories seems to most to be amusement, it cannot but have a very practical influence in the development of Imperial Federation.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, with its usual outspokenness and vigour, reproaches the League for what it evidently regards as supineness, but what less impulsive papers praise as prudence, at least at the present stage of the discussion. It thus, in its issue of the 16th, "utters its voice":—

If the League is always going to abstain from taking any decided step, people will ask both here and in the Colonies of what possible use it is. It is, of course, obvious that it would not be desirable to force, as some one said, "a cast-iron system" of Federation upon the Empire; but the League might well do a great deal, short of that, towards the consolidation of the Colonies with the Mother Country. Mr. Lawrence, one of the Liverpool members, urged strongly upon the League that it should exert its influence to secure the selection of the very best men both as Governors of Colonies and as Colonial and Under-Colonial Secretaries. As it is, they contemplate with equanimity the probability of the return to the Colonial Office of such an Imperial disintegrationist as Lord Derby; and they view without a protest such incongruous appointments as those of Lord Granville and Mr. Osborne Morgan. The only other practical suggestion made at the Mansion House meeting was Sir Alexander Galt's, that steps should be taken to form an Imperial Navy. He said that the time was ripe for that, and if so, surely the League might stir up Imperial statesmen at home to take some action towards testing the real feeling of the leading Colonies on such a vital point. Then there are such first steps towards Federation as the location of the Agents-General within the Colonial Office, and the institution of a federal postage, which the League might well place in the front of its platform. At present the League has done little except profess the desirability of closer union between England and her Colonies. It is time that it did something to promote that union, or at least exerted itself to prevent things being done which can only render union more distant and improbable.

The *Brighton Gazette* of Feb. 19th had a long leader on the subject, in which it said:—

The Imperial Federation League, which has for its object the promotion of closer union between our Colonies and the Mother Country, has this week held its first annual meeting in London. The record of the initial year's work furnishes a fair measure of encouragement to the friends of the cause. There is ample evidence that the labours of the League are acceptable to the Colonies themselves, and without this, efforts in the direction aimed at would be worse than futile. The desire for identification in matters of mutual effect must be as fully evinced by Colonial opinion as by Englishmen of the old land here, to be at all productive of lasting results.

Next year, if the Imperial Federation League prosecute its mission as vigorously as during that just expired with the annual meeting, its executive may be able to come forward with some definite plans prepared; and meantime the cause will be promoted by the views of able men, Home and Colonial, being ventilated and well weighed by the public. The time has not yet arrived when anything final can be done towards the solution of the Federation problem. The League and its supporters must proceed patiently and slowly, encouraging a federal movement on the part of the Colonies themselves rather than hastening them in that direction. There is no desire in any of our Colonies for disintegration; they are loyal to the core, but they do not care to be driven into Imperialism. Full Federation may be regarded as a coming condition of things, and the League is working well for the day-dawn.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

LOYALTY OF NOVA SCOTIA IN 1775.

MR. MARTIN J. GRIFFIN, the librarian of the Parliament Library, Canada, writes:—"You will be glad to know that a much earlier precedent for the action of your League is in existence than any one has, I think, dreamed of. In 1775, at the time when the American authorities, then on the point of rebellion, were making open and most scoundrelly attempts to undermine the loyalty of the Colonies on the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed a resolution asking to be allowed to share in the expenses and dangers of the Empire. The Legislature protested that it dreaded 'a separation from her (British) government and protection as the greatest political evil which can befall us or our posterity.' The Legislature asked the king to accept a tax of 'so much per cent.' on 'all commodities imported into this Province.' The following paragraph was part of the document:—"We humbly conceive it will be necessary to the peace and happiness of the British Empire that the tax to be raised in the Colonies, and which shall be at the disposal of the British Parliament, and the proportion of each Colony towards the Imperial expense should be of such a nature as it may never after be necessary to alter it."

EXTENSION OF THE LEAGUE'S WORK.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—It was my privilege and pleasure to attend the annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League, held at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, on Monday last. I left the meeting under a deep conviction that no more urgent and important subject can or ought to command the attention of all ranks and conditions of Her Majesty's subjects than the Federation of the British Empire. Shall I be considered too presumptuous if I venture to make a few suggestions of a practical character, with a view to the extension of the operations of the League? If not, I would respectfully suggest:—

(i.) That agencies, or affiliated branches of the League, should be established throughout the United Kingdom.

(ii.) That, as Liberal and Conservative clubs and associations are now being formed in all our principal cities and towns, they should be solicited to take copies of your excellent Journal, so fully dealing as it does with the whole question.

(iii.) That, in order to secure the above objects, obtain subscriptions, and the more fully to advance and promote the principles and objects of the League, agents (paid, if practicable) should be engaged to visit our principal cities and towns, to deliver lectures.

The scheme is a grand and noble one, and I hope no effort will be spared in bringing it immediately under the notice of the country at large.—I am, sir,
AN ENGLISHMAN.

Eastbourne, Feb. 18th, 1886.

[We are obliged to our correspondent for his letter, and are glad to know that the Mansion House meeting has produced within him so deep a conviction of the importance of our work. With regard to his first suggestion, we would say, as a matter of fact, branches of the League have been established, not only in a number of places in Great Britain, but also in the Colonies, and our hope is that ere long these will be multiplied a hundredfold. Any help which our correspondent can give us in this direction by endeavouring to form a branch in his own town, we shall welcome. For "Information relative to the Formation of Branches of the League," we would refer him to the last number of this Journal. His other two suggestions have been made before, considered, and, in part, carried out. We venture now very respectfully to offer to our correspondent a suggestion, namely, that he should without delay send in his name, together with the registration fee, to the secretary, to have it placed on the list of members, and—a subscription for the Journal, which will be sent to him post free the year through, for four shillings.—ED.]

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I was present at the annual meeting of the Imperial Federation League at the Mansion House, on Monday last, and was very pleased to find a crowded audience, and much interest taken in the proceedings. I am sure that if you circulate widely a full report of that meeting, a good effect will be produced.

It occurs to me to ask you whether arrangements could not be made for holding a meeting or meetings here in Scotland, where the objects and, indeed, I fear even the existence of the League, are all but unknown. No nation shows a better record where colonisation is in question than Scotland, and I am sure that the ideas which you are engaged in propagating only require to be ventilated among Scotchmen to secure attention and approval.—Yours faithfully,

Edinburgh, Feb. 19th.

F. FAITHFULL BEGG.

[We thank Mr. Begg for his suggestion, which will, no doubt, be considered by the Executive of the League.—ED.]

STRAWS show which way the wind blows, and the little incidents of daily life and of popular assemblies are often eminently enlightening as to the direction of popular feeling. It is amusing to see hotel-keepers seeking to allure the thirsty by "federal" signboards, and companies courting a share of the accumulations of the thrifty by "federal" titles. But even more significant is the way in which "federal" allusions are received in public meetings. The flattest speaker can generally get a cheer for the most jejune oration, if he plants in it somewhere a well-considered remark about "federation." . . . "The solidarity of peoples" is one of the watch-words of the age.—*Melbourne Daily Telegraph*.

LITERATURE.

The Life and Speeches of Joseph Cowen, M.P. By Evan Rowland Jones, author of "Lincoln, Stanton, and Grant;" "Historical Sketches;" "Four Years in the Army of the Potomac," &c. &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington.

THE senior member for Newcastle is in many ways a remarkable man. As a man he is thoroughly manly; as a man of business he is capable and successful; as a journalist he is trenchant and incisive; as a politician he is able and honest; as an orator he stands in the front rank; and, as a patriot he is superior to all petty considerations of party. What he is in his more private relationships his friends best know. In such a man the public is—at least it ought to be—interested, especially as Mr. Cowen has made for himself a unique position in the House of Commons, in which, perhaps, it is not saying too much he commands the respect of all parties. We, therefore, commend Mr. Jones for having given effect to his own judgment as against that of the subject of his work, and give to the portly volume before us a hearty welcome. The author, in his preface, states his qualifications for undertaking the task of writing this book. He had lived on Tyneside for upwards of fourteen years; some of Mr. Cowen's active associates have been his personal friends; although precluded by an official position from taking part in them, he has witnessed every political contest, and been acquainted with every party feud, which has, during the above-mentioned time taken place in the constituency; in short, in a variety of ways, public and private, he has enjoyed opportunities for acquiring the information necessary for a work of this character.

Mr. Cowen has had from his early youth a passionate love of freedom. He was a friend of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Kossuth, and Louis Blanc, and was an active sympathiser with them and their compatriots in that which they had made the great object of their life. Indeed, so far did he allow his sympathy to carry him that when the pamphlets and other papers, by means of which the revolutionary party sought to disseminate their principles, were proscribed by France, Italy, Austria and Russia, he used the facilities possessed by his father's firm to run the blockade with the proscribed documents, which were concealed among fire-bricks and other exports. He even went so far as to charter ships for, and send arms to, the struggling nationalities; and at one time a warrant against him was applied for in consequence of his violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act in inducing Tyneside men to serve under Garibaldi.

In Parliament, Mr. Cowen has ever placed country before party, and as a consequence has not commended himself to party leaders for appointment to office. In 1878, when the Russians were at the gates of Constantinople, he, in spite of the position taken up by most of his political friends, supported Lord Beaconsfield and his Government in what he conceived to be their wise, as well as courageous and patriotic action. In a speech he delivered on that occasion he declared, "I am not a conventional adherent of the fashionable Liberalism of the hour; but I am a life-long Radical by conviction, sympathy, training and taste. I am concerned for something more and higher than the transference of the offices of State from one set of men to another. I will not trim my political faith to catch the passing breeze, however pleasant. 'Unplaced, unpensioned, no man's heir or slave,' I neither look nor care for the honours, the favours, or the patronising approval, 'lisp'd in liquid lines mellifluously bland,' of any party." Such a man it is impossible not to respect.

Another testing time came when Gordon was at Khartoum. The vote of censure on the Government, which was moved by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the 14th of May, 1884, Mr. Cowen felt it his duty to support. In his opinion, a bald recital of the facts should, and would, have been sufficient to carry the vote of censure, were it not for party vassalage. There were those at this time among his party connections who sympathised with him in his opinions, but would not join him in his action "lest the Reform Bill should be lost." Again, the honesty of the man was seen: "I have not yet mastered the subtle political ethics which enable a man to think one way and act another, so I mean to sustain my opinions by my vote." He was for heartily supporting Gordon; for in the spirit of the man there was something kindred to his own, and was against the suggestion that he should sacrifice his comrades, and secure his own safety by decamping. "Let," said he, "the touching telegrams from General Gordon be placarded broadcast. Let the cross of manliness and devotion he has raised in far Khartoum be upheld at home, and it would arouse a spirit which would shatter the equivocating and huckstering statecraft, whose highest effort is to

'Promise, pause, prepare, postpone;
And end by letting things alone.'

It is sometimes said that a re-formation of political parties is wanted; that the old party lines have been worn away, if not worn out; and that what is imperatively needed for the welfare of the country is a national party. A national party, however, exists—or, shall we say, the nucleus of a national party? It would not be difficult to indicate some of the men who belong to it. One man, at least, is a member of that party—the party whose watchword is "Patriotism," rather than "Party allegiance"—and his name is Joseph Cowen.

The biographical part of this volume extends to about a hundred pages. The rest of the volume, which altogether numbers some five hundred pages, is occupied with a selection of Mr. Cowen's speeches. These are on a variety of political and semi-political subjects, and among the rest is one which deals with Imperial Federation. What view Mr. Cowen takes of this great and important subject we need scarcely say, when it is known that he is a member of the Imperial Federation League.

Both the editor and the publishers of this handsome volume have done their work well.

Our Colonies and India: How we Got them, and why we Keep them. By Cyril Ransome, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Modern Literature and History in the Yorkshire College, Leeds. Second edition. Cassell & Co., Limited: London, Paris, New York & Melbourne.

This is simply a most excellent little book, and few things would rejoice

us more than to know that it was having a very extensive circulation. It contains a series of lectures, delivered in the spring of 1885, by Professor Ransome, in the People's Hall of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society, before an audience composed, for the most part, of working men. The object aimed at was to combat the notion that the working classes have no interest in our Colonies and Dependencies. For this purpose the attempt was made, and with success, to place in a clear light the commercial and financial aspects of the question—aspects which naturally appeal very strongly to the classes addressed. At the same time, the moral side of our relations to our Colonies, and especially to the natives, was not neglected. The work is somewhat in the style of "The Expansion of England," by Professor Seeley, to whom the author in the preface acknowledges his indebtedness. In a note, prefixed to this second edition, Professor Seeley himself says:—"I sincerely hope that your book will have—not a large, but—an immense success. It conveys in the plainest, most intelligible words, some truths about the Empire, which I regard as all-important, and which I wish to see impressed upon the mind of every individual, high or low, in the country."

We will simply content ourselves now with a hearty recommendation of this little work to all who may wish to possess a large amount of very valuable information about the British Empire compressed into very small space; and with commending the concluding sentences of it to all under whose eyes this notice may come, for we are strongly convinced that, in labouring in the cause with which this journal is identified, we are labouring in the interests of peace:—"The more closely our Colonies and Dependencies are bound by common interest to the Mother Country, the greater will be the safeguard of the peace of the world. A great empire, with interests in every quarter of the globe, is not likely to go to war for a merely local or frivolous object. Little wars it may, and must have; but we may hope that in time these will become rarer and rarer, and that we may find in the union of the British Empire—possibly, in the practical alliance of the English-speaking race—the first step in the direction of the union of mankind and the federation of the world."

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

TO OUR FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS.

OUR readers, both at home and in the remote parts of the Empire, will be gratified to learn that IMPERIAL FEDERATION continues to make progress. Our subscription list is gradually mounting up, and we are month by month receiving gratifying evidences that the paper is accomplishing the object for which it was established, in directing public attention to great questions of Imperial importance, promoting public discussion of these questions, and creating a public opinion in favour of the Federation of the Empire.

Gratifying, however, as is the progress which the League and the Journal have made, and are making, we feel that we are only at the beginning of our work. We are not deluding ourselves with the belief that our object will be accomplished all at once. We are aware that there are many difficulties to be encountered, and many obstacles to be overcome, while incessant thought and toil will be required to meet and successfully cope with them. It is to be hoped our friends generally will bear this in mind, and not "abate a jot of heart or hope," if they do not see the speedy fulfilment of their expectations, "but still bear up and steer right onward." Wisely directed efforts and a spirit of patience and dogged perseverance are required; time and events will do the rest for us—for these, we are confident, are on our side.

It is well known—the report of the League published in our last specifically stated it—that a guarantee fund has been formed for the support of this Journal. This was necessary, inasmuch as the Journal has not been established on commercial principles, no advertisements—which, it is well known, are the chief support of most journals—being admitted. We are, however, anxious not to draw more from the guarantee fund than can be helped. The annual subscription of four shillings is small, and at such a rate we should require an immense circulation to be self-supporting. At the same time we are anxious to be as nearly self-supporting as possible, and would make an earnest appeal to all our present readers to get each one other. In this way the number of our subscribers would be doubled, and a considerable service would be rendered to the League. Secretaries of branches will particularly oblige if they will use their influence to induce their members to become subscribing readers. Some of these gentlemen have already served us well in this matter, and we hereby tender our sincere and grateful acknowledgments to them. To mention them by name, or even the branches they so zealously serve, might appear invidious; but if we could only mention what one branch in particular has done we feel sure it would be a spur to others.

CONFERENCE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE Executive Committee have resolved:—

1. That a Conference of the League and its Branches be held on the 1st and 2nd of July, if possible at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition.
2. That on Saturday, July 3rd, a banquet be held, to commemorate the holding of the Conference.
3. That communications be addressed at once to the Hon. Secretaries of the branches throughout the Empire, notifying these arrangements; and begging the nomination of delegates, whose names and addresses, in London, should be sent to the Central Office as soon as possible.
4. That the subject for the consideration of the Conference should be:—

Imperial Federation, in its various aspects; and that papers be read on particular branches of the subject, occupying not more than fifteen minutes, to be followed by discussion.

5. That a special number of the Journal be issued in June, giving information as to the condition of the Empire on the Queen's accession, and its progress up to the fiftieth year of Her Majesty's reign.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE Council of the London Chamber of Commerce offer a prize of £50 for the best essay on "The Best Means of Carrying Imperial Federation into Effect." The competition is open to subjects of HER MAJESTY resident in Great Britain, Ireland, the Colonies, or elsewhere. The essays must be sent in by Aug. 31st. SIR ALEXANDER GALT, PROFESSOR SEELEY, and MR. J. A. FROUDE, have just been appointed the adjudicators. For further particulars see an announcement which appears elsewhere in this Journal.

THE articles contained in the March number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION have attracted a good deal of notice, and have been much discussed in the Press, especially those by MR. KENRIC MURRAY and MR. STEPHEN BOURNE. In several instances MR. BOURNE's article has been reproduced in full. The evidences are multiplying that the Journal is fulfilling its mission in exciting thought and public discussion upon Federation, and the momentous matters it involves.

ALL good Federationists are interested in the condition of the right honourable Chairman of the League, and will be glad to know that it is decidedly improving. MR. FORSTER may now, we trust, be regarded as convalescent. A few days ago he took carriage exercise for the first time since his very serious relapse. Our readers, we are sure, will welcome with much satisfaction his return to health.

ON Friday, the 26th ult., MR. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P., gave in the House of Commons the following notice:—"To call attention this day four weeks to the magnificent development of the possessions of the British people in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and other lands beyond the seas, and to move, that in the opinion of this House the time has now arrived for the Government of the Mother Country to take active steps to bring about the Federation of the Government of the Empire for such Imperial purposes as defence and foreign affairs, and the extension of mutual commerce."

THE City of London is already beginning to prepare to entertain our Colonial visitors this summer in right royal style. It is proposed that there should be a State visit to St. Paul's, and the giving of a ball has been resolved upon, at a cost of £3,000. The LORD MAYOR has expressed his intention of entertaining at a banquet the principal Colonial visitors, and it is proposed that, about the same time, the first pile of the new Tower Bridge should be driven, which ceremony it is hoped HER MAJESTY will consent to conduct. Altogether the City magnates intend to "have a week of it," in honour of our fellow-subjects and kinsmen from beyond the seas.

THE motion of which MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., gave notice in the House of Commons, and which was referred to in our last, has had to be postponed. The following is the reason given by the *Morning Post*, in its issue of the 19th, for the postponement:—"A conference of the Governors and Prime Ministers of all our Australian Colonies on the military Federation of the Empire is to be held in Melbourne next week. MR. HENNIKER HEATON, who had intended to bring the subject under the notice of

the House of Commons this evening, has accordingly postponed his motion for a fortnight."

THE *South Australian Register* declares that South Australia is not opposed to united action, nor does it desire to disparage united action. "Federation," it says, "like marriage, is, no doubt, largely a question of sentiment, but it also involves most important practical issues, which it would be the height of folly to disregard." It argues that the Federal Council has legislative powers which it is quite conceivable might be used unfairly to some of the Colonies. Its opinion is that "an amendment of the Imperial Act will be found to be necessary; or, better still, that power should be given to the Colonies to amend their own Constitution Acts, so as to give them the right to settle the basis upon which actual Federation can be accomplished."

WE publish in another part of our present issue an interesting article by MR. BERNARD COSTELLOE, whose name is familiar to the public as that of MR. GOSCHEN'S opponent in a recent contest for the representation of Edinburgh. MR. COSTELLOE'S paper deserves attention on two grounds. In the first place it serves to remind us of the great truth which no student of English history ought to forget, but which very few Englishmen appear to remember, that our Constitution has never been a fixed set of rules, but has been varied and adapted to suit the changing facts of each succeeding generation. We shall fall lamentably short of the traditions of the past if we fail to recognise that in the present day we are face to face with new problems and new combinations, which can only be dealt with by fresh machinery and fresh methods. We must look ahead, recognise the signs of the times, and change once again those institutions which are themselves the result, and embodiment of the results, of endless change.

A GENTLEMAN has been writing to the *Manchester Guardian* to acquaint it, and the people of Manchester generally, that he happens to know, "by mere chance," what the new BISHOP of MANCHESTER'S "views are on at least one subject of the highest importance to England—namely, the Imperial Federation of our country and her Colonies." BISHOP MOORHOUSE'S *ex animo* adherence to Federation principles has not been such a secret as the *Manchester Guardian's* correspondent seems to suppose. The speech of the BISHOP at Melbourne, in October last, and the other speeches to which he refers, were printed and published by the Imperial Federation League, in pamphlet form, as soon as the full report of them reached this country, and have been in circulation for some months. It is, we should say, rightly judged that "the opinion of the new BISHOP of MANCHESTER on any great subject is a matter of interest to all thoughtful men in Lancashire," and to thoughtful men elsewhere. We, therefore, reproduce in another part of this journal the greater part of the speech to which reference is made.

AN officer of Engineers, writing home from Halifax, Nova Scotia, supplies an interesting item of news. It appears that the War Office had given authorisation for the Engineers at that station to be strengthened by the addition of thirty men to assist in submarine mining. On February 5th, the officer referred to inserted in one of the local papers an advertisement stating that thirty men were wanted to join the corps, and by noon the next day three hundred young fellows had presented themselves, comprising pilots, stokers, engineers, and other mechanics of

various crafts. After due examination and inquiries, and the rejection of such as for various reasons were not eligible, seventy were left from whom to choose the thirty required, and the officer who communicates this interesting fact says that he anticipated another week would produce three hundred more. One objection which has been made against recruiting the regular army from the Colonial as well as the home population, has been that young men in the Colonies who had the opportunity of earning high wages, would not enlist for the pay given to the British soldier. Such an objection seems to be summarily disposed of by such facts as that just recorded.

THE foregoing paragraph raises a very important and interesting question. Anyone who has given an hour's careful consideration to the question of Imperial Federation must have perceived that the question of an Imperial force recruited from all parts of the Empire, and liable to service in any portion of it, must sooner or later present itself for solution. Before any definite conclusion can be arrived at on the subject, it is essential to know what are the actual rates of pay accepted by private soldiers in all those Colonies where a permanent force, however small, is maintained. We hope before long to be able to lay before our readers some interesting facts bearing upon this subject. Meanwhile we shall feel obliged to correspondents who will favour us with any well-authenticated facts as to the pay and position of Colonial troops, and the possibilities of enlisting for permanent service in the Colonies. At home the amount actually received by the private soldier is less than the ordinary agricultural wage. The balance of inducement is made up partly by the fact that soldiers are clothed, fed, and maintained, and partly by the opening which the military career gives to the aspirations of a martial race. We presume that the same considerations will apply in the Colonies as here, and that the soldiers' pay will in every case be based upon a sum rather less than the lowest current wage.

THE *Broad Arrow* asks:—"May there not lie before us a new field for the display of Colonial patriotism in the future introduction into the ranks of the British army of regiments furnished from the exuberance of Colonial population, which in conflicts yet to come may bear aloft in company with their Highland and Irish comrades the glorious banner upon which the sun never sets?" It is sincerely to be hoped that there will be before long such an opportunity for the display of Colonial patriotism as our contemporary suggests. It is perfectly clear, from such intelligence as we receive from time to time, that there would be not the slightest difficulty in forming and recruiting such regiments, and the moral force resulting from the presence of Colonial regiments in the regular British army would be tremendous. It is by such steps that we shall advance towards the complete homogeneity and unification of the Empire.

ON the very day on which we went to press with our last number, an incident occurred in the House of Commons to which we feel constrained to make some reference. It related to the sum of £1,200 mentioned in the estimates for medals to the Canadian troops who were engaged in the suppression of the late revolt in the North-West. It appears that the Dominion Government, after due consideration, decided to bestow a medal upon the men who took part in the operations so successfully and brilliantly carried out by GENERAL MIDDLETON, in recognition of their patriotism and valour. But it was found that the medal could only be bestowed by the Imperial authorities—this

being as it should be. Under these circumstances the latter should have come forward in the handsomest manner, offering a becoming tribute to Canada for the way in which, at her own expense, she carried through the operations, only asking the Imperial Government for the loan of a General. As it was, some honourable members thought well to haggle about the vote, some on one ground, and some on another. Economy without doubt is good, but false economy is not good; and false and most mischievous economy we hold it would have been if the House had listened to those who were anxious that it should refuse the vote. The tone adopted by the Minister who spoke for the Government can scarcely be held to have been satisfactory. The expenditure, it was said in effect, had been incurred by the late Government; he—the Minister—could not have been a party to it; but the rejection of the vote would be open to much misconstruction in Canada, and he was not willing to incur that risk. The late SECRETARY for WAR, upon whom it devolved to make some explanation of the matter, gave a complete justification of the grant. "Considering," he said, "all the circumstances of the case, having regard to the fact that the Colonial forces were forces of the Crown, although not paid by it; having regard also to the fact that this country had received much aid and comfort from the Colonial forces in an enterprise which this country had lately conducted on the Red Sea, the late Government deemed it advisable to accede to the request of the Canadian Government, and grant a medal to these men." We should think so, and are glad that the House of Commons, by 209 against 66, endorsed that opinion. Still, as a contemporary has remarked, "it is hardly possible to conceive a more striking proof of the necessity for the education of our rulers and legislators in the sentiment of Imperial Federation than was afforded by the debate."

MR. C. A. BOULTON, of Manitoba, has been writing to the *Toronto Daily Mail* on the subject of Imperial Federation, and has made a suggestion worth thinking about. He declares that "Canadians are as much interested in preserving the unity of the British Empire as Englishmen, Irishmen, or Scotchmen;" but insists "that they are also interested in preserving the constitutional liberty they enjoy," and is wishful, as we all are, that that liberty should not be jeopardised. He thinks it would be impossible for any one in any portion of the Empire to formulate a scheme which would meet the views and requirements of the various countries interested, but that "an earnest discussion of the ways and means to formulate some scheme" by representatives of the different parts of the Empire in council assembled would be the prelude to a Federation which would be acceptable to all. He says:—

"The question could only be brought forward upon the invitation of the Imperial Government; but if an invitation was extended to Canada, Australia, the Cape, and India (the chief centres of the outlying portions of the British Empire), and, say, ten representatives were appointed from each to meet representatives from England, Scotland, and Ireland to form a council, a fair discussion of the question might be obtained through the medium of this council. It would be advisable, in order that the public might have an opportunity of joining in the discussion, that this council should meet in each of the chief Colonies before finally meeting in Great Britain to sum up the result of their labours, for by that means this council would then be able to express a practical opinion. There is no doubt that a discussion held by a council appointed in that manner would be productive of good results, and something practical would come of it. A national feeling has grown with Canadian life, and that feeling would find vent if Imperial Federation made Canadians an equal and component part of the British Empire."

Some day, we trust, the Government will take some such steps as MR. BOULTON suggests. In the meantime, the next best thing that could be done is being done by the Imperial Federation League, in taking steps to hold a Conference of British and Colonial representatives in connection with the approaching Exhibition.

LOOKING AHEAD.

THE present situation of political affairs raises problems with regard to the future Parliamentary government of the United Kingdom which, whatever view we take of the Home Rule proposals, afford, at any rate, food for reflection as to the possible

FUTURE OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

One thing alone is certain—that the old constitutional method of governing the Empire by one Parliament composed of two Chambers and permanently organised in two great political parties is, whether for good or evil, coming to an end. How much longer the two Houses will last a candid student of recent politics would hesitate to say. The maintenance of the one Parliament as the sole representative institution in these islands is at any rate menaced, and many of us believe that it will soon become impossible. The continuance of the theory that in that Parliament and in British politics there are two parties which divide between them all the voices of the legislature, and which, therefore, alternately go in and out of office, is already an anachronism. The fact that Mr. Parnell has organised an Irish party, ostentatiously independent of Whigs and Tories alike, has ended all that. There may be other sectional divisions—the Conservatives may or may not divide into the Tory-Democrats on the one hand and the Moderates on the other. The Liberals may or may not divide into Radicals and Whigs. These questions are less vital. If there are more than two parties in a Parliament like ours, it is of little importance whether the fractions are three, or five, or more. The old balanced movement of the ins and outs, by which the history of the country has been so long and so largely made, is vitally deranged by the introduction of a factor independent of either ministry, and often, if not always, able to put in either of them at will.

It is unnecessary to insist on the precise political consequences of the change. It is only necessary here to point out that a change of a very radical character—or rather

A SERIES OF CHANGES,

which threaten to alter our present conception of the British constitution, are at hand. Those of us who are strong believers in the necessity of organising the Empire are, therefore, called upon to consider betimes how such changes may affect Imperial concerns. Leaving aside as unlikely the solution of the Irish question which would involve the exclusion of all Irish representatives from the English Parliament, most people will probably admit that if a body of a Parliamentary character should hereafter be created, under whatever conditions, for Ireland, similar changes would probably follow, at no distant date, in reference to the affairs of Scotland, and of Wales, and ultimately for England also, and that in these events it would be unnecessary, and probably undesirable, to maintain, for the conduct of Imperial affairs at Westminster, so large a body of representatives as that by which the whole aggregate of Imperial and local business is managed now.

It is more difficult to prophesy what may happen to the

HEREDITARY CHAMBER.

It is almost equally difficult to limit its veto, to improve its constitution, or to abolish it altogether. Radicals who believe in the utility of second chambers would probably be quite prepared to solve the question, by giving the Imperial House at Westminster a right of reconsidering certain categories of the measures passed in provincial assemblies, if such should be created. In any case, it is now too late to look for the methods of Colonial representation in any modification of the Upper House.

The political imagination does not easily adjust itself to such startling changes in our familiar constitution, as those which now seem to be in the air. But it may be worth while to point out that it would be much easier to accommodate

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONIES

in the Imperial House of Commons, if that assembly were reorganised so as to consist of a single chamber, with a comparatively limited number of representatives from the British islands, and if the Imperial Ministry to be maintained in office by the assent of the majority for the time being in such a House, was no longer necessarily identical

with the Ministries responsible for the conduct of internal affairs in the United Kingdom, and was no longer naturally dependent on the varying fortunes of the British Whigs and Tories.

We may be accused of looking too far ahead, and it would be mere temerity even to suggest prediction. But whatever form of the unexpected may be about to happen, it is well for the members of the Imperial Federation League to bear in mind that Parliamentary conditions are changing, beyond doubt. There would be great and reasonable objection to the admission of Colonists into a Parliament by whose authority an English Ministry controlled both the local legislation and the executive government of England. But these difficulties, at least, would disappear if there existed¹

AN IMPERIAL CHAMBER

distinct from the English Parliament, and if that chamber were guided by an Imperial Ministry which need have nothing to do with the rivalry of the two historic parties, and whose chief aim would necessarily be to carry out a consistent foreign, colonial, and commercial policy, for the general benefit of the British race; the life of such a Ministry would depend upon conditions very different from those which now obtain. In our present Commons the convictions of private members must be sacrificed over and over again to the need of maintaining a Liberal or Conservative Ministry in power, and the most consistent and well-meaning politicians are often prevented from making their influence felt for the correction of the foreign or Colonial blunders of their party chief, simply because they honestly consider that the mischiefs likely to arise at home out of a party defeat outweigh the dangers they may fear abroad.

It would have been voted monstrous when Imperial Federation was first discussed, if anyone had suggested the creation of such an Imperial Chamber over the head of the English Parliament, vital as are

THE IMPERIAL INTERESTS

which such a chamber might control. It is the object of this article to suggest that at the present time it has become at least conceivable that, for reasons independent of the general organisation of the Empire, a state of things may presently arise to which the most extreme theories of direct Colonial representation might be easily applied.

B. T. C. COSTELLOE.

NATURE AND NEED OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

FIRST ARTICLE.

"Great changes have been made; great changes are impending; amid these changes there is no greater benefit to mankind than a statesman can propose to himself than the consolidation of the British Empire."

"Recollections and Suggestions." By Earl Russell. P. 201.

THESE are noble, weighty, and patriotic words, which, coming from a statesman of fifty years' standing, are at least entitled to respectful attention. They have not been much noticed, but concerning the policy advocated in them there are at present no less than

FOUR DIFFERENT THEORIES

afoat. It is warmly advocated by one party, which has practically taken the words for its motto; it is opposed by a second party as unnecessary, and better calculated to disintegrate than unite; by a third as aiming at a mischievous end—the prevention of disruption; and by a fourth as a piece of visionary utopianism incapable of realisation, and unworthy the attention of men with clear brains. Does not the existence of so many, and such widely different, views seem to indicate that the subject is one which may be viewed from many different standpoints, and that to arrive at the correct conclusion concerning it the thing needed is a comparison of the truths gathered in each view?

The Federationist is impatiently asked concerning the Empire,

"WHY CAN'T YOU LET IT ALONE?"

My reply at least is:—

"BECAUSE IT WON'T STAY QUIET."

Did it show any sign of being, like Squire Hazeldean's village stocks, an institution past its work, and whose future fate could affect nobody, the best course would certainly be to adopt Parson Dale's policy, and "not to stir quiet things." But from every corner of the Empire come proofs that nothing within it is either quiet or decaying, although much valuable vital force is allowed to slip away elsewhere. And from outside come proofs that its relations with the rest of the world alone can scarcely fail to enforce a formal demolition or reconstruction of the existent edifice within a very few years. Believing that whichever alternative be accepted the result cannot fail to affect the future of both Fatherland and Colonies more seriously than any action taken by either in this century; that the balance of advantages lies enormously in favour of reconstruction; and holding with Lord Pembroke that "an institution can only reform itself profitably in time of peace,"² I plead for action before passion has become an element of the problem.

"WHAT, THEN, WOULD YOU HAVE?"

will probably be next asked, and to this question the answer must be that the first *desideratum* seems to be an understanding of facts, and a recognition of them, on both sides. That no clear understanding of Imperial relations exists can be seen from the facts that while in 1885 Mr. Forster and Lord Bury could agree in thinking that England does not tax the Colonies, but does defend them, there was only one English garrison in British America, and not a man of it available to send against a rebellion then raging in the North-West Provinces; and that this situation was the fruit of a policy adopted over fifteen years previously, concerning which Mr. Froude had written in 1870:—"We have said generally that we will not undertake the defence of the Colonies except in wars of our own making, and that if the Colonies do not like the conditions they are welcome to sever the connection."³ Which view is the correct one?

HAS ENGLAND DEFINITELY MADE UP HER MIND

to reject the policy of "Colonial Emancipation," which from the outbreak of the American War to the Treaty of Washington seemed so exceedingly popular that Canada was then all but told to "Get out?" If so, the best thing for both parties would seem to be that she should say so. Ever since the adoption of free trade a large and influential party has maintained, in the words of Mr. J. S. Mill, that "England is sufficient for her own protection without the Colonies, and would be in a much stronger, as well as more dignified, position if separated from them, than when reduced to be a single member of an American, African, and Australian Confederation. Over and above the commerce which she might equally enjoy after separation, England derives little advantage except in *prestige* from her dependencies, and the little she does derive is quite outweighed by the expense they cost her, and the dissemination they necessitate of her naval and military force, which in case of war, or any real apprehension of it, requires to be double or treble what would be needed for the defence of this country alone."³ In pursuance of these principles England has, for forty years past, told the Colonies that they can have their independence whenever they like to ask for it. But at the end of that time she is confronted by the fact that their population has risen to about 28 per cent. of that of the British Islands; that the consumption of British goods by British possessions has increased to one-half of that consumed by all the rest of the world; that civilised foreign countries, instead of following her lead in a free trade policy have, after a trial of it in some cases, reverted to protection in all cases; that their consumption of British manufactured goods has been steadily decreasing since 1873, while Colonial consumption of them has gone on steadily increasing; that England has become dependent on importation for about one half of the food consumed by her people; that nations instead of adopting the millennial dreamings current at the Great Exhibition, have shown themselves increasingly belligerent, and have increased their armaments to an extent which has cast those of England rather into the shade—and in face of these stubborn things England seems at last to recognise the fact

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1885, p. 237.

² "Short Studies on Great Subjects" (Second Series). England and Her Colonies.

³ "Representative Government," p. 152 (People's Edition).

that the maintenance or dissolution of the Colonial connection, be it what it may, cannot at least be a matter of indifference to her, while the Colonies have never affected to believe that it could be such to them. This fact being admitted, common sense would seem to say that

THE WISEST COURSE FOR ALL

is to set to work to discover the truth of the various theories enunciated, and the feasibility of the various policies suggested. An understanding of the best thing that can be done is certainly the first step towards the adoption of the best policy; and between so many and such widely different courses of action, there certainly must be some choice. Should the Imperial Federation League accomplish nothing more than the instruction of the different parts of the Empire in the consequences of the several policies open; and thus furnish materials for arriving at a correct decision as to future action—this service alone would amply suffice to vindicate its existence.

Federationists are repeatedly asked, in different words,

WHAT THEY MEAN BY IMPERIAL FEDERATION,

and why they advocate it. There is nothing unreasonable in this demand. People ought always to be prepared with what has well been said to be "the first condition of accurate and careful thought—the precise definition of fundamental terms,"⁴ and able and willing to supply "a reason for the faith that is in them." But Federationists, who may be roughly defined as men endorsing Earl Russell's theory, can scarcely be expected to be prepared with a "cut-and-dried" scheme to make it a reality, before they have well had time to compare notes. Seldom do we meet with a political question to which the wise old proverb, which bids us "hasten slowly," is more appropriate. The enterprise is, probably, the most glorious which has ever opened on national ambition, and the most abstruse of its class which has ever confronted statesman and thinker. Let it not be marred by coarse handling. At present there seems reason to fear that its immensity causes some of its advocates to shrink from facing its realities. Having done this some thirteen years ago,⁵ I shall now strive to explain

WHAT IMPERIAL FEDERATION SEEMS TO ME TO MEAN, if it means anything.

An Imperial Federation could scarcely fail to be somewhat similar in its nature to other federations. Like all states, a federation is, in the simplest sense, a corporation or associate body, whose members can, for certain purposes, act as one. Its object, like that of all corporations, whether political, ecclesiastical, commercial, or benevolent, is to enable the members thus incorporated to gain, by means of united action with united resources, ends unattainable—or attainable only much less completely—by individual effort. And as outsiders will never accept corporate unity, which may be used against them, along with limited liability for reparation to them, the first consequence of this, as of any union which renders members unitedly active, is to render them unitedly responsible. States may be distinguished from all other corporations by the nature of the responsibilities which their legal union entails. These are more serious than those falling upon any other corporation. Foreign Powers insist upon holding them accountable for the acts of any of their officers, and, to some extent, for the acts of any of their members; and exact redress by fire and sword for any act which they may choose to regard as a *casus belli*: members are thus responsible for each other with their properties, liberties, and lives—in a word, with their all. A federation may be distinguished from all other states as a permanent alliance whereby certain territories agree to meet these responsibilities in common, while retaining a local control over local affairs, to make which agreement effective they cease to hold each other accountable with fire and sword; unite their resources for the purpose of repelling aggression and exacting reparation, and establish in their midst an authority endowed with power to enforce the terms of their alliance. An Imperial, or Pan-Britannic, Federation would be the establishment of such an alliance between the United Kingdom and its Colonies, properly so-called.

Advancing a step farther, we may go on to enquire

ON WHAT MATTERS CORPORATE ACTION IS REQUISITE

in order to render a federal union efficient. On this question experience, and the fact that a Federation usually exists in order to enable its members to appear as "one state in reference to other powers," seem to indicate four departments of government in which the action of the members of a Federation must be in unison if the alliance is to be either permanent or efficient.

The first point on which united action is essential to the existence of a Federation is *diplomacy*. A federal union exists for peace and war. It can actually be one in these circumstances only by having all its members occupy the same position towards foreigners; and as it is diplomacy which regulates foreign relations, their action on it must be united in order to enable them to maintain an identical position. This united action binds the associates in a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance—which, indeed, is usually the chief end of its existence. But to make it an effective means of securing peace and concord amongst the associates, and victory over their foes, a combination and common management of their naval and military resources, or *united action on armaments, is needed*. It is true that in some Federations the maintenance of armaments has been left in charge of the local governments; and the united action of the Federation effected by making each member liable to furnish a specified contingent whenever required by the federal authorities to do so. But this system is now generally discarded as inefficient, since it affords no security for the fulfilment of the duty by the local governments; places in the hands of each of them the means of secession, and leaves the federal government unable to increase its forces as may be required. To secure effective armaments, the federal government itself must, it is generally agreed, be allowed to raise them as it may deem advisable. But armaments cost money. A federal government required to raise and maintain them must, therefore, possess a revenue; and to raise a revenue it must be competent to impose taxation. Thus a permanent alliance, binding the allied parties to united action on diplomacy and armaments, necessitates *united action on finance*, if we are to have any security for the armaments, whereby the diplomacy must be enforced, being efficient. But taxation usually interferes with commerce. The most fruitful sources of revenue in European and American countries usually are the customs duties. On the nature of these duties depends the whole course of trade; and on the course of trade, now-a-days, depends the financial well-being of all. There are, consequently, very few points on which men are less disposed to "agree to differ" than on the *commercial policy* of their country, and the less this disposition prevails the greater is the need of providing means to prevent the occurrence of quarrels. This can be done in a Federation only by denying to any of its members power to thwart the interests of another; and by securing to all a voice in the adjustment of the policy which will affect all,—in other words, by united action. Thus it would appear that to render a political corporation no more closely united than it must be if its members are to maintain a uniform attitude towards all the rest of the world, they must *adopt united action on diplomacy, armaments, finance, and commerce*. Unity of action on other matters may be both practicable and expedient, according to circumstances. But this much would seem to be always indispensable, as discordant action in diplomacy, or discordant use of armaments, must render the Federation unable to maintain a uniform position towards foreign Powers; and this foreign Powers will not tolerate, while local refusal to contribute to the federal revenue must leave the federal government unable to fulfil its duties any longer than while a part will consent to bear the charges of the whole, which we may be sure will be but a short period. And discordant action on commerce is almost certain instantly to set them on the search for a better partnership with foreigners. I do not assert that, in the present instance, complete commercial unity in the shape of Free Trade between all the members, and a uniform tariff on foreign imports, would be either practicable, requisite, or desirable.

ALL I WOULD CONSIDER ESSENTIAL WOULD BE HARMONY; and this would seem to be attainable by so much reciprocity, as would hinder any part of the Federation from thwarting

⁴ Sir James Stephen.

⁵ See "A Colonist on the Colonial Question," Longmans, Green & Co., 1872.

the commercial interests of the rest, or refusing to British goods "the most favoured place in its ports."

At this point, however, the reader may, perhaps, inquire how the above unity would be realised; and as to the character of the authority which should exercise these prerogatives. The reply is that this refers to the machinery of government for a Pan-Britannic Federation rather than to the nature and need of it, which latter is the part of the subject on which we are now engaged. The question is one which would require the attention of the wisest and most patriotic men in the Empire; there might be many alternatives open, the relative merits of which would require to be carefully weighed. But I am strongly inclined to believe that if we can agree as to the responsibilities which we are prepared to assume on each other's behalf, or the extent to which we are content to act in union, we shall not be baffled in our efforts after Imperial Unity by the difficulty of forming a ruling authority for the Federation.

Toronto.

JEHU MATTHEWS.

ACADEMIC ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

It must be constantly felt by members and others who are interested in the work of the Imperial Federation League that, whenever their questions are raised, a striking want of knowledge is usually as general and far more serious an obstacle as anything else. The League naturally desires to

EDUCATE PUBLIC OPINION

on all aspects of Imperial Federation. But it continually finds that the public require educating on the actual geography of the Colonies as a preliminary to the discussion. Professor Seeley, in a recent article in the *Nineteenth Century*, forcibly drew attention to "our insular ignorance." And, compared with the recent improvement made on the Continent in the academic position of geography, it must be confessed that the greatest geographical Commonwealth in the world lags lamentably behind. The remarkable amateur Blue-Book issued by the Royal Geographical Society, as the result of a year's investigation by their special commissioner, Mr. J. S. Keltie, shows this condition, and their winter exhibition of educational appliances in Europe gave ocular support to this conclusion.

The members of the League throughout the Empire will be grateful to the Society for this, their latest effort to draw attention to the importance of

SOUND GEOGRAPHICAL EDUCATION.

This can hardly be described as *vox et præterea nihil*; but the two points which it is here desired to emphasise are, (1) that geography is not recognised as a distinct subject of study at the British universities, and (2) that the higher classes pass through the public schools and universities into public life without that elementary, but not necessarily superficial, and certainly invaluable, knowledge of the space-environments of the fellow-creatures upon whom, either as politicians or administrators, they may afterwards experiment. Is it then surprising that they turn out geographical Gamaliels?

We need more *statesmen* and fewer *timesmen*. We want public men who know how all Britishers move, not as marionettes in a mist, but on solid mother earth, especially on the scale and surroundings in the Colonies. Colonists are no more puppets than we are. The rising generation must master *all* their environments if they are to understand them properly, and work with them in all that is beneficial to the Empire. And what an Empire! If it is unique in its characteristics and aspirations, in its truly democratic imperialism, and its œcumenical peace-enforcing tendencies, is it not worthy of study in connection with such a recognition of geography in all its ramifications as it is a function of universities to develop? It may almost be said that

GEOGRAPHICAL IGNORANCE LOST US OUR AMERICAN COLONIES.

Granted that the loss may have been, the ignorance certainly was not, a blessing. Ignorance never is. But it is a maxim especially true of geography that what everybody is thought to know, few are found to understand. Most persons shudder at the thought of their juvenile geography lessons in the days of grammar and spelling. The word

has a childish sound. To say that Verdant Green was "reading" geography, or to say that he was having "mumps," or measles, would equally provoke a smile. Should we change the word to *Geanthropognosis*? Even this would scarcely indicate the high level and interest which the subject really possesses. It may be too hard and too complex a subject for the undergraduate to study, but it is certainly not too easy nor too simple a subject for "the Schools." Certainly either view remains to be proved. The future bears indications of an increased desire to study our fellow creatures in space as well as in time. It is probably because the Colonies afford more space than time phenomena that they have not yet received attention. At present it may be said that "Mediterraneanography" is well studied at the universities, and that "Indianography" is beginning to find a place, especially in Oxford, where the perseverance of Sir Monier Williams, the Professor of Sanskrit, has issued in the establishment of the Indian Institute. Geography must needs find its establishment and *entourage* some day. Then interest, not only in the Colonies, but in the whole world, and in all philanthropic and missionary movements, will grow as that in India is assuredly increasing. It is surely

A GROSS ANOMALY

that a Board-school *boy* should be fairly well grounded in the elements of geography, but the public-school *man*, as a rule, not only supremely ignorant of, but with a lordly contempt for, the subject which he does not understand. He may, in some cases, have "done" Europe, Asia, and Africa, but the expansion of (young) England is often moved into a higher form before he has the chance of "doing" America, to say nothing of Australia. How, then, can we be surprised if the discussion of Imperial Federation should move heavily for want of decent geographical knowledge? Let us be thankful, however, for the progress which has already been made in high places. Big maps in the House of Commons and little maps in the daily papers are signs of the times. It is not many years since the incident told by Sir Arthur Helps to Mr. Froude took place. Lord Palmerston was at a loss for a Colonial Secretary. "I suppose I must take the thing myself. Come upstairs with me, Helps, when the council is over. We will look at the maps, and you shall show me where these places are."

Let our Canadian, and especially our Australian, brethren

BE PATIENT.

In the present state of affairs, even "Imperial Federation" has an ugly look to many. Dim vistas—to use an almost historic phrase—of Cæsar, Napoleon, military despotism, and "Trafalgar Squarism," float in the minds even of Londoners. What is wanted in the educational world is, that the encouragement afforded by the Government to geography in elementary schools, by attracting teachers who find the subject pays, should be provided by the universities in the case of the public schools and their undergraduates.

By means of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, by tutors, professors, and a Historical School or Tripes, they have, in the course of time, sent teachers to the public schools, and men and books into the world, which have raised the general position of history.

SIMILAR WORK IS NECESSARY FOR GEOGRAPHY

before it can tell on the country. Even Professor Bain practically concedes that geography is worthy of such recognition, when he calls it "the greatest task of the purely conceptive power in its literal or matter-of-fact working, as opposed to the imaginative or emotion-prompted working," adding: "this alone would make it a late study." The real difficulty will be in setting geography on its own legs. As it used to be abroad so it still is in this country. Portions of the subject are taught in history and geology, and it is therefore argued that there need be no place for a separate geographical department. The very fact that it seems to demand a sort of duplicity of study, that it seeks to preserve a friendly balance between science and humanity, nature and man, and is a school *Scientiæ Humaniores*, must needs make it a difficult subject to comprehend or to treat. Yet it may fairly claim the sympathy and support of all those who patriotically believe that in the permanence and progress of the British Empire there are involved great moral and religious services to mankind.

There are many ways in which members of the League may aid in developing that geographical knowledge which will further a better comprehension of the great problems which lie before us. They must be left for future consideration. The best of the rising generation of wealthy Colonists might often advantageously reside and take their degree in Oxford or Cambridge. University men in these days of rapid travel should, even at some apparent sacrifice, see more of the Colonies and popularise their knowledge. The Colonists might establish travelling studentships with proper safeguards. It is to be hoped that some of our visitors to the London exhibition will give addresses and lectures in different parts of the country, even at some sacrifice of sentiment. After all, it is natural that we should be much less acquainted with them and their mighty areas than they are with the "precious gem set in the silver sea." The people will give them a hearty welcome, and they will best be their own agents. The clergy also may be both teachers and learners. Bishop Barry at Sydney, and Bishop Moorhouse at Manchester, are reciprocal instances of another aspect of Imperial Federation.

These and other academic aspects of Imperial Federation may be thought sentimental and vague. But they are perhaps at bottom more concerned with a righteous and enduring success than what it is the fashion to call practical politics. Would anyone say that the "sentiment" of the Royal Geographical Society, or the Royal Colonial Institute, has been less effective in preserving the unity of the Empire than the "practical politics" of the Colonial Office? Sentiment is the soul of this movement in a body whose maladies might without it—some may say in spite of it—bring about a noxious decomposition. At the eve of the last election there were some ready to speak on Imperial Federation or anything else. They are not so enthusiastic now. But a deep and healthy sentiment will not be seriously affected by the temporary chances of local politics. May these scattered thoughts in some measure stimulate the sentiment of those who are content to work and wait on the strength of it.

Oxford.

J. F. HEYES.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

THIRD ARTICLE.

It is not the purpose of this article to particularise the measures which the different Colonies have taken for their home defence. In a paper dealing with this subject, written two years ago, the state of

COLONIAL DEFENCES

at that time was summarised, and we know that since then all the Australian Colonies have introduced guns of more modern construction and of better calibre, and have made provision on a liberal scale for gun and torpedo boats, and for submarine mines. To take two instances out of many, I read in a Brisbane paper—and very imposing reading it is—of a defence force parade, which consists of mounted infantry, field artillery, detachments royal navy, naval brigade, garrison artillery, engineers, one regiment, two regiments of rifles (one of them volunteers), and an ambulance corps; and in the *New Zealand Herald* of 10th November is the account of a sham fight on the previous day, in honour of the Prince of Wales's birthday, in which 1,390 men were under arms, and the operations included land and naval attacks upon Auckland, with the explosion of submarine mines of great power.

In all the Australian Colonies the spirit is willing enough, but in the action, however vigorous, of the members, there is

WANT OF UNITY.

Indeed much of the present good state of matters military in these territories is due to the late Commissioner of New Guinea, who, previous to entering upon the duties of his post, which led to his untimely death, was adviser in defensive matters to the whole of the Australasian Governments, and did much to impress upon the defences the stamp of efficiency they bear. At the present time especially, a time of transition in weapons and defences, the Australian governments cannot dispense with the services of such an adviser, and should take steps to fill the post which Sir Peter Scratchley occupied with so much advantage and so much economy to his employers. This want of unity is a grave evil, as the

thinking men in Australia know well. Speaking some eighteen months ago, an officer of high position in the Queensland Artillery said "the blot in the Australian system of defence was want of unity, for the whole scheme of defence was fragmentary, each Colony working on its own lines, and though naturally all were working for the common good by strengthening each individual Colony, yet there was no general comprehensive scheme of defence; feeling this want of unity of purpose, the commandants of the different Colonies agreed that the best thing would be to obtain the services of an Imperial officer of high standing to take command."

The Dominion of

CANADA IS IN A DIFFERENT POSITION;

it has accomplished its Federation; it has a military organisation in which theory and practice both find place, and is able to place in the field at very short notice an efficient and well equipped fighting force, a force which has recently done good military service. In this its Federation has materially assisted it, and has enabled it to work upon definite lines. It is scarcely possible to overrate the value to the Dominion of the Military College at Kingston, followed, as the training it gives has been, by the admission of some of its pupils to the commissioned ranks of the British regular army. This, which has already proved of service in strengthening the tie between the Mother Country and the Dominion is destined to bear fuller fruit as time rolls on, and may be well held up for imitation elsewhere; the best results may confidently be anticipated from the commingling of the commissioned ranks, especially if the officers from beyond the seas, their term of duty done, return to spend their declining years in their native homes.

It may be that in the fulness of time, the Territories, following the Mother Country in this as in other matters, shall be compelled to resort to standing forces; then possibly the

MILITARY ORGANISATION OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION

may result in interchange of military duties, the home forces taking turn of duty in the Territories beyond the seas, the forces of these Territories taking turn of duty in the United Kingdom, a State-directed emigration, or settlement of naval and military pensioners in these Territories assisting to give cohesion and homogeneity to the forces, naval and military, of the Federated Empire.

The difficulties of the

NAVAL PART OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE

are of a different character. Either the naval defence, with the exception of what is purely local, may be left to the Mother Country, the Territories abroad paying their quota, or the Federated Colonies may themselves provide, man, and arm Territorial squadrons in concert with the Home Government, the supreme command of each squadron being in its hands.

This alternative relieves the Home Government from all concern as to the assessment of cost, but it is not so thorough in respect of unity, while in the former case the apportionment of cost would be matter of little difficulty; a very ready method of apportionment is found by dividing the cost of protection in proportion to the value of the trade to be protected.

Mr. Macfarlane, of the Montreal Branch of the Imperial Federation League, in the last issue, advocated a duty, 5 per cent., on all imports from non-British countries, the proceeds to be appropriated to the

PROVISION AND MAINTENANCE OF AN IMPERIAL FLEET.

Whether this country should depart so far from the principles of Free Trade is not for me to discuss here; but I set down the results of both in the statement below, that my readers may have before them, and may compare, the incidences of charge from both methods.

	On Trade.	On 5 per cent. ad valorem duty (Mr. Macfarlane.)	
United Kingdom	8	...	8'59
India	9	...	'4
Dominion of Canada	24	...	'23
Australia	75	...	'6
Africa	11	...	'06
West Indies	—	...	'12
		10 millions.	10 millions.

The difference between them lies in the Mother Country and India, and in the introduction, under the general import duty of 5 per cent., of the West Indian Colonies, which do not, at the present time, appear to be in a condition to undertake such a share of Imperial liabilities.

We need not, however, pause to discuss these or other methods of raising the ways and means, we may confidently anticipate that a satisfactory method will be found, if only we afford our distant kinsfolk the

FAIR OPPORTUNITY OF DEALING WITH IMPERIAL CONCERNS; and the real question for solution is: How shall we afford them this opportunity? We all admit that it is necessary to afford them this opportunity—we all admit that it is feasible; but how to give shape and life to what is both feasible and necessary? The statesman, imbued with the policy of *drifting*, maintains that the Empire has already all that is good for it; that the policy should be to *let it alone*; the lawyer, approaching the question from its legal side, and relying upon the Federation of the United States as his ideal, asserts that we have started wrongly, that what we are making for is not Federation, but Empire; the politician and the agitator, having no thought but for their own selfish ends, are inclined to resent the advent of any external element which may weaken their positions; the timid and the unready, bewildered by the conflict of opinion, and by the magnitude of the interests at stake, are, as they always are, too ready to leave matters to shape themselves; but we, who (to use Dicey's words) desire *Union, not Unity*, will none of these. We will not suffer ourselves to be misled by sophistry, or lulled to inaction by indifferentism. To us, the union which now exists, good as far as it goes, is not enough, is by no means all that we want—is, indeed, lacking in cohesion. It is an union of sentiment; we would place it beyond the reach of sentiment. It is an union of sufferance; and we cannot count absolutely upon sufferance, we are not justified in counting upon it, when laying our plans. Moreover, we are determined in this matter to place ourselves beyond the infirmity and the caprice of the Colonial minister in office.

What we understand by Imperial Federation is

FULL PARTICIPATION IN IMPERIAL POLICY;

full participation in the burthen of that policy, with unrestricted freedom in the management of its own domestic concerns to each unit of the Federation.

This can only be effected by *Representation*. It may be in Parliament—either in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords—or in both; it may be in the Privy Council; it may be in a special council to be formed for Colonial affairs. In neither one of these need there be any impracticability; either one may, indeed will, lead to great and organic modifications in the home administration, but modification, even to the extent of thorough reform, is sorely needed in all the component parts of this administration, in order to place them in unison with the time. Yes, the time is one of rapid progress, and consequent change all round us, and we shall drop out of place, if we suffer ourselves to be hindered in this matter.

AWAY, THEN, WITH DISTINCTIONS!

be they of Climate, Race, and Language, or based upon distance. Let the casuist and the hair-splitter busy themselves over such, if they will; the earnest seeker after Federation will brush them aside, or regard them as incentives to further exertion.

ARE ALL FUTURE FEDERATIONS TO BE SERVILE COPIES of the United States? Is its constitution perfect? Perfection is not for the human race. Nay, in its constitution are there not points of manifest weakness? May not these be improved upon? If an essential of Federalism be, as some hold, weak government, we certainly have no cause for despondency. But this Federation of the United States, however remarkable, both for weakness and strength, and it is remarkable under its different aspects for both, is based, after all, upon conditions borrowed from the framework of our own old sovereignty, which conditions, in the main, we propose to embody in our new Federation.

The Federation which we advocate differs less from the Federation of the Dominion of Canada than its Federation differs from that of the United States; while differing from

both, but with marked and varying divergences, are the Federations of the Swiss Republic and of the German Empire. Who, then, shall take upon himself to say that there is no place in the world's future for

A BETTER AND DIFFERENT FORM OF FEDERATION; as the *Daily News* has well put it,—the system we advocate may be something new in history, but history has not yet exhausted itself, and the human being may be trusted to create for itself an organisation suited to its character and needs.

If we enter upon this question of Federation with a determination to succeed, who can doubt our success? With this determination, then,

WE SAY TO OUR KINSFOLK BEYOND THE SEAS,
Into Imperial Federation, the Federation to which we aspire, we invite you to come,—on terms of absolute equality in all matters of Imperial concern—Political equality, Military equality, Social equality. We cannot offer more; you should not be content with less.
C. H. NUGENT.

PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION—ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE Council of the London Chamber of Commerce desiring to ascertain what measures can be recommended whereby Imperial Federation *can be practically carried into effect*, offer a Prize of £50 for the best Essay on the subject.

The object of the Chamber in offering a Prize is to obtain the best Essay formulating a practical working plan for the Federation of the Colonies and the Mother Country. Any Essay should, therefore, only treat with practical suggestions, including such alterations of the Constitution, and other parts of the Government of the Empire and its constituent portions, as are adaptable to Parliamentary and Representative Institutions.

The following are the conditions to which all competitors will have to conform:—

- (1). *Competitors*.—The competition shall be open to *any subject of Her Majesty* residing in Great Britain and Ireland, the British Colonies or Dependencies, or any foreign country, without restriction.
- (2). *Length of Essays and Language*.—The Essays should not exceed in length 75 pages of foolscap, having a clear margin of two inches to the left of the paper. Writing should be on one side of the paper only, and of a legible character. Illegible or partly illegible manuscript will be rejected. The English language only should be used.
- (3). *Time Allowed*.—All Essays must be in the hands of the Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce, at 84 and 85, King William Street, London, E.C., whether from the United Kingdom or the Colonies, by August the 31st, 1886.
- (4). *Identification of Papers*.—The writer's name must not appear on any part of the Essay manuscript. Each Essay should have a motto of a distinctive character attached, or a number of not less than five figures. An envelope must then be sent having a similar motto or number on the exterior, and enclosing, under seal, the writer's real name and address. Each envelope sent should be marked in the left hand corner—"Imperial Federation Essay."
- (5). *Judges*.—Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G.; Professor J. R. Seeley, M.A.; and Mr. J. A. Froude will be the three judges to whom Essays will be submitted. It will, however, be within their power, and without prejudice to their decision, to appoint a Committee of Selection, in order to facilitate the judging.
- (6). *Finality of Decision*.—The selection of the judges shall be final, and the writer whose Essay is chosen by them as the best will be entitled to receive the Prize of £50.
- (7). *Property in Essays*.—All Essays sent in to compete for the Prize will become the absolute property of the London Chamber of Commerce, which body reserves to itself the right of publishing the successful, or any, or all of the Essays. Manuscripts will, therefore, be returned only at the discretion of the Council.

The Council do not bind themselves to award the Prize in the event of the judges expressing an opinion that it would be unadvisable to do so.

SUCCESS OF A MELBOURNE FEDERATIONIST.—G. D. Carter, Esq., Mayor of Melbourne, who called the great town's meeting at which the Melbourne Branch of the League was established, has lately been elected a member of the Legislative Assembly. Although the Government had declared for Mr. Fraser, the other candidate, Mr. Carter beat his opponent by a majority of 237.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

SINCE our last issue, the following have been elected members of the General Committee of the League:—T. L. Bristowe, Esq., M.P.; F. Faithfull Begg, Esq.; the Right. Hon. G. Cubitt, M.P.; W. B. Collyns, Esq.; R. Gent-Davis, Esq., M.P.; H. Doulton, Esq.; the Right Hon. Sir J. Fergusson, Bart., M.P.; J. T. Agg-Gardner, Esq., M.P.; W. H. Grenfell, Esq., M.P.; G. B. Gregory, Esq., M.P.; Prior Goldney, Esq.; R. Hodgkinson, Esq.; the Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.; Walter Morrison, Esq.; Professor Postgate; Lieut.-Col. Myles Sandys, M.P.; Major de Winton; H. Smith Wright, Esq.

BRAINTREE.—The subject of Imperial Federation was introduced for discussion at the meeting of the Baintree and Bocking Debating Society on Friday evening, the 12th ult., by the Rev. J. Edwards. Mr. H. Hobbs, jun., presided. Mr. Edwards spoke in favour of Federation, and the discussion was also taken part in by Messrs. A. Millar, Moore, H. Gibbs, and H. Hobbs.

CAMBRIDGE.—The Terminal Meeting of the Cambridge University Branch of the League was held on March 18th, in the Devonshire Rooms. The chair was taken by Professor Seeley, and a paper was read by Professor Foxwell, of St. John's College, on "Some Economic Aspects of Federation." We publish a report of this meeting elsewhere.

CHELMSFORD.—At a meeting of the Chelmsford and Mid-Essex advanced Liberal Association, held on Saturday, March 13th, Mr. C. A. B. Conybeare, M.P., was one of the speakers. Among other subjects he touched upon Imperial Federation. "Imperial Federation," he said, "though as yet only, perhaps, a Utopian dream, was, he believed, destined one day to become a grand reality."

HAVERHILL.—On Friday, March 26th, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall for the exposition of Imperial Federation views. W. C. Quilter, Esq., M.P., was in the chair. The late honorary secretary of the League, F. P. Labilliere, Esq., who is indefatigable in the cause, attended and gave an address. A paper by Professor Seeley was also read, the Professor not being able to be himself present and speak.

LEWISHAM.—The Lewisham Literary Society has been discussing the relation of England to her Colonies. Mr. Curwen Sisterson moved that "The greatness of England mainly depends on the interest she takes in Colonial affairs," and advocated Imperial Federation. The proposition was seconded by Mr. W. P. Ames. After discussion it was put to the vote, and carried with only one dissident.

LIVERPOOL.—The *Liverpool Courier* of March 13th says:—A lecture of a very interesting character was delivered on Thursday in the reading-room of the British-Israel Identity Association by Mr. James Lowry, the chair being occupied by Mr. W. S. Sebright Green, hon. secretary of the Imperial Federation League. The lecturer divided his subject into three points—viz., Empire, Identity, and Federation. Under the first of these he referred to the world-wide domination and indestructibility of the British Empire, which went far to prove his second point—that this Empire alone, out of all the nations of the world, could be identified as bearing the characteristics predicted of God's people Israel. He dealt very widely with Federation, contending that by such a union of the Empire, and, within her circle, by free intercourse of commerce, we shall find the true remedy for bad trade, for the simple reason that we shall then be able to shut out all foreign competition, as we are capable of producing within the bounds of the Empire everything that we require. A hearty vote of thanks was accorded the lecturer, and also to Mr. Green for presiding.

LONDON: THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.—At the weekly discussion, March 17th, at this club, Mr. P. Esslemont, M.P., in the chair, Mr. F. P. Labilliere introduced the question, "Is Imperial Federation Desirable and Practicable; and, if so, subject to what conditions?" The speakers included Messrs. Morton, L. Sergeant, H. G. M. Bell, Moss, Niven, Croat, Skinner, Williams, and Chesson. The arguments advanced in favour were, that if by some scheme of Federation the Colonies were given some voice in Imperial affairs, they would act as a wholesome check upon the many wars which Great Britain was in the habit of engaging in. Whereas our trade with the Colonies had increased 31 per cent. during the last twelve years, with the other countries it had fallen fully 20 per cent.; therefore, as the Colonies afforded a good field for emigration, it was desirable to devise some scheme which, while binding the Colonies closer to the Mother Country, would secure for England the advantage of the services of her emigrants in lands tied to her, instead of allowing them to drift to other lands, where the value of their labours would be wholly lost to us. On the other hand, it was urged that the Colonies were satisfied with their existing forms of government, which certainly were in advance of our own, that they would be adverse to bearing their proportion of the expense which would result from the union, and that they would not gain any commensurate advantage by the connection. A desire was generally expressed that the question should be taken up as one of practical politics.

MONTREAL.—This vigorous branch meets regularly for the transaction of business, and the discussion of great questions relating to the position and welfare of the Empire at large. At a recent meeting at its rooms, 15, Phillips Square, a paper was read by George Hague, Esq., on "The Position of Canada." The Montreal *Shareholder*, referring to this meeting, says:—The Imperial Federation League of Montreal did a well-advised act the other day in putting forth Mr. George Hague to throw light on that subject which gives its name to the Association in question. The General Manager of the Merchants' Bank comes ever before the public with the reputation not only of a great authority on all financial and commercial matters, but as one who never delivers himself on subjects

outside of these without a previous conscientious and exhaustive study of their various aspects. There is likewise something about all the public deliveries of Mr. Hague which manages, to use a forcible colloquialism, to "take hold" of the public in a way which everyone feels, yet no one can exactly explain. All this characteristic attraction surrounds the address delivered on Tuesday last.

OLDHAM.—"Our Foreign Policy and Imperial Federation," formed the subject of a political address at the Freehold Liberal Club, on February 25th. There was a good attendance; Mr. John Green occupied the chair. The subject was introduced by Mr. John Freeman, of the Oldham Liberal Union. Mr. Freeman, in introducing the subject, allowed that "our foreign policy had been ignored somewhat by the Liberal party of this country for some time," but explained it on the ground that they had been "able in an effective manner to deal with the question of home policy," and had been absorbed in that. Referring to Imperial Federation, he confessed that "until a short time ago he had taken no interest in the subject." The object of the Imperial Federation League, he said, was "to induce England to encourage her Colonies to retain their allegiance to the Mother Country, to show that we took an interest in them, and to excite as much as possible their interest in us."

OXFORD.—For some time past great interest has been felt here by a few warm friends of Imperial unity, in the work of the League. Among these, special mention must be made of Professors Burrows and Napier, J. F. Heyes, Esq., M.A., and Lyttelton Gell, Esq., of the Clarendon Press. Oxford, however, has been behind Cambridge, for, although for several months past a sufficient number of gentlemen had given in their names to be registered as members of the League, no branch has as yet been formed in the University city on the Isis. This, perhaps, is no more than might have been expected, especially when it is remembered that Cambridge has had the advantage of the enlightened teaching of Professor Seeley, as well as the help of other powerful friends. It is, therefore, with unfeigned pleasure that we are now able to announce that a branch of the League is likely to be established in Oxford. We heartily wish Professor Napier, and those who are moving with him in the matter, all success. It is of the deepest importance to our cause that both Oxford and Cambridge should have strong and active branches.

ST. LEONARDS.—The second of a series of social meetings of the South Saxon Habitation, No. 432, of the Primrose League, was held at the Conservative Club at St. Leonards during the past week. The subject of "Imperial Federation" was discussed.

SOUTHPORT.—The *Southport Guardian* of March 3rd reports:—Last night an important and interesting discussion took place at the Liberal Club, Chapel Street, on "Imperial Federation," the subject being opened by Mr. Wm. G. Flynt. Mr. J. F. Roberts, vice-chairman of the club, presided, and there was a good attendance of members and others. In a short introductory speech, the chairman explained that the objects of holding such meetings were to promote knowledge and goodwill among the members of the Liberal party. Mr. Flynt graphically and clearly showed the necessity for all—and Liberals more especially, seeing they were at present in power—to grapple with the subject of the Federation of the Colonies and other dependencies with the Mother Country, giving it as his opinion that the Irish agitation for Home Rule and the feeling in India which demanded the passing of the Ilbert Bill, were simply the outcome of democratic sentiment or desire for individual liberty. Instead of seeking to restrain this spirit—which, in his opinion, was a moral impossibility—he thought the country should encourage it, and affirmed that the best security for the maintenance of the integrity of the Empire lay in some scheme of Federation in which all would unite in one common interest and cause. An interesting discussion took place, in which all who took part, though they differed on many points from Mr. Flynt, expressed their admiration for the manner in which he had treated the subject, and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks.

SUNDERLAND.—Since our last issue we have received a report of a lecture delivered on February 19th, by Mr. David Nisbet, at the West Ward Conservative Club, Sunderland, on the subject of "Imperial Federation." The lecturer said the question with which he had to deal was a new subject, it must of necessity command more attention in the near future. It should be a particularly interesting question for working-men. As they all knew, the Old Country was really over-populated, and the Colonies were the fields in which our over-population would find an outlet for itself. Imperial Federation was not a party subject, but deserved and received consideration from political thinkers of every shade of opinion. All were interested in the Colonies, which were showing a desire for Federation, and to be bound to us by closer ties than hitherto. The Colonies wanted to be associated with us in the defence and preservation of the Empire, and we wanted to hand that Empire down to posterity not less in dignity, power, or resources, but enhanced in all these. Mr. Nisbet went on to explain the principle of Federation, and contended that the present relationship between England and the Colonies could not be continued indefinitely. But while the Disintegrationists would cut the Colonies adrift, another school of politicians were in favour of their retention. The Federationists went further still, and said, "Let us bind them closer to us than ever, and make them really a part of the Empire, and they will aid in maintaining the supremacy of England." The lecturer then explained the different modes of government existing in the various Colonies, and pointed out some of the difficulties in the way of forming a Federal Union of the Empire. He gave some interesting statistics as to the extent and wealth of the British foreign and Colonial possessions. Whether Federation were practicable or not, the idea was certainly a noble one. The other view—that the Colonies should be cast adrift—was an ignoble one. Instead of disintegrating the Empire they should endeavour to consolidate the Old Country and the Colonies in one great family of nations. Some discussion ensued, and the meeting terminated with cordial votes of thanks to Mr. Nisbet and the chairman.

WHITECHAPEL, LONDON.—It appears that debating clubs have been recently formed among the junior teachers of the London School

Board, and on Saturday, March 13th, they unitedly debated the subject of "Imperial Federation." The debate took place at the Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, and a correspondent, in giving some account of it, says:—"The debaters were pupil teachers drawn from all parts of London, and as they will, in the future, teach our London children, any seeds of knowledge on this subject will bear abundant fruit. You will be glad to hear that the motion in favour of Federation was carried by (I think) 33 votes against 25. As these same lads abolished the House of Lords in the previous month by a large majority, the significance of the division is accentuated."

TRADE DEPRESSION AND THE COLONIES.

By MR. THOMAS CORNISH, *Mining Engineer, late of Melbourne, Victoria.*

It behoves the British farmers, traders, manufacturers, and artisans, to boldly consider

THE PRESENT DEPRESSION OF TRADE,

its causes, and remedies, and to what other countries and people its energies should in the future be directed for trading, and the best policy to adopt for the future.

It is within the area of our own British Empire, that the British trader, manufacturer, and working man must look for his future benefit and prosperity. Intelligent and thoughtful consideration must be given to the great questions that now so materially affect the welfare of the nation.

There must be a

MORE GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE

to where wealth can be more easily acquired; the surplus population of districts, where from local causes or general depression, work cannot be found for willing hands, must be taken to where there is plenty of room, plenty of food, plenty of land, and plenty of wealth for the getting. The British Empire, including our great Colonial possessions, must be peopled by our own British people. It is to an enlarged and extensive system of emigration to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and other Colonies, that British labour, capital, and industry must be directed. The British capitalists, too, instead of bolstering up the credit of foreign nations to the extent they do, will do better to invest their capital in Colonial enterprise and properties.

The several

AUSTRALIAN COLONIES CAN ABSORB TENS OF THOUSANDS OF IMMIGRANTS ANNUALLY.

Many thousands of the strong, able young men in England, who cannot find remunerative employment here because of over-production of commodities in proportion to the available money for purchasing, can find plenty of room and work on the Australian gold fields at from £2 to £3 per week, and sometimes more.

At the present time there are only about 50,000 European gold miners, and about 10,000 Chinese at work on the many different gold fields of the Colonies. These are producing about £7,000,000 annually in new gold, but there is ample room for the employment of twice or three times that number.

Now supposing another 50,000 or 60,000 enterprising men, desirous of profitable employment, with better prospects than can be found in over populated countries like England, were to go out direct to the different gold fields, they would soon be the means of doubling the supply of new gold; then imagine what would be the difference in trade and industries in England with an increased gold supply of £7,000,000 to £10,000,000 annually.

The advantage to the British traders, manufacturers, and artisans would be a largely enhanced trade in the necessities and luxuries of life, for supplying the wants of an increasing wealth-producing community at the Antipodes.

A largely

INCREASED PASSENGER TRAFFIC

would ensue, because it is the hope and ambition of nearly every Colonist, whether British or native born, to visit their own or parents' birth place; and as they invariably make it a rule to be supplied with ample funds to enjoy themselves on their trips of pleasure, or business, the more there are who are induced to travel and visit England the better for trade and commerce.

I have found in all parts of the world where I have travelled, that there is an inherent desire in the minds not only of the Colonists, young and old and of both sexes, but also of Americans, and even many of the intelligent natives of other climes, to make money and be able to visit England. Many young Americans whom I have met have expressed that wish as one of the greatest they have, and I am well aware it is the wish of most Colonists.

It is a most laudable desire to foster and encourage, as nothing tends to dispel the narrow-minded prejudices, or to enlighten the minds and expand the knowledge of people as travelling, and however much a man or woman may have travelled in other countries, if they have not seen England or London, they have missed that which is most worth travelling for. As it is the interest of British people to encourage trade and

passenger traffic to and from England and the Colonies, it should be the interest of every family to induce or encourage one at least of its members to emigrate to one of the British Colonies, and there help to develop the resources of new countries and become a useful member of society. The very fact of families having friends in far off lands gives an interest in the position, resources, and prospects of the country in which those friends reside.

I have been much surprised at the apathy displayed by Englishmen generally as to the

VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE COLONIES AS INTEGRAL PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

and also the general lack of information about the position, resources, and prospects, of the different Colonial possessions. There also appears to be a great lack of energy in many of the rising generation. How so many thousands of strong, able young men can idle or dawdle away their time or their life in England, doing no good for themselves or any one else, obtaining no knowledge of the world, and content to be merely drones in the hive of industry, is to me a wonder. Emigrating now-a-days is but a pleasure trip to what it used to be, and in the Colonies there are no difficulties or hardships to put up with, such as the early pioneers had to endure. Steamers, railways, coaches, telegraphs, and all the appliances and luxuries of civilised life are to be found in almost every inhabited part, with a salubrious climate and an ample field for enterprise, either for the large or small capitalist or working man.

The agricultural depression could only have been naturally expected from Colonial and American enterprise, and however great the loss the agriculturist has sustained from the continued low prices of farm produce, the farmers must rest assured that better times will not be likely to come if by that they mean better prices for their produce.

THE WHOLE POLICY OF BRITISH FARMING WILL REQUIRE TO BE RECONSIDERED.

Steam and telegraph communication has virtually annihilated space, and the British farmer has to compete with the outer portions of the British Empire, India, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, West Indies, South and West Africa, besides European States, and North and South America. The sooner the British farmer and the landowners face the broad but positive fact that rents have not to be merely temporarily lowered, but must be definitely and permanently lowered, the better the position will be understood. How is it possible for the British farmer to compete with the Australian, New Zealand, American, and Canadian farmer, where in many places in those countries the freehold of the farms can be purchased at less money per acre than the British farmer has to pay rent per acre per annum.

Take Australia, as being the most remote part of the British Empire, and about thirty times the size of England, containing over 3,000,000 square miles of territory,

A LARGE PROPORTION OF IT THE FINEST GRAIN PRODUCING COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

The Australian farmer who can buy his freehold (the virgin soil) from the Crown at from 10s. to 20s. per acre, or improved lands at from £2 10s. to £10 per acre, can naturally afford to grow wheat and other cereals at a profit at such prices as cannot possibly pay the British farmer. Thus, I know of millions of acres of magnificent grain growing land capable of producing wheat profitably at 3s. per bushel, and after allowing for freight and profits to the buyers it can be delivered into English markets at about 4s. 6d. to 5s. per bushel.

The British farmer must therefore, as also the landowner, face this positive fact, that the average price of wheat in England for the future cannot reasonably be expected to be more than 5s. per bushel or 40s. per quarter, and in all probability much less.

THE QUESTIONS OF CARRIAGE AND DELIVERY,

which were once difficulties, are now overcome. The Australian Governments, who owned the land which they have sold or leased, or have to sell or lease, to the farmers, also own the railways which have been, and are being, rapidly extended into every agricultural district, and worked at the lowest rate for public benefit. Thus, the Colonial farmer's interest is carefully studied by the different Governments, to enable him to produce his grain crops and deliver them to the nearest ports for shipment at the lowest possible rates; in fact the Australian farmer in many places 200 miles inland, has no more trouble in delivering his grain in England than has a farmer in the West of England or Scotland to deliver his to London, nor probably as much. Meat and dairy produce is also capable of being produced and delivered in England at equally moderate prices—prices which must, not merely for the present, but for all future time, affect the prosperity of British farming.

I had the opportunity of inspecting

THE FIRST CARGO OF MEAT SENT TO ENGLAND FROM VICTORIA under the new system of preserving by the freezing or cold air process. This cargo of meat, sent from Melbourne in the

steamship *Strathleven* to London, did more to solve the problem of the land question in Great Britain, and enlighten intelligent and thinking men on the land laws, than all the agitations for reform. It virtually settled the question of annihilation of space and distance, and the general lowering of the price of meat in England, and the equalising of prices between the Australian Colonies and Great Britain. Having had the privilege of being the last visitor admitted into the freezing chambers of the ship, where all the carcasses of beef and mutton were, I was at once satisfied that if only the refrigerating machinery were kept in full work and good order during the voyage it would not matter whether it was weeks or months in transit. Subsequent events have amply demonstrated the fact of Australian and New Zealand meat and dairy produce being able to compete with the productions of the British farmer, and for the benefit of the general consumer. The prices of meat and grain are never again likely to be so high, or, if so, to hold for any length of time, as the prices which have hitherto obtained. No amount of reasoning or argument can alter this veritable fact.

LAND IN GREAT BRITAIN IS PERMANENTLY REDUCED IN VALUE

by direct competition with products from the cheap and unlimited pastoral and agricultural lands of the Australian Colonies, South America, the United States of America, Canada, Africa, and India.

It would be better if those who are agitating so much about reforming the land laws and nationalising the land were to give more serious attention to the plain facts of the case,—namely, that as the land of Great Britain cannot be increased in area, nor distant lands brought here and tacked on to the British Isles, the surplus population who require land, and elbow room to work, must go to the land in other countries where there is plenty.

Instead of emigration being looked upon as a hardship, it should be looked upon as a pleasure, and every intelligent and enterprising young man, even where he has no intention or occasion to emigrate, should deem it a part of his duty and education to see and know something of his inheritance in the greater Britain outside the portion he inhabits.

Those who aspire to be legislators, to make laws for an Empire on which the sun never sets, should especially seek to know something of the countries they desire to legislate for.

THE NEW BISHOP OF MANCHESTER AND THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT.

THE editor of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* in a leader which appeared in his paper not long since wrote as follows:—

"A good deal has been said in praise of Dr. Moorhouse and of the sagacity which has translated him to the see of Manchester. It is a long time, indeed, since any episcopal appointment met with approval so general and hearty. But there remains another recommendation which, without being an essential qualification in a bishop, will go to strengthen the popularity of Lord Salisbury's nomination. Dr. Moorhouse is an ardent supporter of Imperial Federation. With him the unification of the Empire, and the development of its resources by hearty reciprocal action, is something more than a formula and a phrase. He believes that the time has arrived when the foundations of Imperial Federation are ready for the superstructure which most loyal British subjects at both ends of the world have come to regard as the future symbol of British unity, and no man has given more eloquent expression to the yearnings of the Australian colonists for closer communion with the Mother Country than the Bishop of Melbourne. We have before us a speech delivered by Dr. Moorhouse at a great meeting at Melbourne last summer, which teems with enthusiasm for a great British Confederation, and which more than once brought the audience to their feet with waving hats and ringing cheers."

We are not able to give Dr. Moorhouse's speech in full, but as the bishop will soon be taking up his work in our midst, the following excerpts from it no doubt will be, just now, interesting to our readers. Affirming that the time was fully ripe for the Federation of the Empire, the speaker said, as reported by the *Melbourne Argus* :—

"I saw it stated in one of the newspapers that a great authority at the Colonial Office had expressed some doubt whether there was any great sentiment of attachment to the Empire in the Colonies. Well, of course, if there were room for that doubt, Federation could only be a futility. (A voice: 'Sentiment.') It could be nothing but a futility, for you cannot bind together by an outward bond those who have not a sentiment of mutual attachment to one another. (Cheers.) But now, is the allegation true that there is no such sentiment of attachment here to the Mother Country? (Cries of 'No, no,' and 'Yes.') I am in a position, ladies and gentlemen, to affirm on this platform that it is not, and, what is more, to advance the proofs of it. (Cheers.) You remember when the Russians attacked the Afghans, and when even Mr. Gladstone was constrained to use decisive language—(cheers and hisses)—we all thought war was imminent. Well, I chanced to be in the country at that time, so I laid what I thought to be the existing situation before a great number of meetings in townships, which, for their character and their population, were admirably representative of Australian opinion, at least of Victorian opinion. (Cheers.) I laid it

before them thus :—'Gentlemen, a deceitful, tyrannical, and aggressive power having overrun Central Asia, has made an unprovoked aggression upon the British Empire. We have done nothing to invite attack; it was prompted simply by a savage lust of war. Will you let your dear Mother Land be smitten by the sword of the despot and never lift a hand to help her?' What was the answer? The men jumped to their feet, waved their hats wildly in the air, vociferating cheers which were astonishing even for Australia, and saying they would live and die for the old land. (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheers, a large section of the audience rising and waving their hats and handkerchiefs.) That is the feeling in Australia, let who will say to the contrary, for I have witnessed it. (Cheers.)"

The speaker then proceeded to show that similar feelings of attachment were cherished by the people of the Mother Country towards the Colonies, and said :—

"Now, on the other hand, I ask you is there any such feeling at home towards this Colony and these Colonies? I have heard men say 'No,' but I hold in my hand a proof that it is a slander. (Loud cheers.) When two ladies I am acquainted with at home read that the Colonies had rushed, sword in hand, to the side of the Imperial Mother Country, they were so penetrated with gratitude that they determined to get their neighbours to sign a memorial conveying the feelings of the Mother Country. (A voice, 'Name.') What could the name signify to any man? One of the ladies was a Mrs. Burrows, wife of a barrister, and the other was a particular friend of hers. Now I do not suppose the gentleman is much wiser. These are foolish questions. Well, gentlemen, these two ladies got more than 4,000 signatures—most of them of my old friends and neighbours in the great parish of Paddington (cheers)—to memorials expressing the delight and gratitude with which they had heard of the sympathy and help offered by their brothers and sisters in Australia to the Mother Country in her hour of trial, and declaring that England should never feel she stands alone while she can count on the love and service of her children in the Colonies. (Cheers.) And these ladies tell me that the signatures were given with an enthusiasm that would have cheered us and warmed our hearts; that men who were asked replied, 'Sign, aye, with both hands;' and others, again, said, 'Sign, I should think we will; this is no red tape, the bishop will tell it to the people.' (Loud cheers.) A number of dock labourers in Paddington asked to be allowed to sign, because, said they, 'We have brothers and sisters in Melbourne, and we want them to know what the folks at home feel.' (Cheers.) And others, again, said, 'Will the bishop write to us? Tell him the memorial comes from the people's hearts.' (Cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I dare say there may be little enough of love, amity, and unity in the regions of red tape, but these feelings glow in the hearts of living people; and I say that there is a bond of union and affection between England and her Colonies which no brute force can break, and which, I think, not even domestic jealousies can dissolve."

After showing that it is to the interest, and for the advantage, of the Colonies to keep close to the Mother Land, inasmuch as they would otherwise be an easy prey to a powerful and ambitious state, and arguing that it would be best for the world at large that England should be the leader, and English civilisation the civilisation of the future, Bishop Moorhouse concluded as follows :—

"For, look, what is the alternative? We must either separate from England in order to escape Imperial dangers, or federate with England to gain Imperial privileges. (Cheers.) And can we separate in this era of world kingdoms? ('No!') No! a thousand times no; because of the sentiment of patriotism, because of our enlightened self-interest, we cannot, we dare not separate. (Loud cheers.) What follows, logically? Make the union a more real union; and give more power of control and a better representation to those who are willing to spend their blood and their treasure in the defence of the whole. (Hear, hear.) One word more, and I have done. I have heard it said to-night, as I have heard it said before, that there are great difficulties connected with the subject. Of course there are. But how do we answer that? By doing as the mover of the amendment besought us? By throwing crude schemes before you? No; that is not the way to proceed. What we are doing is this. We answer—Is the end we seek a great one; is it a necessary one; is the British race, wherever it lives, persuaded of that fact? Then, if it is so, difficulties are nothing but things to be overcome. (Cheers.) Look at what Bismarck did. He had to federate Germany. And what was Germany? A set of hostile kingdoms and principalities, which stood opposed to one another in arms, and had, therefore, inherited jealousies, suspicions, and hatreds, which are always begotten of such collisions. It was one of the hardest problems ever set to the human mind; but Bismarck said that Germany must and shall be one, and therefore found the means. Do they mean to tell me that we have no Bismarcks in the British race—that our statesmen are so degenerate that, given an end of supreme national importance, they cannot find a way to it? Well, then, I say we shall have to make new leaders, or import them. (Cheers.) We are a great race, with a great past, and great faculties, and a great future, and we will have all men who are unaware of these facts to learn them, and to give due weight to them. Therefore, I say, let England, this British Empire, let it give to us what we already possess, this perfect liberty to legislate for our local wants. Let it adopt frankly some such scheme as that which obtains in the United States. I believe that if it did it would put an end to Irish difficulties. (Cheers.) Let it give that to us, and we shall be ready to make sacrifice in the common cause. What shall be the war contingent? What shall be the war contribution? If England will only thus conciliate these opposing interests, as only great empires can, I think that the future of our country and of our race will be more glorious than the past has been. Yes, and more fruitful to the whole world—in the blessings of freedom, and happiness, and peace."

CURRENT PRESS OPINIONS.

THE *Daily Independent*, of Kimberley, South Africa, in a recent appreciative leader having reference to Imperial Federal union, says :—

In the future there is every prospect that the British Empire will continue to gain in strength, and it will in fact have attained an accession of strength when the Federation of the Australasian Colonies becomes an accomplished fact. Whilst we can look with unalloyed satisfaction at the approach of such a consummation, it needs no prophet to see that nearer and nearer is coming that larger measure of Imperial Federation which will rivet firmly those ties which hold Great Britain and her Colonies and dependencies in a close, sympathetic union.

The *Beverly Recorder*, in an article reviewing the operations of the League during the past year, says :—

The League is wide enough in its conformation to accept those who differ much as to the best means to be adopted in furthering Federation ; in fact that body itself has not made up its own mind. At present the leaguers, then, may follow their own programme pending the agreement upon recognised general action, and maintain their own unions ; the common object of all being the bond of union between them. Another cheering point about the Colonial Federation question is that it is one upon whose platform Liberal and Conservative may meet in hearty accord, and take an enjoyable respite from the distraction of party differences. For the veriest Radical in the land, however extreme may be his thinking on many another matter, would, if he be honest at all, wish to see the Colonies indissolubly bound up with Britain in relations of the heartiest accord. The advantage of union to the new and old lands is palpable. In matters of commercial interchange a mutual alliance to the fullest extent cannot but be beneficial to both buyer and seller, and a greatly enlarged exchange of manufactures could be arranged to the profit of either party. As to defence, England and her Colonies combined could stand against the world ; and by concert of action they would be equally potent for offence should occasion arise. How but one pulse thrills through every English form when the call to arms is heard was shown significantly in the Soudan. Why not give State recognition to the kinship which distance is powerless to sever? . . . The League and its supporters must proceed patiently and slowly, encouraging a federal movement on the part of the Colonies themselves rather than hastening them in that direction. There is no desire in any of our Colonies for disintegration ; they are loyal to the core, but they do not care to be driven into Imperialism. Full Federation may be regarded as a coming condition of things, and the League is working for the day-dawn.

The *Chester Guardian* remarks :—

No feature of our current history is more full of hope than the attachment shown by our Colonies to the Mother Country—the “Mother of free nations,” as she is affectionately designated. The public service that Mr. W. E. Forster has rendered to the British Empire by the institution of this great movement, by the wise and broad lines on which it was projected, and by the generous spirit in which it has been promoted, will be remembered to his undying honour in the history of his country.

Even now, discussions as to the most eligible basis of Federation are in progress ; and have proceeded so far that they would soon reach a practical bearing were an actual emergency to arise. The commerce of our Colonies is extending in an enormous ratio. It already almost equals that of the Mother Country ; and, exposed as it is at a hundred points to attack, our Colonial fellow-subjects feel that it is the duty of all to make common cause. Federation is really to them of as vital importance as to the Mother Country.

It is pleasing to note another of the reasons given by the Colonies for clinging to the Old Country. They regard it not merely as the “Mother of free nations,” but as the Mother of free institutions. Looking about among other civilised countries, our Colonists see none whose institutions—incidental shortcomings notwithstanding—can serve as a more desirable model for those who would combine social order with political freedom and progress.

Some of the Colonial representatives have suggested that Britain might do much more than is presently being done to promote trade between this country and its Colonies, in some of which the foreign producer is being allowed to undersell us ; but, notwithstanding this failure on the part of practical economists, while our trade with foreign countries has been falling off during the past ten years to the extent of over twenty per cent., our trade with Colonial ports has during the same time increased by over thirty per cent. There is thus every encouragement to cultivate a field which is not only bountifully fruitful, but rapidly extending. The attitude that our Colonies spontaneously assumed when we were recently threatened with a crisis in our history has added to the influence and prestige of the British Empire in a degree, perhaps, more fully appreciated among Continental Powers than among ourselves.

The *Deal Telegram*, in discussing the subject of Imperial Federation, refers to the subject of emigration, and, insisting that the hap-hazard way in which emigration has too often been carried out should be superseded by a way having method and wise direction in it, says :—

Notwithstanding the immense efforts which have been made in the matter of emigration, we are still without defined plans. There has been plenty of sound advice, but little practical organization. Our surplus people leave us because they are unable to obtain a livelihood. They proceed to the Colonies on speculation, and many of them we fear would gladly find their way back again. If Federation is to be carried out with anything like success, there must be a better method than has

hitherto been followed. Men must be sent where labour is absolutely needed, and where circumstances square with their fitness. We have known mechanics despatched to localities where no houses were to be built, and agricultural labourers set down in the middle of large cities. Worse than this, we have observed people emigrate miscellaneously only to find on their arrival that the friends they expected to consort with were to be separated by a distance of hundreds of miles. There is undoubtedly a demand for labour, and there are the means of supply ; but what is needed, more now than ever, is a good system by which the right persons might be transferred to the right spots. Every day shows us the necessity of a remedy for scarcity of work here, and the most effectual one is emigration—properly managed.

The same paper, in reference to the trade aspect of the question, says :—

But there is another reason for Colonial Federation—namely, the promotion of trade. Most of the Colonies, as things now are, show us the cold shoulder by imposing a tax on English produce. In the event of Federation, could not this be in some degree modified ? We are no advocates of “Protection,” or for any of its disguises ; yet we cannot help thinking that when we have gathered, as it were, our Colonies round us, it would be a good opportunity for saying, “if you will abandon taxation of our exports, you shall have the first refusal of our markets—to the exclusion of the rest of the world.” This is, perhaps, forbidden ground, inasmuch as it implies placing a duty on American produce—now a chief source of supply. We should, however, be imperfect observers of the times, did we fail to see that something or other must ere long be done, if British industries are to be saved from ruin.

In an article on Mr. Froude’s “Oceana,” and, of course, at the same time on Imperial Federation, the *Montreal Daily Herald* refers to the things which are said—apparently with a look Sir John Macdonald-wards—“after dinner, in London, on the subject of Imperial Federation, and which have secured another channel exclusively for Federation advocacy in the shape of a monthly magazine,” and says :—

It is impossible to avoid wondering why some of the more ardent Federationists have not devised and proposed a business scheme by which the interests of the Mother Country, and of the Colonies, might be forwarded. The people of England have a very kindly feeling for Canada, somewhat marred, it is true, by their ignorance of it, but their first care is for England and her trade interests. The people of Canada are not “filled with,” exactly, but contain a certain degree of, loyalty for the Sovereign of Great Britain, and they feel a deep interest in the struggles of England as against any foreign nation ; but their first care is, and very properly so, for Canada. The trade orbits of the two countries are not in the same plane, but, on the contrary, occasionally cross. When this happens Englishmen think of England, and Canadians think of Canada. The sensible thing to do, therefore, would be to ascertain some position to be attained by Federation in which the trade interests of the two countries would be advanced. Has any one found that ? and if so, what is it, and will both countries agree to occupy the allotted positions in such a re-arrangement of the Empire ? Will England discriminate in favour of Canada—we must leave Australasia to speak for itself—in the duties of wheat, flour, and cattle, and lumber ? If not, how is Canada to benefit by closer intimacy with the Mother Country ? And, if the answer is “yes,” then how far is Canada prepared to admit English manufactured goods ? We are very far from saying that sentiment, which is a most powerful motor, should not have, or has not, a very strong guiding influence in this matter ; what we complain of is that the Imperial Federationists rest entirely on this reed, which is not strong enough to bear their weight, and neglect the stronger prop of self-interest.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION FROM A CANADIAN POINT OF VIEW.

THE following interesting and important article from the pen of Principal Grant, of Queen’s University, Kingston, has appeared in the *Critic*, of Halifax, Nova Scotia :—

By law, by the sanctions of the past, by the will of the people, we are subjects of the Queen and citizens of the British Empire. In the interest of the institutions we have inherited, and of the civilisation they represent, for our own glory and true interest, as well as for the common cause, and under the inspiration of hopes, duties, and ideals not limited to one continent, subjects and citizens we are determined to remain. The Empire embraces now more than three hundred millions of people. It is a European, an African, an Asiatic, an American, an Australasian Power. More than any other nation it has been true to the cause of humanity and the cause of God, and this has been its great underlying force. This, more than anything else, is the explanation of its wonderful development and the secret of its glory. “Who steals my purse steals trash,” but what shall be said of him who would rob us of our share of such an inheritance ?

Imperial Federation ! We have it already, although just because of the success of the Empire, because of its expansion, and of changing conditions here and elsewhere, it is not in a position of perfect political equilibrium. Ireland thinks that the links between itself and the central authority are too numerous and close. In the case of other members, the links are too few. But who will say that either case is beyond the resources and powers of statesmanship, and that the only remedy is to dissipate the organism into fragments, and reduce the present order to chaos, with the necessary result of chaos, conflict ? Who, then, are Federationists ? All who favour the maintenance of our connection with the Empire, who are willing to do all the duties that are implied in that connection, and who, in opposition to those who favour disruption or revolution, plead for a closer union than we have at present—a union in which for every privilege there shall be a corresponding responsibility, for every burden and danger a corresponding

share of power, and for every right a corresponding duty. Then, the Empire shall have attained to the stable political equilibrium to which the great Federations of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and the United States have, in our time, attained, after long and longer periods of instability. Those Federations now show every sign of permanence, although half a century ago Germany was simply "a geographical expression;" Austro-Hungary an "ethnological museum," with interests and races so unreconciled that its days as a collection were numbered; and there was scarcely a single practical statesman who did not predict failure, soon or late, to the experiment of the American Republic.

But what do practical men say of the project of a Britannic Confederation better organised than at present for the maintenance of common interests and the discharge of common duties?

So far as I know, the men of affairs in Australia are in its favour. Sir Julius Vogel, the ablest statesman New Zealand has ever had, would prevent a Colony separating from the Empire by war. Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper, the Honourable Oliver Mowat, and Dalton McCarthy, have attended meetings of the Federation League in England, and spoken in favour of the object; and years before they spoke, the Honourable Edward Blake advocated a partnership with the Mother Country, in which the Dominion would have its rightful say, and be bound to pay its fair share in matters of Imperial concern. If Blake, Mowat, Galt, McDonald, and Tupper, are not practical men, where are we to look for them in Canada? I am aware that some of Mr. Blake's followers profess, that while his voice is on one side, his heart is on the other. Those who so speak are at the same time insulting him, and describing themselves. They do not know Mr. Blake. As to the Mother Country, no practical statesman has spoken against the scheme, and though some have, for very good reasons, not yet committed themselves, an extraordinary number have spoken out in its favour. It is sufficient to instance on the Conservative side, the leader of the House of Lords, the leader of the House of Commons, Lord Carnarvon, and the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, the most practical politicians in the Government; and on the Liberal and Radical side, Lord Rosebery, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir Lyon Playfair, and Mr. Joseph Cowen. All who know English politics will acknowledge that every one of those eight gentlemen is a thoroughly representative man.

Why should the project be deemed impracticable? It was found quite practicable to build up the British Empire, though had any one, a century ago, predicted such a result as we now see, he would have been called a visionary, except when a stronger word came handy. Why, then, should it not be practicable to conserve what we have? It surely needs less wisdom to hold on to money than to make money. The difficulties in the way, thanks to the progress of science, are becoming less every year, and who shall write *ne plus ultra* over the portals of science?

How did our fathers manage to build up such an Empire? Simply by being true to themselves and true to one another. They went out from home to colonise the waste places of the earth. They offered to trade with every man who was willing to trade with them. As a rule, they did justly, and so conciliated the affections of oppressed races more than ever any other nation has yet succeeded in doing. Of course, they made mistakes, and creatures whose whole lives are a mistake, whose whole thought is of self, point to these with upturned eyes. It will be time enough for us to tell of their mistakes when we have attained to their stature. I have talked with Scottish, German, American, French missionaries, men who have left home because their souls were aflame with love to men for Christ's sake, and one and all have thanked God that He had made Britain ruler in India, and practically ruler in Egypt, Turkey, and elsewhere. Are not we, too, English and French-speaking alike, thankful that He gave Canada also to Britain? The French people in Canada had not a single political privilege; they had neither civil nor religious liberty till after the conquest of 1763. All their liberties they owe to their connection with the Empire, and they hold those liberties on condition of being true to the Empire. Good faith imposes that condition, and we have a right to look for good faith from every man. Would the farmers of Ontario, of the Maritime Provinces, of Manitoba, be now enjoying their pleasant places, had not the Empire gained the land for them, and fought for them again and again? Would Vancouver's Island have been British had not Britain been resolute to fight for Nootka with what was the great power of Spain even in the eighteenth century? If living here at all, I "might have been a Rooshian, I might have been a Prooshian," had it not been for England, and when men or nations disserve themselves from all that has made them what they are, they are high unto destruction.

Produce your plan, then, for the complete Federation of the Empire, exclaim critics, pen in hand, eager to show that the plan is imperfect. Great has been the annoyance because the Federation League has not formulated and pinned its faith to a scheme, with details that would be objectionable to different sections of the people, and because it actually refuses to so commit itself. Some critics contend that no plans have been proposed, and that we are forbidden to suggest any. To say so is amazingly incorrect. Even so far back as 1876, Lord Derby said, "Many plans have been proposed for connecting Australia and Canada more closely with this country, but," he added, with his usual caution, "never yet one that looked as if it would work." And since then scarcely a month has passed without some new proposal being made, or some contribution offered to the solution of the problem. One man may be in favour of one plan, another in favour of something else, a third may hold that there is no occasion for haste, and all may be in favour of waiting for light, while we define clearly the line along which we intend to travel. Is the attitude of the Federation League so very strange? A man may denounce the evils of the party system, and sketch a more excellent way, and yet feel that the people at the present stage are not fit for any other method of working free institutions. In the fourteenth or fifteenth century he might have been convinced that a Reform of the Church was needed, and yet have felt himself incompetent even to sketch out the Reformation beforehand. He may now feel

acutely the evils of Sectarianism, and believe that a church of the future will arise and give a fresh demonstration of the power of Christianity to the world, and yet know sadly that such a church must grow slowly, and that it is not likely to take its complete shape in his day. The Home Rulers of Ireland have declared from the days of Mr. Butt that one Parliament sitting in Westminster could not possibly do all the work of three kingdoms, and that Ireland, from its position, suffered most in consequence; but when summoned to draw up their plan, they wisely declined. Admit the justice of our position, they said, and statesmen will soon be able to draw out a workable scheme. And now the justice of their main contention is admitted; and Lord Salisbury on one side, and Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain on the other, are offering concessions that Mr. Butt at any rate would have been abundantly satisfied with. I do not pronounce on the exact amount of Home Rule that would be good for Ireland; but how can any one, who is accustomed to our Provincial system, deny that there is a principle at the bottom of the Irish demand, and how can any one deny that the Home Rulers did well to insist on the principle, rather than fritter away their strength in the discussion of details on which they themselves might not have been united, and every one of which would have been made to bear the whole burden of the scheme?

What, then, is our present duty as Canadians? We must make up our minds as to the direction in which it is right that we should move forward. Move we must. A living society cannot be stationary. As a political organism we are now confessedly incomplete. We cannot remain permanently in the Colonial position without losing immensely more than we gain. I am inclined to think that we have already arrived at such a stage in our development that we are losing more than we gain by our condition of dependence on the mother country, and that every day's delay in asserting our readiness for a position of equality is a loss to us in everything that makes character and makes men. We are therefore called upon to decide whether we shall go forward in the line suggested by our past, in the line of our natural and national growth, or prepare for revolution. For annexation is revolution, and independence would be a costly prelude to annexation.

The only excuse for giving a sentence to the consideration of annexation is, that so very able a man as Goldwin Smith believes that we must come to that. According to him, "Canadian nationality being a lost cause, the ultimate union of Canada with the United States appears now to be morally certain." So he speaks in "The Political Destiny of Canada," a book in which, from a freak of mood, or because of one of his limitations very extraordinary in a man of his insight, he attributes to the English aristocracy movements and changes in Canada that have been determined by the will of the Canadian people without any more thought of the English aristocracy than of the man in the moon. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie is as "morally certain" as Goldwin Smith; but, according to him, "It is decreed as inevitable that there shall be at least two systems of political government upon this continent." When Belgium votes for union with France, and Holland for union with Germany, and Switzerland divides itself between Italy, France, and Austria, Canada may be found knocking at the door of the great Republic for admission. As long as we are free to consider it, the question of annexation may safely be relegated to one of those epochs, or to the Greek Kalends.

There are two classes who advocate independence. Some use the word as a cloak, and to these we have nothing to say. Others are in earnest. They are inspired with right sentiments. They tell us that we are of age, and that we should assume the responsibilities of manhood. But is it necessary to begin our career as full-grown men by stripping ourselves of almost everything that we as a people value? Is it necessary that we should separate ourselves from all the accumulated wealth, visible and invisible, that our fathers have gathered during more than a thousand years, and from all interests except those that relate to our own industries, and that are bounded by the horizon of Canada? Such a proposal will not be seriously entertained by men who think. Men of common sense will ask, "Are we even prepared to afford independence?" When objections are taken to the cost of one High Commissioner to England, what would be said of the expense of a complete Consular Service, and of Commissioners or other representatives to all the countries with which we would have to enter into treaty relations? Besides, we cannot forget that our national life is not sufficiently strong to stand a very great strain, because of diversity of race and religion, a diversity localised in a keystone Province, and apparently more intense now than ever. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to go on breaking a butterfly on the wheel when a lawn tennis bat is sufficient to kill it, but, at least, two questions must be answered clearly and satisfactorily to ordinary Canadians before they will dream of cutting loose from the Empire. First, what would independence give us that we would not get better by full unity, on terms fair to all parties, with the Mother Country? Is it answered, A quickening of national life? Does the independence of San Domingo or San Marino, of Venezuela, of Servia, inspire their citizens with lofty aims or tend to elevation of character? On the day we cut adrift from Britain every Canadian will feel himself a smaller man. May such a day never come to me or my children! Secondly, what would we lose by independence? Almost everything that a country needs. Federated, we would be part of the strongest, wealthiest, freest, grandest Empire in the world. Alone, we could neither build ironclads, nor defend our fisheries, our coasts, or our interests and people abroad. At sea, we would be helpless; and on land, we would be dependent on the forbearance of our neighbours. We would lose more than strength; we would lose inspiration.

And yet it is clear as sunlight that, unless Federation takes place within a measurable time, independence is inevitable. And although independence is simply the prelude, probably an ignominious—perhaps a bloody—prelude to annexation, no wonder that the Independents and Annexationists unite in railing at all who are in favour of Imperial Federation.

G. M. GRANT.

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PUBLICATIONS

Having Reference to Imperial Federation.

For the following list the Editor is indebted to Mr. James R. Boost, of the Royal Colonial Institute, who has taken great pains to make it accurate and complete. It is given for the information of readers, and without committing the League to the views contained in any of the works mentioned in it:—

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For continuation see page 117.

NOTICES.

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Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

THURSDAY, APRIL 1, 1886.

THE AUSTRALASIAN FEDERAL COUNCIL.

WHEN we last went to press, detailed accounts of the opening of the Australasian Federal Council, which met at Hobart on the 26th of January, had not arrived, and therefore we abstained from commenting on the event, especially as in our January number we had expressed our views as to the institution itself. During the past month the mail has brought Australian papers containing full reports of this new departure in Australian history. The opening ceremony took place at noon, in the Tasmanian Legislative Council Chamber, which was filled with ladies and gentlemen, including many from the other Colonies, the officers of the war-vessels in the port, Government officials, and other leading persons, the spectacle being as imposing as the space would permit. The Governor, Sir George Strahan, who was accompanied by his staff, was received by a guard of honour, the artillery firing a salute. On entering the Chamber, he was received by all the members of the Federal Council, who formed two lines, between which he walked to the chair. On Mr. Service announcing that he had been elected president, his Excellency congratulated him, and then proceeded to deliver the opening address, after which the Council adjourned until three o'clock.

On re-assembling, the Council adopted an address in reply to the speech of the Governor, and sent the following telegram to the Queen:—"The Federal Council of Australasia, at the inauguration of their proceedings, desire to express their loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's throne and person."

Among the subjects to which the members at once proceeded to address themselves were the Torres Straits Fisheries, the fortification of St. George's Sound, the service of civil processes in all the Colonies in the union, and the question of the status of the companies of one Colony doing business in another.

The following will show the present composition of the Council:—

VICTORIA	Represented by	{ Mr. Service (Prime Minister). Mr. Berry (Chief Secretary).
QUEENSLAND	" "	{ Mr. Griffith (Premier). Mr. Dickson (Colonial Treasurer).
TASMANIA	" "	{ Mr. Douglas (Premier). Mr. Dodds (Attorney-General).
WEST AUSTRALIA	" "	{ Mr. Lee-Steere (Member of Legis- lative Council).
Fiji	" "	Dr. McGregor (Acting Colonial Secretary).

The following table, compiled from the statistics given on the "Howard Vincent Map," will show the area and population of the Colonies represented in the Council:—

	AREA. Sq. Miles.	POPULATION.
Victoria	88,000	932,000
Queensland	668,000	300,000
Tasmania... ..	26,000	127,000
West Australia	1,057,000	30,000
Fiji	8,000	4,000
Totals	1,847,000	1,393,000

The following table will show the area and population of the Colonies *not* represented in the Council:—

	AREA. Sq. Miles.	POPULATION.
New South Wales	325,000	1,000,000
South Australia	903,000	320,000
Totals	1,228,000	1,320,000

We see, therefore, that more than half the population is represented in the Council, and the laws it may pass will be in force over about three-fifths of the area; that is leaving out New Zealand, which has an area of 105,000 square miles, and a population of 600,000.

It seems to have been more owing to accident than design that South Australia is not included in the Federation, and there is every reason to believe that in the course of this year the necessary steps will be taken for her admission. It appears that one reason why New South Wales is not a member is the bad blood engendered by taxes on local produce and by hostile railway rates. Of course, this is not a reason alleged by the Mother Colony. Mr. Dalley may say that she holds aloof because she wants Imperial Federation, and thinks that Australian Federation will be likely to retard rather than assist it; but a different construction is put upon her action in the neighbouring Colony of Victoria, where it is freely said that "the impost Victoria levies upon stock coming across her imaginary boundary line is the real grievance," and that if only that impost were abolished New South Wales would at once enter the Union." As Mr. Service remarked in his vigorous inaugural speech, "nowhere is the Federal idea unpopular," but, rather, everywhere is there a sentiment in favour of a Unified Australia.

As to the larger question of Imperial Federation, which lies behind Colonial Union, the Melbourne *Argus* declares, that it is not to be supposed that because there is no strong public agitation for it in the Australian Colonies the cause is making no progress. Such an assumption, it says, would be erroneous. The popular impression is that progress must be made with Australasian Union first, and that Imperial Federation will come through the Dominion. "Given Municipal government for the cities and districts, State government for the Colonies, a Dominion government for Australia, and a Federated Empire would naturally crown the edifice." It continues, "There is no hostility to the Imperial idea, but, rather, everywhere a friendly feeling. On the eve of a general election, party programmes are abundant, and it is significant that in the one put forward by the most advanced section of what in England would be called the Radical party, such a platform plank occurs as this—'Loyalty to the Crown, and maintenance of Imperial unity; direct representation of the Colony in the House of Commons by the Agent-General.' Here we have evidence that the idea of making closer the Imperial tie is favoured in the only quarter in which hostility could possibly be looked for. The men who put forward this programme care only about shouting with the crowd. They would be ready enough to shout the other way if the crowd so desired. And this is the special value of their action, for it goes to show on which side the sympathies of the crowd are. The seed is germinating, and the harvest will be in due course."

The outlook Australia-wards is sufficient to fill with hope the friends of a "United Empire."

WHAT WE OFFER TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

THIRD ARTICLE.

THAT Federation means peace abroad and rest at home we endeavoured to show in the two last issues of this Journal. To-day it will be our business to point out that in addition to these invaluable boons, it must also be the means of securing for the working-men of the United Kingdom that daily necessity, honourable and regular employment at a fair wage. It may be a matter of contention whether the labour-market at home be really overstocked; but of one fact there can be no doubt, namely, that at the present moment tens and hundreds of thousands of men and women are either unemployed, or are employed at wages which are cruelly low, and under conditions which are cruelly hard. We are told that the conditions which prevail in London and Manchester exist also in Melbourne and Sydney, and that the emigrant on his arrival must expect to find a state of things not very different from that which he left behind. The fact so stated may be true, to some extent probably is true. But that the labour-market in the Colonies is really overstocked is not true.

We are glad to observe that efforts are being made to organise emigration from the United Kingdom on a rational basis, and we cannot commend to the promoters of the new movement a more useful study than that of the transactions of the late Emigration Commissioners. The Emigration Commission, from which some twenty years ago was evolved the present Colonial office, did in a quiet way an amount of useful and practical work, the value of which is scarcely sufficiently recognised. It was the business of the Commissioners to direct and to organise emigration, not to promote it, still less to subsidise it. With the exception of the salaries of a few officials, the Commission made no call upon Imperial funds. What it did do was to make the best use of the sums granted by the various Colonies for assisting emigrants, and, still more, to direct and advise those who desired to seek their fortunes across the sea, but who neither knew, nor had the means of knowing, where they could with most advantage transfer their energies. Some organisation of the kind is much required at the present time. The demand for labour of certain kinds in the great cities of Australia may for the time have diminished, but the Australian labour market is not full, or nearly full. It will never be so until the work of occupying Australia is done, and that work is as yet scarcely begun. At present the amount of wasted and misdirected energy expended in the process of emigration is very great. The right men do not go to the right places, the hard times which must always come at first are made too hard, and, above all, the element of "human nature" is too conspicuously ignored or neglected. At present, in nine cases out of ten, emigration is, and is felt to be, expatriation. It is the separation of family ties, the breaking of old traditions, the abandonment of old sentiments. One member of a family goes, the others remain behind. In a year or two the emigrant may be rich enough to assist some one of the family to join him, and again there is a break and a parting. It is not necessary that these things should be; or, at any rate, it is possible that their occurrence should be much less frequent. The moment that emigration is systematised, the moment it is made clear that the Imperial authorities throughout the world are ready to assist and encourage a transference of population on the ground that it is a gain to the Empire at large, that moment will the sting of expatriation be removed. Two obstacles lie in the way of any easy accomplishment of the end in view. The first is the fact that the Imperial Government has abandoned all control over the disposal of the unclaimed land of the Empire. The second is that there is an almost irresistible reluctance on the part of politicians at home to advance public money for the promotion of emigration in any form.

The first obstacle can be overcome only by a practical step in the direction of Federation—namely, a working agreement between the Home and Colonial Governments as to the disposal of the remaining lands, and as to the terms and conditions upon which its occupation shall be granted. We do not say that Federation is necessary before

such an agreement be arrived at; but the agreement itself will be one of the strongest strands in the rope we are twining.

As to the other difficulty—the reluctance of public bodies at home to grant funds for emigration—that, too, may be overcome, and Federationists may do much to overcome it. In the first place, the more firmly the idea takes root that the interests of the Empire are one and indivisible, the less shall we hear of the argument, that Manchester is committing suicide by helping to send to Melbourne men and women, who in a couple of years will be transformed from applicants for charitable relief into customers for Manchester goods. In the second place, when the Federationist shall have made the notion of a United Empire as familiar as that of a United Kingdom, there will be little hesitation in relying upon a security in New South Wales or Canada to repay a loan made in London. To be plain, when once it is recognised that British subjects in any part of the Empire may be kept in contact with the Imperial Government, it will become worth while for the authorities at home to advance money to persons emigrating, the repayment of which shall be directly secured by the land upon which the new proprietor is established. Nor is this all. It is quite within the bounds of possibility, that the State may in time advance money for the education and preparation of Colonists, confident in the benefit which will ultimately accrue through their successful establishment, and certain as to the full repayment of both principal and interest of the sums advanced. We shall have more to say on another occasion with regard to the plan here referred to. For the present, it is enough to dwell with emphasis upon the fact, that until that unity of action, that sense of common interest, which are the essence of Federation, be fully established, emigration can never be what it ought to be, namely, a healthy and profitable circulation of the life-blood of our people.

When once the ideal is reached, the expatriation of individuals will give place to the movement of whole families, the emigrant will feel, as he cannot feel now, that in changing his home he is not changing his country, and the working man will understand, that not in name only, but in fact, the labour market of the temperate zones is at his command.

GOVERNMENT BUREAU OF INFORMATION FOR EMIGRANTS.

No one who thinks at all on the social problems with which we are confronted, can doubt the Imperial importance of the question of emigration. How we are to provide for, what we are to do with, our increasing, and rapidly increasing population, is a question which is now most pressing, and will become in the course of a few years tenfold more so. Mr. Chamberlain believes that the problem is not to be solved by the "expropriation of British subjects" who have as good and indefeasible a right to live in these islands as some of the rest of us. Nor do we, but we think it more than probable that Mr. Chamberlain's ideas and ours, as to what the expropriation of British subjects would be, are not identical. Do natives of these islands who go to Canada or Australia and take up their abode there, cease thereby to be British subjects? Suppose the Government of this country in concert, say, with the Dominion Parliament, should agree that, as the British Isles are not capable of expansion, and the inhabitants are very capable of multiplication, it would, therefore, be a wise thing to assist such persons as can scarcely find elbow-room here, to settle on the great stretches of fertile land in the North-West Provinces. Would that be the "expropriation of *such* British subjects," at least in the sense that, apparently, Mr. Chamberlain means? These emigrants would find in Canada people of their own blood and speech, free institutions such as they have lived under in England, and they would continue to be subjects of the Queen. In addition they would find a farm of a hundred and sixty acres, which would be their very own on condition that they settled upon it, and tilled it, thereby promoting their own welfare, and that of the community at large. In fact they would there have a livelihood assured to them, and property too, and if they did not prosper and increase in goods it would, probably, be their own fault. At any rate, emigrate from our isles, where population is so dense and competition so keen, thousands do every year, a very large

proportion of them going to America, and in course of time ceasing to be British subjects. It is this kind of "expropriation of British subjects" that we are concerned about, and we would advise Mr. Chamberlain to think seriously of all that it means. For our own part we humbly conceive it to be a matter of deepest concern that this constant stream of emigration from Great Britain should be directed to Greater Britain beyond the seas, where the opportunities for worldly success and prosperity are, we believe, greater than in the United States, and that instead of being indifferent to our countrymen settling in a foreign country, we should endeavour to secure their remaining our fellow-subjects, and being a source and occasion of strength and help, instead of weakness and possible hindrance, if not of actual hostility, to their Mother Land.

Under these circumstances it is with satisfaction that we record the announcement made on the 8th ult. by Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Under-Secretary for the Colonies, to an influential deputation, chiefly clerical, who waited upon him for the purpose of urging that the Government should take steps for supplying to the clergy information of a useful and reliable character for the guidance of intending emigrants. Mr. Morgan allowed that there was "no class of persons who required information of the kind referred to more than emigrants, who as a rule, were very ignorant and very suspicious." He confessed that they were "so suspicious that they hesitated to go to the Agents-General for the various Colonies, as they seemed to think that those gentlemen were interested in decoying them to the Colonies for which they were concerned"—a suspicion, we are bound to say, which, however unfounded it may be, is perfectly understandable. "Feeling therefore," the Colonial Under-Secretary proceeded to say, "the importance of this question, the Government had determined to establish, in connection either with the Colonial Office or the Local Government Board, some sort of office at which thoroughly trustworthy information could be obtained." There cannot possibly be any to whom such an announcement will not be welcome; for whatever views may be entertained about the "expropriation of British subjects," inasmuch as emigration is going on, and will go on whether with it or not, it is most desirable that the thousands who leave our shores every year should be supplied with such information as will save them from making mistakes and meeting with disappointment.

MR. DALLEY AND THE EMPIRE.

MR. DALLEY, who was Premier of New South Wales at the time that the New South Wales contingent was despatched to the Soudan, to whom, perhaps, more than to any other person, belongs the credit of sending it out, deserves well of his country; and when we say "his country," we use the word in that larger sense which we desire to see common. He deserves well of New South Wales, and he deserves well of Britain. His action in connection with the event referred to showed the highest patriotism. Mr. Froude describes him as being "the most remarkable of all the Australian statesmen that I met with," and attaches much weight to his opinions on Imperial Federation. He had conversation with him, and found that while he was against Australian Federation, as being likely to retard rather than advance the Federation of the Empire, and opposed to some of the plans which have been proposed for bringing the latter about, he was in favour of "so completed a confederacy that separation should no longer be mentioned among us." Mr. Froude reports the concluding part of his conversation with Mr. Dalley in the following passage:—

But if Imperial deliberative assemblies were not to be thought of, there was something of immeasurably greater importance which might be thought of, and Mr. Dalley referred to the subject of the Colonial Navy. Oceana, the great empire of which Great Britain was the stem, and the Colonies the branches, was the creation of the naval enterprise of England. She had spread her race over the globe, and had planted them where they were now flourishing, because she had been supreme upon the seas. The fleet was the instrument of her power and the symbol of her unity. British ships of war were the safeguard of Colonial liberty, and the natural chain which held the scattered communities together. The fleet, therefore, ought to be one. Division was weakness, and the old story of the bundle of sticks had here its proper application. Let there be one navy, Mr. Dalley said, under the rule of a single Admiralty—a navy in which the Colonies should be as much interested as the Mother Country, which should be theirs as well as hers, and on which they might all rely in time of danger. Let there be

no more Colonial ships under a separate authority, unlikely to be found efficient if their services were needed on a sudden, and likely to be mischievously misused if maintained continuously in a condition fit for sea. Let each great Colony or group of Colonies have its own squadron, which should bear its name, should be always present in their waters, and be supported out of its own resources, while it remained at the same time an integral part of the one navy of Oceana. So the Empire would be invulnerable on its own element; and, invulnerable there, might laugh at the ill-will of all the nations of the earth combined. It would be linked together by a bond to which the most ingenious parliamentary union would be as pack-thread. Each member of the vast community would be left free to manage its internal affairs as might seem best to itself, and, secure in being admitted into partnership with the most splendid Empire which the earth had ever seen, it would as little think of separating as the hand would think of separating from the body.

This was the scheme for Imperial Confederation put before me by the Minister, whose action in sending the contingent to the Soudan has been so much admired and applauded. Each Colony was to estimate what its naval defence would cost if it were left to its own resources, and to offer this as a subsidy to the expenses of the Imperial fleet. Money would be but a slight difficulty, and would be a less and less difficulty as their wealth increased.

"Only," he said, and with some emphasis, "we must have the English flag again;" and on this one subject Mr. Dalley seemed to speak with bitterness. The Australians do not like a bar sinister over their escutcheon, as if they were bastards and not legitimate; and, surely, of all ill-considered measures in our dealings with the Colonies, the indignity of forcing upon them a difference in the flag was the very worst. No affront was, of course, intended. The alteration originated, I believe, in some officialism intelligible to the ordinary mind, and was taken up and insisted on as part of the Separatist policy. By our poor kindred it has been taken as an intimation, flaunted perpetually in their faces, that we look on them as our inferiors, and not as our equals. Those who are talking and writing so eagerly now about a Confederated Empire, should insist, at once and without delay, that when any Colony expresses a desire to fly over its ships and forts the old flag of England, neither childish pedantry nor treacherous, secret designs to break the Empire into fragments shall be allowed to interfere with a patriotic and honourable purpose.

HERE AND THERE.

THE *Toronto Globe*, which is referred to by the *Toronto Mail* as "the organ of the late Mr. Riel," says, "The question between Canadian Nationalists and Imperial Federationists may be shortly stated:—Shall Canadians have a national domicile of their own, or occupy for ever an Imperial outhouse?" The *Globe* may, for aught I care, describe the present Canadian position as that of "an Imperial outhouse," but it forgets—perhaps wilfully forgets—that Imperial Federationists do not desire that Canadians should "for ever" occupy their present position, but rather the contrary. I should have thought the question between Canadian Nationalists and Imperial Federationists might have been more accurately put thus:—"Shall Canadians have, for a time, a national domicile of their own, to find before long a 'man in possession,' put in by the American Annexationists; or shall they have a suite of the best apartments in a magnificent mansion?"

THE *Ipswich Free Press* referring to the subject of cheap postage to the Colonies, which has been repeatedly brought forward in the columns of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, says, "There is not the slightest need for a cheaper postage to Australia or to Canada than to the United States." The *Ipswich Free Press* evidently needs to be enlightened a little on this matter. It appears to be possessed with the notion that postage to Australia is as cheap as to Canada or the United States. Doubtless if it had as extensive a correspondence with Australia as IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and some other journals that I wot of, it would know better, and would entertain, consequently, a different opinion.

I AM glad to find that some of our legislators are not of the same opinion as the *Ipswich Free Press*. Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., who in the House of Commons has taken up the question of cheapening the ordinary postal communication with the Colonies, and Mr. Spensley, M.P., who has taken up the question of the extension of the Parcel Post to the Colonies in the South Pacific, deserves the gratitude of all friends of postal reform. If a post-card can be sent from France to New Caledonia for a penny, why cannot a post-card be sent for the same amount from Great Britain to New South Wales? What we want is a uniform rate of postage throughout the Empire. It is to be hoped that Mr. Henniker Heaton and other "Colonial representatives" will not let the question sleep.

OUR home postage is not all one could desire. I refer specially to newspaper and book rates. Because IMPERIAL FEDERATION is published once a month and not once a fortnight, or oftener, it cannot be registered as a newspaper, except "for transmission abroad." The result is that it costs as much in postage to send a copy of the paper to Camberwell as to

Canada. Why, I should like to know, should the inland postage for the *Times* be a half-penny and that for IMPERIAL FEDERATION be a penny?

THE following amusing little dialogue might have been overheard not long since in the Amsterdam Post-office. The various officials were busy smoking, when suddenly a person, arrayed in stout tweed, very evidently not a Dutchman, entered, and, addressing one of them in French, asked if there were any letters for him. "What name, monsieur?" The name was given. "Your papers, monsieur?" "My papers, monsieur," was the reply, "I haven't got any—I am English." "Ah!" commented the postmaster, with a shrug and a smile, "*Civis Romanus sum*. Here are your letters, Monsieur D—."

THE subject of State-directed and State-aided emigration as an Imperial question, has been a good deal discussed of late. I have good reason for stating that I believe the subject has been occupying the very earnest attention of Lord Granville, and that something is likely to be done before long, more than has yet been announced.

MR. CHARLES A. C. CONYBEARE, M.P., has declared for Imperial Federation. He represents the North-western, or Camborne division of Cornwall, where, I believe, thanks to the able advocacy of Mr. Silvanus Trevail, and other friends of the movement, Federation principles have been making good progress of late. I heard a Conservative member of Parliament say the other day, he found in the House that those most favourable to the object which the League has in view were Conservatives and extreme Radicals. I was scarcely prepared for the statement at the time, but am compelled to allow that Mr. Conybeare's adhesion is at least one illustration of the truth of it, for he, without question, is a Radical of the Radicals. It is to be hoped that the honourable member for Camborne will soon give effect to his recent avowal by joining the League. He need not fear to venture where Joseph Cowen has boldly gone before him.

I WAS in the House on Monday, March 22nd, when Mr. Howard Vincent put his question to the First Lord of the Treasury—"Whether advantage would be taken of the presence in the Mother Country, during the forthcoming Colonial Exhibition, of many leading statesmen and representatives of our Australasian, Canadian, and South African brethren, to assemble a conference, under the official auspices of Her Majesty's Government, to inquire into the practicability of Imperial Federation, and so formulate proposals for the consideration of the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments, calculated to strengthen the ties uniting the British people, and to consolidate the Governments of their territories for such Imperial purposes as defence, commerce, and foreign affairs, while reserving local legislature for all portions of the Empire now separately administered; and in such case, whether notice thereof would be telegraphically transmitted to the several Governors for the information of their Ministers, that the most fitting delegates might be selected."

MR. GLADSTONE'S reply was, I thought, somewhat abrupt: The only thing satisfactory about it was its commencement:—"We should be very sorry to omit any opportunity which appeared to afford an opening for strengthening in any way the relations between the Colonies and this country; and I need not say that subjects of that kind are constantly under consideration at the present time." To offer the excuse that the Government had "no plan ready," was, it seemed to me, beside the mark, for the proposed conference was "to formulate, if possible," a plan. To say "I do not think we should be likely to obtain the consent of the Colonists for the purpose of considering the subject of Federation, unless we were prepared to lay before them a formal plan," was to express an opinion from which, of course, others are at liberty to differ. It is possible that the Colonists would prefer to discuss the subject without being hampered by having a plan officially placed before them by the Home Government. Before any such course can be adopted, a good deal of enquiry must be made; and it strikes the unofficial mind, at all events, as being a wiser and safer course to elicit Colonial views, and get acquainted with Colonial ideas, as to the way in which the thing could be done, before preparing a plan.

THE Government, however, has a plan relating to one part of the question—the question of Imperial Defence. In answer to a question which, the same night, Mr. Baden Powell put with reference to "Some scheme for the amalgamation of the Colonial and Imperial naval forces," Mr. Osborne Morgan said that a scheme which had been formulated by Lord Derby, approved by the late Colonial Secretary, and also, it is to be presumed, by the noble earl who now holds the office of Colonial Secretary, "will be submitted and explained by

Admiral Tryon, the admiral in command of the Australian station, to a meeting about to be held at Melbourne, at which most of the Australian Colonies will be represented, and the Colonial Governments which will not then be represented are considering the subject separately." It must be a remarkably good plan, one would think, to receive the approval of three Colonial secretaries in succession.

FEDERALIST.

CANADIAN NATIONAL POLICY.

It is well for us to know what our opponents have to say, as well as what they have to say who are not our opponents, but who are not actively our friends. Among the latter, apparently, would have to be classed a correspondent of the *Canadian Week*, who writes over the signature M. In the *Week* of February 4th he has an article on Canadian "National Policy," and considers it in relation to Imperial Federation. He thought when the latter term was announced it promised "a solution of the difficulties which surrounded and hampered the energies of many of the industries of Canada," but does not appear to think so now. He, therefore, declares that:—

"Imperial Federation appears for the present to be relegated to the arena of theoretical economics involving the harmonious unification of widely dissimilar and remote Colonies, while the present necessities of Canada must find solution in an agreement between herself and some other responsive Governments, and then depend upon the advantageous working of the system to commend its extension to other provinces and nations."

He thus proceeds:—

"The Anglo-Saxon race has taken the lead in the development of the commerce of the world; the first to utilise the manufacturing and commercial powers of steam, and its handmaid, the electric telegraph—ever ready to venture money and labour. Hitherto the foremost in every new field, the time has come when its different members must adopt a trade policy more consistent with their opportunities than the lines of national organisation within which they have been hitherto working in conflict.

"The discussion of Imperial Federation thus far has lacked centralization as a starting point, and has lacked the trade advantages which commerce demands. A thorough knowledge of the difference of conditions between ourselves and other confederations of this producing and trading race, and a liberal consideration for those differences, must be secured before any progress can be made in the direction desired.

"It may not, therefore, be out of place to state the points that must be respected from a Canadian point of view in any agreement to which she will be a party—and the main issues in Canada and the United States at the present time are practically akin, the latter country being, in order of time and in importance, in advance. With extensive agricultural territory, the largest possible immigration being desirable; and finding that even the most inviting conditions of agriculture were not sufficient to secure it, and further, that manufacturing could not be successfully prosecuted in competition with imports from abroad, the United States was prompt in accepting the issue, and her people with wonderful and persistent unanimity adopted Protection, and hold by it as the rock upon which they base their material progress. Whether the Democratic or Republican party is voted into power, the men who control the ballot-box hold by 'a fair day's wages for a full day's work.' Canada accepted the principle more recently, and the men who legislate in Congress, and in the Dominion Parliament likewise, either by personal experience or their immediate surroundings, are fully alive to the necessity of preserving this essential for the influx of population that finds such a hearty welcome on this side of the Atlantic.

"To buy in the cheapest market" cannot therefore receive any response either in Canada or the United States, excepting as an equivalent in labour is secured by export for the brother who must buy as his services will permit. Protection is manifestly the power of the majority over the minority. Free Trade is the power of capital seeking to place all points of supply in competition to get the most for the least, and bearing with cruel competition against home labour. Fair trade will prove the just mean between interests, avoiding monopoly on the one hand and on the other securing to home labour a fair equivalent in demand, to the extent to which foreign competition is admitted; each party to the compact producing that which it can do to the most advantage, and thereby its industry will be secured fair scope. Neither Canada nor the United States adheres to Protection in the interest of capital or monopolies, although those interests throw their influence on that side. The one idea that governs the tariffs of both countries is the determination to secure diversified employment to the mass of the people. Protection is not regarded by many as the best consideration, but accepted as a necessity to limit the imports to the capacity to pay, by the export of products of the country, and the expedient is not so expensive as the economists of Great Britain assume. To illustrate this point I will give an instance from the United States, and another from Canada.

"The decay of American shipping is often referred to as one of the sad effects of Protection. The United States never had a tariff that could in any sense be considered an encouragement to foreign trade, and yet before the war the American merchantman and the American mariner held no subordinate place in the world's commerce. At the close of the war, railroad extension, manufacturing interests, and the general enterprise and activity displayed throughout the Union, invited capital and talent rather to the land than to the sea. The class of men that made the American sailor's reputation being no longer permanently available, had more to do with the abandonment of the trade than the enhanced cost of shipbuilding caused by additions to the tariff.

"The adoption of a protective policy in Canada unduly stimulated manufacturing, notably in cotton and woollen fabrics, and the result is pointed to by Free Traders, as an exemplification of the futility of the principle. The judiciously constructed works are all again in active and, it is said, profitable operation. They will average in value the capital invested in them, and every town in Canada can point to houses and families maintained for years by, and now enjoying, the employment those factories afford.

"Captain Colombe, writing upon the trade question, says:—'Our commercial prosperity is in direct proportion to the freedom with which we can carry on trade with our Colonies and other countries.' The principle is a sound one, and in the opinion of the writer can best be promoted by a fair trade compact, beginning with England, if she will, as a centre, and extending as the policy is adopted by other nations."

We repeat that it is well for us to be acquainted with the views of opponents, and neutrals, as well as those of friends; and, therefore, make no apology for presenting the foregoing to our readers. This great question must be looked at all round, and from a Colonial as well as a British point of view. Both the aspirations and the interests of the people of every part of the commonwealth must be taken into account before any satisfactory federation can be effected.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION AND FAIR TRADE.

Fair Trade in its issue of March 5th, discusses the article by Mr. Kenric B. Murray, which appeared in our last on "The Commercial Value of *Imperial Federation*." Our readers may be interested in seeing what it advanced, and as this journal exists not for the purpose of advocating either Free or Fair Trade, but for the purpose of discussing Imperial Federation, and pointing out that they may be dealt with, all the difficulties which surround the subject, we have no hesitation in acting on the principle of *audi alteram partem*, and reproducing here our contemporary's article; which was as follows:—

The continued stagnation in trade has forced the question of Imperial Federation into prominence. It is being discussed in debating societies, and it is being lectured upon in some of our large towns. In most cases the feature which might create a strong commercial Federation of the Mother Country with her Colonies and dependencies is carefully boycotted. Nothing must be said about taxing the goods of foreigners who maintain hostile tariffs upon British and Colonial products. That would be countenancing a "heresy" which a Cobdenite could not tolerate for a moment. Nevertheless, without a commercial arrangement which would confer an advantage to the British Empire as a whole, the scheme propounded by the Imperial Federation League will not win that widespread public sympathy which is necessary for its rapid progress. Mr. Kenric B. Murray, of the London Chamber of Commerce, has just published an article on the subject, in which he takes the narrow view that has distinguished the speeches of members of the Cobden Club. Mr. Murray confesses that, in his eyes, Federation is the only issue from the economic impasse in which England at present finds itself, but he adds that, "Without Federation, popular ignorance, misled by self-interest, will force England into tariff warfare with other nations, under cover of which our trade and our industries will transfer themselves into easier and more natural channels—probably to our Colonies and the United States." Now we are not the advocates of "a war of tariffs." Our aim is to equalise taxation on British and foreign products coming into the home markets. We do not seek the fostering of any unnatural industry, though Cobdenites knowingly, for mischievous purposes, endeavour to fix that policy upon the Fair-Traders. But is not Mr. Murray somewhat illogical in his deductions? If hostile tariffs are calculated to drive trade elsewhere one would imagine that the countries which maintain the lowest duties would be benefited. According to Mr. Murray a moderate duty here would transfer our industries to the most highly protected country in the world—America. Few people will be able to agree with such an argument as this, and fewer people will be convinced that Federation without a commercial union will relieve England from the "economic impasse" in which she at present finds herself.

Mr. Murray, unlike some of the fanatical political economists, does confess that trade in England is not enjoying that brilliant experience which Mr. Cobden so confidently predicted would be the outcome of his policy. He acknowledges that "the commercial supremacy of the United Kingdom is distinctly menaced, on the East as on the West, in Europe as in America. We can see the waters yearly rising; we know how great the inundation of foreign products has been. Are we to sit still, like fatalists, till the dam, which yet protects us, is sapped at the base, and until the breach widens beyond possibility of repair?" To adopt Mr. Murray's plan would be to do very little better than to sit still. It is not the Mother Country alone that is being inundated with foreign products, but the Colonies are being similarly invaded—though, through their tariffs, not to a proportional extent. Mr. Murray ignores the preparations which Germany is making to seize our markets in the East. In

less than another twelve months Germany will have a splendid fleet of steamers to convey her goods direct to the Australian Colonies. They will enter the markets there on the same terms as English goods. England has all the responsibility of defending those Colonies. Germany has neither cost nor responsibility to consider, and yet she enjoys all the privileges which are extended to Britain. A hundred years ago we managed these matters much more sensibly and justly than we do to-day. Then the Colonies gave England advantages over all foreign States, and in return England gave similar advantages to the Colonies. In some instances the duty on Colonial products was 75 per cent. less than on foreign goods. Though that was going to the extreme of Protection, there is no doubt about the fact that it was under that system the foundations of our Colonies were laid; and though in their infancy they largely benefited by it, and the Mother Country partook of those benefits. If Mr Murray and his federalist friends will cast aside their politico-economical prejudices, and make the British Empire a real commercial Zollverein, into which no nation maintaining hostile tariffs against us shall enter excepting under certain restrictions, then they will soon cause Federation to take first rank in the great political questions of the time, with every promise of a speedy success. The Colonies themselves, for the most part, are in favour of a real commercial union. They have conveyed that opinion in their resolutions and their writings, and the sooner this, the main point in the controversy, is adopted, the quicker shall we bring about that desirable change which is calculated to restore prosperity to our home manufactures, and add considerably to the strength and influence of the British Empire.

THE COUNTRY TOWN.

A REVERIE.

A POEM bearing the above title is contributed to the April number of the *National Review*, by Mr. W. J. Courthope, of the Educational Department, and member of the executive committee of the Imperial Federation League. By the courtesy of the author we have been permitted to peruse the proofs, and to transcribe for the benefit of our readers the closing stanzas, which refer to the "One Federated Realm, the Empire of the Free," for which we are labouring. Mr. Courthope is not only an acute critic of our English poets, with whom he has a comprehensive acquaintance, as his recently published work has proved, but is himself a poet of no mean order, as this composition clearly shows. The subjects of stanzas 44-47 are respectively "The Old Agricultural System," "The Results of Free Trade," "The Colonists," and "A Colonist's Dream of England." The last three stanzas are as follows:—

Transformed, not dead, from generations gone,
By memory brought, we know not how nor whence,
The soul of Feudal Liberty lives on;
The Nation's shield, the Empire's "cheap defence";
Victoria's vassals, lo—a league immense!
Who of their mother, England, hold in fee,
Bound by one crown, one tongue, one patriot sense;
Thrice happy! Happier yet if time shall see
One federated realm, the empire of the free!

Warmed, Old Town, by their fire, thy kindred blood
Shall through thy shrunken veins more swiftly play,
And rouse again thy youth's green lustihood,
In Sydney's art, in Melbourne's growing sway.
Thine is the sunset, theirs the coming day;
Thou only canst remember, they forecast—
Yet in their ears thy worn memorials say—
The living cradle of their buried past—
That Death, how'er he halt, to all must come at last.

As when, upwelling from his fountain deeps,
The infant river leaves his native snows,
And down the rocks in sun bright freedom leaps,
While from a thousand streams his volume grows;
Now distant seem the mountains where he rose;
Now slow he lingers on the pleasant lea;
Now through the busy town majestic flows;
Then, sudden, feels the tide by wharf and quay,
And hears far off the murmur of the mighty sea.

THE annual emigration returns for the United Kingdom show that during 1885, 264,986 persons left British and Irish ports for places out of Europe, a decrease of 38,915 compared with the previous year. The English emigrants numbered 126,815 in 1885, against 147,660 in 1884; Scotch, 21,411, against 21,953; Irish, 60,082, against 72,566; foreigners, 53,703, against 57,733; nationality not distinguished, 2,975, against 3,989. To the United States there went 184,540, against 203,519 in 1884; British North America, 22,938, against 37,043; Australasia, 41,212, against 45,944; and other places, 16,296, against 17,395. Five-sixths of the Irish emigrants proceeded to the United States, as did nearly two-thirds of those of Scotch nationality, while England contributed under 74,000 of a total of nearly 127,000. To British North America there went 14,885 English, 3,277 Scotch, 2,670 Irish, and 3,086 foreigners, and to Australasia 28,722 English, 4,782 Scotch, 6,359 Irish, and 1,299 foreigners.

THE QUESTION DISCUSSED AT RICHMOND.

AN able and lengthy paper on the subject of Imperial Federation was read by MR. J. ASTLEY COOPER, in the College Hall, Richmond, Surrey, on Monday, March 8th. MR. G. F. WHITELEY, J.P., who presided, read a letter from SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE, M.P., in which he expressed his great regret at being unable to attend the meeting and take the chair.

MR. COOPER, in the course of his remarks, said that Imperial Federation aimed at a close and organised system of politics connected with foreign affairs between the Colonies and the Mother Country, at a common naval organisation, and at a trade understanding, upon protective principles, between all parts of the Empire against the rest of the world. Imperial Federationists wanted to form

A Federal Commonwealth,

which, in its relations to other states, would act as one, but which would consist of many states in the regulation of local government. They were endeavouring to formulate a policy which would not only dwarf into insignificance the Imperial systems of all preceding great empires or conglomeration of states, but which, if consistently carried out, would give home rule not only to Ireland, but to Scotland. The idea was of English, of home origin, but it was now being taken up with varying success in several of the Colonies. It was not considered quite so vital there as it was here, for over one hundred members of Parliament have given in their adhesion to the Imperial Federation League and their schemes. Those schemes, briefly noticed, were the introduction of Colonial life peers into the House of Lords, of Colonial representatives into the House of Commons, of the establishment of an Imperial Legislature, or of a paramount council in which the representatives of the Colonial Government should have seats. The latter device was to his mind the most rational for three causes. The first was that there were already men in the British Houses of Parliament, who had the interests of the Colonies at heart, in principle, and in property, quite as much as any direct representation would have. The second cause in favour of the adoption of a council scheme was that really the government of the British Empire was not now carried on by Parliament, but by bureaux of permanent officials, who were influenced very slightly in their executive decisions by the Ministry of the day. The third cause was that the Colonial materials for such a council were ready to hand, and only needed expansion. Each self-governing Colony had its representative in England. Upon exceptional occasions, when instructed by their individual Government, these Colonial representatives wait upon the Foreign Secretary of the day. Let this exception become the rule. Concerning Colonial life peers, the Colonies smiled at the suggestion; and concerning seats in the proposed Imperial legislature, the Colonies said, "We will think of that when our population is as large as that of the Home Country, and when at the least Colonial representation will be equal in number to the Home members." There had been Federation in the world's history of much the same type as was here suggested, and it must be admitted that towards the formation of the one under notice, perhaps to be more successful in its results than its predecessors, there were

Two Advantages.

For consultative purposes in ordinary times Australia was not far distant from London. It was no uncommon thing for telegrams from Adelaide, Melbourne, and Sydney to reach London in a couple of hours. Colonial parliamentary representatives can reach London by the Suez Canal, or in the future by the Canadian Pacific Railway much quicker than not so long ago representatives from the north of Scotland could reach Westminster. But in extraordinary times—in times, for instance, of a long and desultory war—the cables might be cut and the Canal blocked. The other point in favour of Imperial Federation, as compared with its predecessors, was that the majority of the self-governing Colonies who own the allegiance of the Queen were homogeneous in character. The great Spanish Empire was not European in blood; other empires have been collected from different nationalities and religions, but with slight exception Imperial Federations of to-day had not to face these insuperable difficulties. If in Canada there was a large French element, it was the English portion of the population that had made Canada what it was. Australia was essentially English in race. Contrary to all previous antecedents of ocean empires, the English-speaking people, in however remote portion of the world they were, wherever the Union Jack floats, free to the air, to each man, in the north-west territory of Canada, or in the northern territory of Australia, there was a mutual citizenship. The blood-tie was not to be under-estimated. Even Americans, though they had not this mutual citizenship, and had to be naturalised, unlike other Englishmen feel it at times.

The Question of Sentiment

might prove the solution of the Imperial Federation; many students of the question believed it was more likely to solve it than self interest. Blood ties and mutual citizenship were much in favour of Imperial Federation, but inseparable from them is a factor which had not in previous Imperial Governments, whose possessions were scattered all over the world, to be taken much account of. The British Empire did not consist of conquered people of a humbly accepting condition of mind, but of races very independent; of races who had gone forth to conquer, and could say now, after overcoming and subduing to their will even wild nature herself and the virgin soil, "We have the right to enjoy our own." Such are the men who, out of unpropitious materials had made gigantic fortunes, and built great cities. Was it likely then, with these inadequate instances of what was that these men and their descendants would think themselves honoured by being invited to a back seat in an Imperial House of Commons, or submit to have vital questions over-ruled in a council sitting in London? Australia could hardly be induced to listen to the suggestion of Colonial Federation; then could they be surprised that she turned an unwilling ear to the promptings of Imperial Federation? Before Imperial Federation came, unless it was accomplished by a sentimental movement in

response to a cry of help from England in an hour of need, the Colonists, wherever they were, must be convinced that their interests demanded it. But whatever might be the future action of Australia, and however lukewarm her present attitude towards Imperial Federation might be, Canada's action was not uncertain. Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, speaking the other day, said, with Canadian approval:—"A great deal has been said of late about Imperial Federation. In the general sense of that expression I fully agree ;

I believe that there must be Imperial Federation.

I believe that as the auxiliary nations of Australia, Canada, and South Africa increase, the present relations with the Mother Country, comfortable and pleasant as they are, cannot remain permanently fixed. Speaking for the Dominion of Canada, we are ready to accept the increased responsibility ; we are ready to join England in an offensive and defensive league ; we are ready to sacrifice our last man and our last shilling in defence of the Empire and flag of the Mother Country." Sir Alexander Galt, too, has declared for an identity of interests, especially since the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which joined the Atlantic and Pacific, and gave the Canadians a joint interest with Australia as to what was going on in Pacific waters. Mr. Cooper, having thus touched upon both sides of the question, chiefly from its political and military aspect, went on to remark that important as was a solution of them, on account both of their intrinsic importance and their undesirability of continuing to exist in their present indefinite shape, still this solution was comparatively valueless as compared with the difficulties surrounding

A Commercial View of Imperial Federation.

It was only a great commercial interchange that could hold together an Empire like ours. There might be a definite political, and a definite military understanding, but these would be of little avail against conflicting commercial interests. Many men who were supporting the movement under consideration, in their great English business centres, were not doing so from an abstract sense of justice or injustice, but because, in their minds, Imperial Federation, and what was called Fair Trade, were synonymous. Now the Colonies have a right to say, "Before we identify ourselves further with you, politically or in military matters, in the face of the nations of Europe, and certainly before we consider an Imperial Zollverein, what are you going to give us in return?" There was but one answer to this question, and it was this, that so long as England acted on Free Trade principles she had nothing to give or concede to the Colonies. The essayist gave some statistics in favour of his contention, and observed that Imperial Federation must become an avowed question of treaty, a question of reciprocal treaties. To England generous the Colonies must grant something in return. Reciprocal treaties would be sufficient to join the Empire soundly together without an all-embracing zollverein. In this Fair Trade matter he could not hide from himself the fact that England would be by far a greater gainer than the Colonies ; their advantages would be doubtful, while a zollverein, founded upon self-supplying principles, would thoroughly bolster up artificially England's manufacturing industries. At present the Colonist is not inclined to grant a most favoured nation clause in her commercial code to the Mother Country ; and without his consent nothing could be done. In commerce his watchword was, the best goods from the cheapest market, and he declines to have his hands fettered commercially under any form of Imperial Federation. Imperial Federationists were endeavouring to put this commercial view of the question out of sight, but it could not be. In resolutions and otherwise, much to the amusement of Colonial journals, the fact had been bluntly confessed. Mr. Cooper referred to

State-aided Emigration and Colonisation

as closely connected with this commercial view of the question, and remarked that the very people England wanted to get rid of the Colonies won't have, and the men whom England wanted to retain the Colonies offer every inducement to go and settle beyond the seas. Their emigration agents are scouring the agricultural districts, and avoiding the towns. "What are we to do with our surplus population, with Great Britain gaining a million every three years, is (continued Mr. Cooper), of course, a most serious question, but to think that Imperial Federation will solve it, with Colonists in their present frame of mind, is, I think, only putting off the evil day. It has been said that three acres and a cow is the solution of the whole matter, but I would remind you that the English agriculturist cannot sell as cheaply as those who work virgin soil, under more favourable climatic experiences. There may come a day when a federated Australia may be less strict about the settlement of that geographical area which English statesmen so much desire, but she or any other colony will have lost her sense of shrewdness when she looks with anything but an unfavourable eye upon a subsidised invasion of paupers, which means nothing more nor less than a transplantation of revolution from the old to the new country. It is difficult enough in truth to find a satisfactory solution of the Imperial Federation problem of to-day, but it is a question also to the future working of which statesmen must look with not a little fear.

In the Course of Fifty Years,

it is said the population of the Colonies will exceed that of the United Kingdom. Australia, according to other calculations, is in a comparatively short time to have a population of a hundred millions. These are not my statements, but the statements of Imperial Federationists by conviction. Well, what do they mean? Why, they mean, if there is any meaning in anything at all, the transference of the political balance of power from these shores to the antipodes. Are Englishmen prepared to see rise up an Australian Constantinople, with the historical fact before them that the jealousies between old Rome and the city of Constantine did more to bring down in utter ruin the greatest and most stable Empire of any time than almost any other cause? Are they prepared, with strict commercial treaties in existence, to see England come

to be ruled from any part of a Federal Empire—as the corn-producing province of Africa in the possession of Heraclea came to dominate Italy through famine in Rome. Are they prepared to convince the Colonies, the producing portions of the proposed Empire, that if the European nations think—as Imperial Federationists think—of their importance, that Colonial coasts would not have to bear the brunt of a great war? Future contingencies are of no small importance in the settlement of a question which has to do more with the future than the present. It remains to be seen, too, before any definite forecast can be made of what awaits Imperial Federation, whether the

Colonists must have or not a Foreign Policy.

The Germans are present most aggressively in the Pacific. Russia, the most predatory power of modern days, except perhaps ourselves, has a fleet in that ocean, and I think even before, as the *Melbourne Review* remarks, Australia detached themselves from "the hated mistress of the seas," they will ask themselves, "If we are to have a foreign policy, are we strong enough to stand alone?" If they decide in the negative, their future is determined. They will stand and fall with England. They will become more and more commercial communities, with but a faint spark of national spirit, and the hope contained in the cry, "Australia for the Australians," of a young and vigorous nation springing up, will for ever be quenched. . . . Turning again from the military view of the question, I ask you what does the history of mediæval Italy teach us? That the highest commercial prosperity and the highest civilisation of the age was to be found in a cluster of commonwealths, small in point of territory, but rising in all political and social enlightenment far above the greatest contemporary empires. The invasion of Charles V. was not the primary cause of the fall of Florence. She fell because she was corrupted by luxury, divided by civil war, and because she had forsaken those principles which had made her great. If Englishmen are true to the great traditions of the past they have nothing to fear ; but if they are not, Imperial Federation will never ward off from England the consequence of Continental competition, or the aggrandisement of military States eager for plunder. Before I conclude, though my argument, I think, has gone somewhat against Imperial Federation in its extreme forms, still I must say

A Tribute of Respect to the Imperial Federation League,

who are doing everything they can to foster a better spirit of understanding between Englishmen in all parts of the world, and to dissipate the woful ignorance in England itself concerning the Colonies, which presents the strongest barrier against any kind of union. Foremost among the men of that League who have dedicated themselves, heart and mind, to the union of the Empire, is Mr. Labilliere, who is present here to-night, and who, perhaps, out of his wide knowledge of the subject, will be able to convince you that Imperial Federation has a great and successful future before it.

MR. LABILLIERE, who opened the discussion, said, in the first place he must thank Mr. Cooper for presenting

The Worst Aspect of the Question,

because it was advisable that the supporters of Imperial Federation should know what were the worst aspects of their case. (Hear, hear.) He believed the arguments in favour of Imperial Federation were so overpowering, that when placed in the scale they must completely outweigh the objections to it. (Hear, hear.) In the first place, he must take exception to what the reader of the paper had said with regard to the Imperial Federation League, and the advocates of Imperial Federation were going in for

A System which would combine Protection,

and give Home Rule not only to Ireland, but also to Scotland and Wales. Advocates of Imperial Federation, pure and simple, were doing nothing of the kind. (Hear, hear.) One of the first paragraphs in the programme of the League was, "That no scheme of Federation shall interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." At the present moment local Parliaments had absolute control over the fiscal systems of the territories they represented, and there had not been proposed any system of Imperial Federation in which the Imperial Federal Parliament could overrule the local Parliaments, and say to the people of England, "You must have Protection," or to those of Victoria, "You must have Free Trade." Things would be left as they were at present, so far as was concerned that power of the local Parliaments to regulate the fiscal policies of the provinces they represented. All the Imperial Federal Parliament would be required to do, with regard to taxation, would be to raise sufficient revenue to provide for the requirements of the Federal Government, for the maintenance of an army and navy, and for the regulation of all those external relations which would be under the control of the Federal authority. The people of Australia and Canada would have nothing to do with the Irish question, which would be a matter for the people of these islands, and the representatives for the Colonies would have no business to interfere with the people of the British Isles with regard to the Home Rule of Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, any more than the home members of the Federal Parliament would have any right to interfere with the people of Australia upon the question of Intercolonial Federation. (Hear, hear.) It was a matter of no concern to the United Kingdom whether or not the people of the Australian Colonies chose, for their own Colonial purposes, to co-operate or not. That would be exclusively a provincial or inter-provincial question for the Australians themselves. The essayist had asked how it was to be expected that the people of Australia would consent to a policy of Imperial Federation, when they were not prepared to adopt a policy of Intercolonial Federation. He thought those who had looked at

The Two Questions of Imperial Federation and Intercolonial Federation could see at a glance the difference between them. In fact, it had been contended a few years ago by a gentleman eminently qualified to deal with the subject, that the two questions were totally distinct, and that,

while there were legitimate objections to Inter-Colonial Federation, there were few of any real importance to Imperial Federation. It must be obvious to every one that Inter-Colonial Federation made much greater demands upon the Colonists of Australia than Imperial Federation would. There were so many local provincial questions which overlapped each other and were intertwined, that, if Inter-Colonial Federation in Australia were adopted, the provincial authorities would have to give up a great many questions to the Inter-Colonial Federal Parliament which they would not have to resign to an Imperial Federal Parliament. There was, for instance, the question of the railway gauges, which had created a good deal of dispute in Australia. Some of the Colonies had one gauge and some another; and, if Inter-Colonial Federation were adopted, some Colonies would have to give up their gauges, which would cause a good deal of dissatisfaction. That was one illustration, and many more could be given, of how much the different provinces might have to surrender to the Inter-Colonial Federal Parliament if they adopted Inter-Colonial Federation. Imperial Federation would not interfere with the provincial Legislatures to any such extent. One portion of Mr. Cooper's paper had been occupied by

The Consideration of Tariffs.

and the essayist had endeavoured to fix upon the Imperial Federationists the necessity of having a uniform tariff throughout the Empire. For the purpose of Imperial Federation there was no necessity whatever to interfere with the legislation of the local Provincial Parliament with regard to the tariffs. Take, for instance, the present state of things. The Colony of Victoria was decidedly the most Protectionistic of all the Colonies in the Empire, and yet notwithstanding this protecting of her own manufactures and industries against the Mother Country, that Colony took no less than the worth per head of £12 5s. 2d. of English manufactures yearly. (Hear, hear.) Suppose the question were raised at once, "Is Imperial Federation to be adopted?" and Victoria said, "Very well, we will come into the Imperial Federal scheme, but we must retain our Protection tariffs," would it not be the height of absurdity for the people of England to say, "No; we will not take you into the scheme unless you abandon that policy of Protection which you have, rightly or wrongly, adopted as your fiscal policy?" Such a reply would show a narrowness of spirit, a want of statesmanship. England could not adopt a hard and fast rule, and say to the different Colonies, and Provinces, and Dominions, "We will not come into federal relationship with you unless you adopt our system of fiscal policy, and abandon that upon which you have set your heart." Would England refuse to receive the support and strength Victoria would give, as a Province containing nearly a million of inhabitants, because that Colony would not adopt a hard and fast rule with regard to tariffs? The Imperial Federation League desired to leave the greatest amount of freedom to the different Colonies with regard to their commercial policies, and there would be no more difficulty with regard to Victoria becoming a federal state of the Empire upon such conditions, than there would be to her remaining what she already was, a Colony of the British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Cooper had pointed out certain

Difficulties with regard to the Question of Emigration.

but this was no essential part of the policy of an Imperial Federal Parliament. It was a question affecting the inhabitants of the three kingdoms. What the essayist had said about the Colonies wanting the best men they could get from the Mother Country was quite true, and he maintained that they were quite right in being particular. (Applause.) If they paid money to bring out people from England to live amongst them and develop their resources, they were entitled to have the best article they could get. (Hear, hear.) And that was simply what the Colonists did. He had always advocated that the future population of Australia should be made as British as it was possible to make it. The Colonists did not want to import Irish Fenians to start branches of the National League, and to send money from Australia, as those who had gone over to America were doing, for the purpose of bolstering up the policy of that League in this country. (Hear, hear.) They wanted the best men they could get in order to make Australia one of the most valuable branches of the British Empire. If the people of England wished to have loyal Colonies, they should desire that the population of those Colonies should be as much in sympathy and harmony with them as possible. Therefore, he thought that the Australian Colonies, in exercising a judicious choice of people, were assisting the great cause, and were entitled to the best thanks of the people of this country. (Hear, hear.) It might be said, "What is the use of these Colonies if we cannot send our surplus population to them?" Well, everyone must see that with regard to the sending of emigrants to the Colonies, apart from the consideration whether the people sent out were good, bad, or indifferent, the system of emigration was one that required a great deal of judgment and organisation. Although there were great territories in Australia, if some thousands of men were rushed upon one spot at a particular time, the whole arrangements of the district would be disturbed. He did not believe the Australian or any other Colonies would have any objection if the people of England wished to send out a portion of their surplus population, so long as they organised a plan to receive the emigrants, and prevent the disarrangement of the labour markets. This was a thing that required a great deal of caution; but the question of getting people out of this country was one for the local Parliament. Imperial Federation was a system for the arrangement of the common concerns of the Empire. He would like to say a few words with regard to

The Question of Sentiment and the Question of Interest.

Whether advocated from sentiment or interest, he believed the arguments for Imperial Federation were overwhelming. What did the question of sentiment come to? They had a magnificent Empire, or, he should say, they had the greatest materials the world had ever seen for the construction of the grandest Empire that had ever appeared upon the face of earth. It was only a question of a few years. Within the lifetime of men then living would occur the question whether

or not these grand materials for the construction of a magnificent fabric should be shattered and dispersed, never again to be brought together? He believed that if the same feelings and principles and sentiments which animated the people of England at the present day had existed a century ago, they would never have parted from their kinsmen across the Atlantic. (Applause.) We had made one vital mistake, but we had now a second chance of consolidating our empire, and we were not going to throw that chance away. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Cooper must have made some mistake when he said the Premier of Victoria had stated that he wished the Colonies to be free from the liability of being involved in European wars. What the Premier of the Colony had said, was that he hoped to live to be a member of our Imperial Federal Parliament, and to sit as one of the representatives of Australia. (Hear, hear.) He was afraid he was trespassing on their time. (DR. COOK: "Hear, hear.") ("No, no.") But before concluding he would like to state that

The Great Eastern Questions

were as important to Australia and Canada, as to England. Once let Russia establish herself in India, and she would keep her position there with a hundred thousand men, and that would be a greater menace to the Canadians on the Pacific side, and to the Australians, than to England. (Hear, hear.) The Imperial Federation scheme was nothing new, but only the application to the Empire of the principle which maintained the strength and national life of two of the greatest nations in the world, America and Germany. He would only say, in conclusion, that with regard to England the words of Professor Seeley should be impressed upon the minds of every one. That gentleman had said, with regard to maintaining the unity of the Empire, "If the United States and Russia hold together another half century, they will at the end of that time practically dwarf such old European States as Germany and France, and press them into the second place. They will do the same for England, if at the end of that time England still thinks of herself as a solely European power." (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said he must apologise for having allowed Mr. Labilliere to exceed the usual ten minutes—(DR. COOK: "Hear, hear.")—but as that gentleman was so well qualified to deal with the subject, he had thought it well that the meeting should have the advantage of hearing his views.

MR. BANBURY (Colonial Secretary of St. Helena) said it appeared to him that the meeting had been asked to give their attention to a case that had not been diagnosed. Every Colony was governed almost upon distinct lines, and only upon those lines were they willing to be governed. Imperial Federation, to be successful, must fit each individual Colony; and, to accomplish this, would require a Bill so long, and taking in so many ramifications, that the task of framing it seemed almost impossible. (Hear, hear.) Under one scheme it had been proposed to leave the Crown Colonies out in the cold altogether, and this could hardly be called an equitable arrangement.

MR. LABILLIERE said this was not proposed by the Imperial Federation League.

MR. BANBURY proceeded to quote from Mr. Forster, who had stated in the *Nineteenth Century* that we already practically possessed Imperial Federation, and, if this was the case, he did not see the use of establishing by charter what already existed by sentiment. He thought the Federation question was best left alone.

The discussion was continued by Dr. Cook, Dr. Bell, Mr. Lorraine, and Mr. Selous, and, at the conclusion, the essayist briefly replied; the proceedings terminating with the usual vote of thanks.

Among the large and influential audience present were the Rev. G. S. Ingram, the Rev. C. F. Coutts, Dr. Ferguson, Mrs. Maxwell (Miss Braddon), Mr. Haysman (late Liberal candidate for Middlesex), and many of the local gentry. The Hon. Rollo Russell, who had intended to take part in the discussion from the United Empire point of view, was, at the last moment, unavoidably prevented from attending.

MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH.

THE members of the Cambridge University Branch of the Imperial Federation League held their terminal meeting, in the Devonshire Rooms, on Thursday, March 18. The chair was taken by Professor Seeley, and a paper was read by Mr. H. S. Foxwell (St. John's College) on "Some Economic Aspects of Federation." Among those present were Mr. Murray Smith, Agent-General for Victoria; Sir G. Paget, Professor Westcott, Rev. G. F. Browne, Rev. E. Slater, Rev. E. Hill, Dr. Donald MacAlister, and Messrs. Sedley Taylor, G. W. Prothero, R. D. Roberts, and J. M. Langley.

The SECRETARY made a brief statement concerning the position of the branch, and read a letter from the Master of Jesus, regretting that he was unable to be present. The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. Foxwell to read his paper.

MR. FOXWELL stated, at the outset, that the title of his paper was purposely left vague, because he wished to suggest matter for the consideration of the branch rather than to attempt to commit it to the adoption of his own views. The general drift of the paper would be to defend a national, as opposed to a cosmopolitan, economic policy, and especially to examine the effect of a scheme for readjusting the existing duties on food in such a way as, without lessening the revenue, to give an additional stimulus to Colonial development. In the discussion of such a scheme, it must be taken for granted, however, that, as political power is in the hands of the mass of the people, no policy is worth practical consideration which cannot recommend itself to popular views of popular interests. As the adoption of a national policy in trade would conflict with the principles of the extreme, or cosmopolitan, Free Traders, it would be necessary to deal with the position of this school. Thus, the paper would divide naturally into two parts—the first dealing with general considerations, tending to show the effects and incompleteness of the Free Trade, or cosmopolitan policy; the second offering a definite scheme for the readjustment of the taxes on food.

The writer of the paper then proceeded to comment upon the position of the cosmopolitan Free Trader. He urged in the first place that commercial cosmopolitanism was premature, and it was only in emporial countries that it was plausible. The origin of the doctrine was not altogether to its credit. Like doctrinaire Free Trade it was a product of the loose *a priori* revolutionary philosophy of the eighteenth century, a philosophy which has had considerable motive power and some salutary results, as, for instance, the abolition of the slave trade, but which is essentially disintegrating and anarchical in its tendency. It leads to rank individualism, it ignores the teachings of history, and is opposed to the whole drift of modern science. The reaction against it has already set in, as the Factory Acts, Trades Unions, and Co-operation, bear witness. The philosophy itself was discredited long ago in every other domain but that of economics. Again, a consideration of the facts shows that cosmopolitanism is obviously premature. Men may quarrel over their huckstering as well as over any other affairs, and war is more likely to be prevented by an Anglo-Saxon confederation dictating a British peace, than as Cobden dreamt by mere extension of the markets. In fact, modern statesmen in all countries are beginning to agree with the more practical judgment of Adam Smith, and to pronounce the cosmopolitan ideal to be Utopian. The political economy of the world as a whole is unquestionably *national*, and this is demonstrated not only by the writings of influential economists, such as List in Germany, and H. C. Carey in America, but also by the new Colonial movement, which is a national movement of a striking kind.

MR. FOXWELL then proceeded to notice in detail some defects in the position of the Manchester school of economists, which cosmopolitanism had inspired. He argued that they ignored the enormous difficulty and waste involved in the forcible migration of capital and labour, and regarded it as indifferent whether English capital was invested at home or in foreign countries; they ignored the injurious effect on English labour of the competition of foreign labour working longer hours, and forgot the "inertia of trade" and the value of bargaining power. He also criticised the tone of the doctrinaire Free Traders, and their pretensions to so-called orthodoxy; they ignored the real issues raised by their opponents, and credited them with a desire to revive crude protective policies long ago rejected, and rightly rejected, by the country. The scheme which the paper was to discuss was not a scheme of this kind. It did not propose to set up *new* protective tariffs, but to *rearrange* existing duties, so as to increase our bargaining power in commercial negotiations with foreign countries, and to give a preference to the Colonies and other dependencies of the Empire; so as to induce a greater investment of British capital under the British flag, and ultimately to weld the Empire into a commercial union. The main arguments for Free Trade are as true now as they were in Adam Smith's time, for the advantage arising from large markets and elaborate division of labour is obvious, so also the advantage of availing ourselves to the fullest extent of the world's resources. But a federated British Empire would be for these purposes equivalent to a world, for there is scarcely a natural product it could not furnish, and its markets would be so large that division of labour could be pushed quite as far as is socially desirable. There is no reason in that exaggerated form of Free Trade which would sacrifice everything to an immediate increase of production, or a temporary fall of prices. There is no reason why a large industry or a Colony should be ruined in order that the consumer may enjoy an artificial cheapness and possibly abuse it. Cheapness need not be purchased at the cost of the disastrous unsettlement of industry, of a heavy waste of capital, of gross injustice to a section of the community, or of a loss of national strength. In these points doctrinaire Free Trade conflicts with modern common sense.

From general considerations, MR. FOXWELL passed to the positive scheme which he had to propose for the ready re-adjustment of taxation on food. The essentials of such a scheme must be simplicity, a minimum of interference with trade, and that it should not be liable to extension beyond reasonable bounds. He would therefore propose to substitute for the existing non-preferential duties on tea, coffee, chicory, cocoa, and dried fruit, lower and preferential duties on these articles, together with a preferential duty on corn and flour, the effect of which would be that all these would be admitted free from all British possessions, while the reduction of duty on foreign imports of tea, etc., would be compensated by a 5s. duty on foreign corn and an equivalent duty on foreign flour. To put the same thing in figures:—

Estimated loss on reduction of duty on foreign tea, coffee, chicory, cocoa, and dried fruits, and abolition of duty on the same articles when coming from British Possessions ...	£2,927,337.
Estimated revenue from a 5s. duty on foreign corn and flour ...	£3,101,436.

Thus there would be a net gain to the revenue of £174,099; against which must be set off a probable gradual, but not great, diminution in revenue from foreign corn and flour. But by such a scheme as this the interference with trade would be small and the advantages great. The difference to the family of a working man, caused by the rise in the price of bread, would not be more than three half-pence a week, while by this sacrifice great benefits would accrue to the nation as a whole.

After quoting the opinions of Ricardo, McCulloch, and other free traders in support of a duty on corn of the kind he proposed, MR. FOXWELL proceeded to discuss more in detail the advantageous results of the measure. It would not increase taxation on food, but only redistribute it, by taxing solids and relieving liquids; and, moreover, in the present circumstances of the country, it would be a positive advantage to tax necessities such as corn, and relieve comforts of such a kind as tea and coffee. In the first place, it might be held that in the improved condition of the poorest classes now as compared with 1815 and 1840, tea and coffee are as much necessities as bread; but even if they are classed not as necessities, but as comforts, yet it is true to say that the interest of a nation lies in making comforts cheap relatively to necessities, rather than in making necessities cheap relatively to comforts, because the former policy is the one most likely to result in a raising of

the "standard of comfort." No one is really so much interested in not having corn too cheap as the working classes themselves, for with corn too cheap, they are liable to be swamped by excessive population. It is also of great importance to them that the price of corn should not be subject to violent fluctuations, and such a fluctuation lies before us in the future. The price of wheat is lower now than it has been since 1761; there is reason to believe that it cannot long remain so low, and it is possible that by a sudden rise, an increased population accustomed to cheap corn, and itself due to it, may be brought suddenly face to face with dear corn. Such a catastrophe might be averted if the price of corn can be gradually raised now by means of a duty, which gives a preference to our Colonies at the same time. Cobden's position is the true one—that regularity in the price of corn is the essential thing to aim at. It is not to be denied that the scheme proposed would raise the price of corn; but such a rise would be in other respects beneficial, and the price would not necessarily or probably rise by the full amount of the preferential duty, part of which would be paid by the foreigner. The small increase in the price of bread might be compensated for by adopting the Birmingham system of milling and baking on a large scale; and though it is quite true that the price of home-grown corn would rise, yet against the loss thus inflicted on the consumer, there would be a double saving, (1) in the reduced price of tea, &c.; (2) in the saving of the enormous waste of capital and skill, which would result, and is resulting now, from the dislocation of the agricultural industry.

It is thought by some a sufficient objection to this scheme to say that it would raise rents, or at any rate arrest the fall of rents. But a great part of what is called rent is really interest on capital, and every one knows that the loss resulting from the fall in the price of corn has not only lowered rents, but in many cases ruined farmers, and driven labourers into the towns. As Sir Josiah Child said:—"Land and trade are twins, and have always, and ever will, wax and wane together; it cannot be ill with trade but land will fall, nor ill with land but trade will feel it."

The real objection to allowing the introduction of reasonable preferential duties is that if unintelligently applied, and not vigilantly guarded, under a democratic system it might give rise first to jobbery, and then to the crudest and most mischievous forms of protection. But the writers who in this matter are so eager to subscribe to a vote of want of confidence in the people, are precisely the writers who, in regard to the infinitely more difficult matters of foreign policy, hold that the popular instinct is infallible. This is the one dangerous point in the scheme, and it must not be ignored by its advocates. If the people cannot be trusted to conduct an intelligently economic policy, it is useless to propose it and support it. The difficulty might, however, be met after a fashion by an agreement at starting that only a certain percentage of the national revenue should be derived from customs, or that only a certain percentage should be derived from preferential customs, or that revenue derived in either of these ways should be exclusively devoted to special purposes, such as the education or emigration charge, or the support of the Imperial navy. If the Colonies ultimately entered into a customs union on reciprocal terms, the danger of a manipulation of the tariff to suit private interests would be practically removed, for the area would be too large for private interests to influence.

MR. MURRAY SMITH, who was called on by the chairman to open the discussion, declared himself a Free Trader and an advocate of cosmopolitanism. He had witnessed in Victoria the gradual and insidious growth of Protection. There was no reason why a tax should not be put upon corn as a purely fiscal measure, for the purpose of raising a revenue, but it was impossible to limit the consequences of such a step. In Victoria protection had begun with a ten per cent. duty, which was to be a maximum, and now every department of trade was burdened with a protective policy. He had no confidence in the possibility of limiting Protection, as the writer of the paper proposed.

An animated discussion followed, in which Mr. Sedley Taylor, Mr. Weldon, Rev. E. Hill, Mr. Haskins, Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. Langley took part. A number of questions were put to Mr. Foxwell concerning the probable effect of his proposals in various directions.

At the close of the discussion the following resolution was moved by Professor Westcott and seconded by Mr. W. F. Sheppard:—"That we offer our thanks to Mr. Murray Smith for his coming among us, and wish him a hearty farewell on his return to Victoria."

This was carried with enthusiasm, and, after a reply from Mr. Murray Smith, the proceedings terminated.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY AND MR. CHARLES TODD, C.M.G.

THE following is the speech delivered by the Public Orator, Mr. J. E. Sandys, Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, in presenting for the honorary degree of M.A. Mr. Charles Todd, C.M.G., formerly Assistant Astronomer at the Cambridge Observatory, and at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, and now Government Astronomer, Postmaster-General, and Superintendent of Telegraphs in South Australia:—

Dignissime Domine Procancellarie, et tota Academia—

Illum nobis hodie redditum salutamus, qui plusquam triginta abhinc annos, primum in colle vicino, deinde Thamesis prope ripam, caeli nostri sidera summa cura observabat. Idem postea maria lata emensus, poli Australis stellas nobis ignotas diligentia non minore est perscrutatus. In utraque igitur orbis terrarum parte industria et virtute eadem insignis, caelum tantum, non animum mutavit. Neque vero caelestia contemplatus, terrestria neglexit, in colonia illa remota non caelo tantum observando sed tabellariis quoque publicis regendis praepositus. Scilicet

in caelo contemplando expertus orbes inter sese distantes admirabili quadam vi sese invicem attrahere, idem laboribus illis operam dedit, ex quibus homines quoque inter sese distantes epistolarum commercio propius adducerentur. Sed ne scriptarum quidem epistolarum celeritate contentus, de coloniis illis omnibus et inter sese et cum Britannia ipsa vinculo quodam artiore coniungendis bene meritus est. Huius enim auspiciis, partim huius ipsius ductu, trans totam Australiam, per regionem aditu difficillimam, non minus quam vices centena millia passuum late patentem, catena quaedum electrica serie perpetua porrecta est. Talium virorum laboribus, utinam coloniae illae a nobis remotissimae, vinculis indies artioribus inter sese consociatae, cum ipsa Britannia foedere novo in perpetuum duraturo coniungantur.

Vobis praesento CAROLUM TODD.

PATRIOTIC SONGS.

A SCOTCH correspondent sends us the following song, as "one fairly expressive of the feeling that exists between the Mother Country and the Colonies." He says it was received very favourably at a social meeting of Colonial students of the University of Edinburgh, called by the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee, and adds, "We want a choice of songs of an Imperial character"—a remark which we endorse. That man was a philosopher who said, "Let who will make the people's laws, if only I may make their songs." We shall be glad to have our attention drawn to any new patriotic songs of merit, especially such as breathe the sentiment of "a United Empire":—

WE'RE A' JOHN TAMSON'S BAIRNS.

I.

John Tamson! he's a canty auld carle,
Wi' keels on ilka sea—
An ancient Laird, who is hearty and hale,
Wi' mony a farm in fee,
And mony a thriving lad and lass,
Who meets him a' twice a year,
When at the table's head he will sit,
And they mid rowth of cheer,
Sing! "We're a' John Tamson's bairns,
There ne'er will be peace in the world again,
Till ilka Briton wi' micht and main,
Sings we're a' John Tamson's bairns."

II.

Since Adam left sweet Eden's bower,
And put things out o' gear,
There's aye some weak ane to forgie,
And far some we'd hae near.
John hopes for the best, and a' the rest,
He warms wi' a proverb and sang.
Then favour and humour, a merry-go-round,
Make roof and rafters bang
Wi' "We're a' John Tamson's bairns," &c.

III.

A' think o' those that are far away:
John kens them by mair than name;
No less o' his family now are they
Sic chieles he is proud to claim:
And they at their ingles ayont the sea,
Dad Tamson fondly mind;
Like him in every land weel kent
As free, brave, true, and kind.
Sae "We're a' John Tamson's bairns," &c.

IV.

"And here's to you, to me, and them—
Join heart and hand" (quo' he)—
"If ye but close in as I'd like ye dae,
Lang, lang ye'll happy be."
Let us draw thegither, we who can,
And each one feel at hame.
Tho' differ we must in siller and place,
O' kin' we're a' the same.
Ay! "We're a' John Tamson's bairns," &c.

WHAT a long way we are from recognising our Colonies as having anything particular to do with us, to say nothing about them as integral parts of the Empire, was sufficiently shown by Mr. Chamberlain's language on emigration yesterday. He is entirely opposed, it seems, to "any policy of expropriation on a large scale of British subjects." So, we imagine, would most people be, but all that Mr. Chamberlain meant by his phrase was the emigration of the Queen's subjects from one part of her dominions to another. Nothing strikes people more in going about among the London poor than the way in which they talk of emigration to Canada or Australia as going to foreign countries: "We don't hold," is what they say, "with them foreigners." Emigration societies are busy endeavouring to correct this ignorance in the London slums; had they not better begin, however, with the Cabinet? —*Full Mall Gazette.*

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERATION AND THE LARGER QUESTION.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

IN undertaking to correspond from this Colony with the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE, I am not without certain misgiving lest I may sometimes find myself in the position of one called upon to make bricks without straw. The principal matter, as I take it, available for such correspondence would be found in the transactions of the local branch of the League. But, up to the present time, I regret to have to say Tasmania boasts no such branch. We in Tasmania have, whether rightly or wrongly I must leave others to judge, but certain it is that we have at least among our brethren in the neighbouring Colonies, the reputation of being just a little bit slow in our movements, and—so they say—just *tant soit peu* behind the times. This is the mild way they put it, when they think any of us are within hearing, out of a delicate consideration for our feelings, which I for one fully appreciate and thank them for. Among themselves I daresay they are much more emphatic. But I hope not; because, though in certain respects I am not prepared to deny that there may be some foundation for this impression, which certainly seems to be very generally entertained; yet in matters connected with the art of government and in political affairs generally, I believe we should be found neither slow in the adoption of new ideas, nor, as a matter of fact, one step behind the most advanced communities in the British Empire. But, we are a small Colony. Like a troupe of travelling actors, when we want to represent a crowd, we have to use the same men over and over again; and, as it is, our political leaders have all the time not only to double, but to treble and quadruple, their parts. It is not then to be wondered at, on this ground alone, that none of our political leaders should have spontaneously espoused the cause of Imperial Federation, which is still but a new movement. But the ranks of the League here have received two or three active recruits lately, and we may hope before very long to see some effort made towards at least bringing the matter well before the public.

But throughout Australia, it seems to me, that there would at any rate be a very good reason to give if it were found—and I do not know how it has in practice been found lately—that politicians and others were a little impatient of hearing of Imperial Federation, while their attentions are fully occupied with their own less extensive, but more matured scheme of Intercolonial Federation. I do not suppose that Australians more than Englishmen elsewhere in the world, can give their minds to more than one thing at a time; at any rate not to two things that engage so exactly the same corner of the mind as these two. I can well understand an Australian statesman at the present moment not caring to look very closely into a scheme which its most jealous sympathisers admit to be as yet very much in the clouds, when he is fully occupied with the practical working out of the actually existing plan of Australasian Federation. An illustration of this spirit is to be found in the matter to which I am about to allude in detail; and the lesson I think that we should draw from it, is to have patience and watch for opportunities of turning events as they occur to account in furtherance of our aims.

As your readers will have been put in full possession by means of telegraphic news of all the doings connected with the opening session of the Federal Council of Australasia, I shall not attempt to enter into any particulars upon the main features or incidents of this auspicious event. It is a grand occasion, and one pregnant, I believe, of great matters in the near, and in the more distant, future. But as regards the Federal Council in its own proper regard, I will say no more than that it has begun its career well and wisely, and in that cautious and businesslike manner to be expected of a representative gathering of men of English race. I have to speak of it here only in its bearing upon the question of Imperial Federation. This question has, so far, only once been referred to; and then, I regret to say, in a deprecatory tone, by Mr. Griffith, the representative of Queensland. He says that gentlemen who "talk largely" of Imperial Federation don't know what they are talking about. But, from what he went on to say, it appeared to be nearer the truth to say that it was he, not the supporters of the League, who did not really understand the aims and ideas of the League. A member of the League, resident in Hobart, addressed a letter on this text to the leading paper of this capital—the *Mercury*—(a paper, I may mention, which, without much direct reference to the League, yet consistently supports the views of Imperial Federationists in its very ably written leaders), from which I take the following passage:—

In dealing with the fears said to be entertained in some quarters that the action of the Federal Council might tend to weaken the bond between Great Britain and the Australian Dominion, Mr. Griffith quotes the address in reply to express his conviction that, so far from weakening that bond, "the inauguration of this Council will aid in the maintenance of the unity and stability of the Empire." That phrase, I may here observe, exactly defines the central idea of Imperial Federation, upon which, nevertheless, Mr. Griffith immediately proceeds to pour cold water. Of the two motives which he assumes to actuate those who "talk largely" of this movement I need say no more than this. One, the desire to unite for defence, has Mr.

Griffith's sympathy, as it has ours. The other, the establishment of a general Customs union, has been declared by the leaders of the movement to be out of the present question, and, though doubtless entertained by many as a pious wish, forms (so far I am aware) no part of the programme of the League. But the reasons Mr. Griffith adduces for his own well-founded belief in the tendency of Australian Federation to strengthen the tie with the Mother Country are precisely such as we rely upon in support of the movement towards a closer federal union between all parts of the Empire. He says, and rightly, that the possession by the Australian Colonies of a voice in the policy of the Empire "so far as concerns themselves," would tend more than anything else to the maintenance of unity between the Mother Country and Australia. It is the wider diffusion of this right that constitutes our chief aim. Mr. Griffith desires to see "a close union of sympathy between the different parts of the Empire." Why, then, does he not join us in endeavouring to compass this end by a logical extension of principles and methods he himself approves and adopts? It is not enough—it soon will be not enough—that the union of each group of Colonies with the centre should be separately maintained. Each group cannot always afford to care only for the general policy of the Empire "so far as concerns itself." On many points; the policy of the Empire affects all the parts, and all the parts should then have a voice in shaping that policy.

The letter goes on to express the writer's views that the two movements of Intercolonial and of Imperial Federation are compatible with each other, the large scheme being the crown and complement of the more limited and earlier stage of political development through which we are now passing. The Federation of groups, though regarded generally as an end in itself, is to be looked upon also as a means to a further end; as a necessary, or at least more serviceable preliminary to the completion of the general scheme. Those who at present contemplate nothing beyond Intercolonial Federation recognise that without this union of the various Colonies of a group into one body, the group cannot make its voice heard at home upon Imperial matters specially affecting itself. Imperial Federationists insist, as is pointed out in the letter I am referring to, that in many affairs of Imperial importance the outlying parts of the Empire are concerned in a general way, and although the matter in question may not specially concern this or that group; and a general union is therefore necessary, empowering some council or other recognised organ, representing directly the whole Empire, to make the voice of the whole heard upon such questions. It is to be hoped that the institution of the Federal Council of Australasia may be the means of bringing statesmen in this part of the world to see that their ideal is still an imperfect one, and so induce them to work on to the realisation of the larger and more complete scheme.

It will be a matter of regret to all who are interested in preventing even the distant disruption of the Empire by now cementing the bonds which bind us together, that our Premier, Mr. Adye Douglas, who is just coming to London as the first Agent-General of Tasmania, should not be a supporter of any scheme of Imperial Unity. At a banquet given by the President to the members of the Federal Council and others, Mr. Douglas allowed himself to speak of the tendency of the present federalising movement towards a union of Australian States in a future Australian Republic. I am happy to say that the note thus struck, so far from finding any kind of echo, has been strongly and persistently repudiated by every political speaker since, whether on the same occasion or subsequently. And Mr. Douglas himself felt the necessity of making something like a public retraction in the Council itself. But I am afraid people will be inclined to take him at his own word; and it is not only a matter of regret that an Agent-General, at the present time, should hold such views, but still more unfortunate, to say the least of it, that he should be ruled by such an excess of candour as to make a public profession of them, at such a singularly inopportune moment, both in regard to the occasion of his speech and his own speedy departure for England as the representative and mouthpiece of this Colony.

R. J. B.

Hobart, Tasmania, Feb. 3rd, 1886.

FEDERALISM IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

THE Melbourne correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, writing in reference to the meeting of the Federal Council at Hobart, says:—Is it too much to say that the Imperial Government will be strengthened by the Colonies being federally united? One of our earliest efforts will be made in reference to a system of Colonial defences in consultation with the naval and military experts of the Mother Country. Consider the moral force given by the isolated effort of New South Wales when that Colony sent a contingent to the Soudan. But it will be much greater when the federated Colonies act together. The defence question is only one of many others on which the Federal Council will be enabled to legislate for the benefit of the Colonies, as well as that of the Mother Country. Other nations will realise that Australia is not only united in herself, but becoming, as Mr. Service just now said at Hobart, "a buttress of the Empire, whose history we are delighted to recall, whose glories we are all proud to share, and whose Sovereign rules in the hearts of all British people throughout the whole world." Viewing the establishment of a Federal Council as a fresh advance in Australasian progress, we might say it is another proof how readily British subjects undertake the art of governing and rooting themselves as free communities in distant lands, and yet cling with loving allegiance to the grand old land they call "home."

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN.

THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P.

"There is no man, I believe, worthy of the name of a statesman—no man known to me in the sphere of political life—who is not sensible that the business of founding and of cherishing those Colonies is one which has been so distinctly entrusted by Providence to the care of the people of this country, that we should almost as soon think of renouncing the very name of Englishmen, as of renouncing the very great duties which, passing beyond the seas, are imposed upon us with regard to the more distant, but not less dear, portions of this great British Empire."

THE LATE LORD BEACONSFIELD.

"In my opinion, no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing, as much as possible, our Colonial Empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, *Secretary for Foreign Affairs.*

"To show that on their part the Colonies are not unprepared to take their share of the burden, I would point to this fact—that the Colonies of Australia are taking on their own shoulders a great part of the task of defending themselves; and though I believe that if their smaller fleets were so organised as to be comprehended in the British Imperial Fleet, it would be better for all concerned, yet, as a sign of effort and as a sign of goodwill, I think those navies are somewhat remarkable symptoms. I think allusion was also made to the causes that were making this question of confederation a very leading one, and I think there was one omitted which I will venture to dwell upon now. It is that, since the time when what I may call the nullification school of politicians held sway in this country, and it was almost deemed high treason against common-sense to hint that the Colonies were anything else than a millstone around the neck of the Mother Country, great changes have passed over the face of the world. We have seen Italy form itself into a nation; we have seen Germany form itself into a nation; we have seen everywhere a movement for nationality develop and expand even among races which we cannot consider equal to ours, and the reflection is inevitably forced upon us, why should that nation which, in our opinion, is the greatest of the nations, hold aloof from a movement so obviously in its own interest, and which in a short time will be one of absolute and imperious necessity?"

PROFESSOR BRYCE, M.P., *Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*

"The main common object to be regarded was naval and military defence. England had now all the liability, nearly all the expense, and had also the control of foreign policy involving the issue of peace or war for the Colonies as well as for herself.

"He believed the Colonies would be willing to bear their share in the expense; but if so, they might fairly ask to be consulted in foreign policy also. Thus the problem before us was how to find a means of ascertaining the wishes of the outlying part of our people, and enabling common action to be concerted with them. The suggestion of a representative Colonial Council well deserved consideration, for it would be a quicker and more effective organ of Colonial opinion than any which now existed. Such a Council would, perhaps, be in the first instance merely consultative. But a consultative body is not necessarily weak: it may be like the great councils of the kingdoms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—very influential, without defined authority to determine issues by a vote. Most of the questions of foreign policy which now arose were of consequence to our Colonies no less than to England; the whole group of Indian questions, for instance, and of the routes to India, affected the Australasian Colonies; the question of the Panama Canal affected both New Zealand and the North American Colonies. As respects the tendencies of opinion, he believed that the sentiment of the self-governing Colonies would be very similar to that of the masses of the English people—generally pacific, disposed to trust any able and upright executive in minor matters, prepared to repel by arms any attack on grave national or Imperial interests. Fully recognising the difficulties of the question, and believing that it could not be solved until Colonial opinion had been more fully elicited, he conceived that it had become a practical, and might soon be a pressing question; and so far from seeing in the suggestion of closer political relations between scattered branches of our people anything aggressive, or, to use a popular term, Jingoish, he held that, by tending to the cohesion and stability of the British Empire, it would make for the peace of the world."

HON. EVELYN ASHLEY, M.P., *Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the late Liberal Government.*

"Federation is the watchword in vogue. I care not for the name, so long as the thing is done. But there are some few, who ought to know better, who call it Utopian. Utopian! when within one short week Canada, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, all flash through the ocean offers of their gallant sons as soldiers to fight for the Mother Country. Utopian! when our Queen accepts their willing services, and we, their fellow-countrymen, grasp the hands held out to us, not so much because we at present need them, but because of the loyal and friendly spirit of which they are tokens. Why, I venture to affirm that the day that Greater Britain sees her forces, called from her various shores, marshalled side by side in face of the enemy, Federation is an accomplished fact. All that will remain for us to do is, if necessary, to clothe this new embodiment in some garb of formality. We will do so, but let us not be in too much hurry about this. It must not be the hasty, though ingenious, work of some Abbé Sieyès, but the gradual creation of Anglo-Saxon loyalty and common sense—not a hot-house plant, but one of natural growth; and we, perhaps, should be wise to remember that our own old unwritten Constitution has been more enduring, because more elastic, than many of the carefully mapped systems of some of our more logical neighbours. But there is one initial and practical step which, though small, I think important; and which, in my capacity as a member of Parliament, I venture to suggest. Some two years ago, by the courtesy and appreciation of the late Speaker, I was able to obtain an order that the High Commissioner for Canada for the time being, and the Agents-General of the other Colonies, should have a right of admission at all times to the Ambassadors' Gallery in the House of Commons. A very proper recognition of their just claims, as far as it goes. But when from time to time I look up from my seat and see my friends aloft, I feel an irresistible wish to bring them down from their empyrean, to take their seat among us all below. They are not ambassadors from foreign States, but welcome messengers from our kith and kin. . . . Now, why do I say that this step, though small, would be important? In the first place, there is a great truth in the French proverb: *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*—the first step taken, others will more easily follow. At any rate, the Colonies will feel that they are represented in the great Council of the nation. Then, again, what the Colonies most need, in my opinion, is the power of bringing, directly and without delay, pressure upon public opinion in this country and on the Cabinet. My experience is that nothing stirs a Cabinet so much as a well-laid and well-supported motion or action in the House of Commons."

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, *High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada, and formerly Premier of Nova Scotia.*

"No person can witness with greater pleasure than I do the growing feeling that is exhibited in this country among the statesmen of all parties in regard to this most important and vital question. I do not believe it possible to discover, in all the great questions that occupy the attention of the statesmen of this country, a question in which these British Islands or the great Colonial dependencies of these Islands are more vitally and deeply interested than the consideration of the means by which the tie that now binds them together may be drawn still closer and perpetuated indefinitely."

"The great Colony, the great British Dependency with which I am more intimately connected—the Dominion of Canada—has recently undergone a radical change in her constitution. Seventeen years ago, at the instance of all parties in the country, the Imperial Parliament was approached with a proposition to enable us to unite the various isolated Provinces of British North America under one Government. We obtained the hearty co-operation of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament, and a new Constitution was given, under which one Federal Government was formed, extending from the little island in the Gulf of St. Lawrence—Prince Edward's Island—to Vancouver Island in the Pacific. It would be impossible, I believe, for the most sanguine promoter of that great constitutional change to have anticipated the admirable results that have followed."

"The principle of perpetuating the connection between the Colonies and the Empire we have all at heart. It deserves our most zealous co-operation, and will be accepted, I believe, by the great dependency with which I have the honour to be connected."

PROFESSOR SEELEY, *Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge; Author of "The Expansion of England."*

"To enlighten public opinion is the main object . . . that, at least the *existence* of this vast Empire should be impressed upon the mind and imagination of every Englishman,

rich and poor, whether in England or the Colonies, is urgently necessary."

"The idea ought to be popularised and diffused—a whole literature ought to be devoted to it. The extension and vocation of the English race ought to be a subject of study to a whole staff of students, and of exposition to a brigade of popular writers; and so it ought to become familiar to all Englishmen alike."

"That this has not for a long time been the case is to me a matter of astonishment. I cannot understand the deadness of imagination which has made us remain, as it were, indifferent to the subject. I am sure that such melancholy narrowness and pettiness ought to cease. The main thing is to fill our imaginations with the great fact."

"If, when we have been once awakened to the question, and have learned to consider it with eager interest, we arrive at the conclusion that the Empire had better go, or at the still stronger conclusion that it should be left to chance to decide whether it shall go or not, be it so! In that case we shall show ourselves a unique people! But it seems more reasonable to expect that some sort of *pan-Anglicanism* will spring up. In this century, when the idea of national unity has been everywhere so powerful—in Italy, in Germany—should we alone among nations remain insensible to it? But if we do, let us at least be sure that we resist the fascination from superior wisdom—that is, after due study of the subject—not from sheer dulness and indifference, not because the motions of our spirits are dull as night!"

THE HON. W. GISBORNE (*New Zealand*), *formerly Member of the New Zealand Ministry.*

"The strength of a connection lies in the weakest part, and I wish to point out that in the state of things which will some day happen there will be a most defective link between England and her Colonies. On the one side the United Kingdom will be paying for the naval defence of outlying parts of the Colonies without any assured or regular contribution from those Colonies (I am speaking of self-governing Colonies), although in those Colonies the average taxpayer is in a better position than the average taxpayer in the United Kingdom. But what will be the state of the Colonies? The state of a Colony would be much worse. The Colony would not, like the United Kingdom, have had any voice in the origination of the war. It would have no voice in its prosecution, nor in bringing it to a speedy and honourable termination. And yet the Colony must, under any circumstances, be a serious sufferer. Trade would suffer, and in the event—a very possible event—of any sudden attack by an enemy on the Colony the damage inflicted must be very grievous, and a great loss incurred both in life and property. I would not say one word against the loyalty and the patriotism of Englishmen, either at home or abroad. They are unquestionable. But I say there are hard, practical questions, which must not be left altogether to be regulated by an impulse of feeling. There are duties and responsibilities involved attaching to all parties, which must be determined and adjusted each in its due proportion. What is the remedy for these anomalies? I say the confederation of independent groups of Colonies, however useful for certain purposes, is no remedy for these anomalies. It may be questioned whether this confederation of independent groups is even an aid to the Imperial confederation to which we wish to attain. The only remedy consists in some sort of Imperial confederation, some kind of Imperial confederation for the external defence of the whole Empire. I believe in that will lie the true remedy for the anomalous state of the relations between England and the Colonies if England went to war with a naval power, and that in that lies the only approach to a permanent unity of the Empire. I believe, if that could be effected, anything which must be required to supplement or perfect that unity could be attained afterwards with perfect ease. Let us approach the question, if possible, in that direction. Let us try by some means to put prominently this question of Imperial confederation for external defence before the public, so that it may elicit public discussion throughout the Empire, with a fair prospect of arriving at some practical conclusion. Once accomplish some such kind of confederation, and I believe the danger of disintegration of the Empire would at once cease, and the process of incorporation would at once begin."

MAJOR ATKINSON, M.H.R., *late Premier of New Zealand.*

"I do not believe it is possible that the bond which is keeping us together at the present time will bear any great strain. It will have to be drawn closer or be very much slackened. Now, I am very strongly of the opinion that the happiness of a great part of the human race depends upon the Federation of the British people. . . . I believe there is no difficulty that cannot be overcome; but I say whatever difficulty there is has got to be overcome, because if ever we are to be that power in the world which we ought to be, and if we are to preserve happiness to the English-speaking races, it will be by Federation."

DEPUTATION TO LORD GRANVILLE ON STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION.

AMONG the members of the important deputation which waited on the Secretary of State for the Colonies a short time since, for the purpose of urging on the attention of the Government the subject of State-aided colonisation, were representatives of the National Association for State-Directed Colonisation, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Central Emigration Society, the Colonial Emigration Society, the Manchester Operative Cotton Spinners, the Leicester Unemployed Committee, the Sheffield Labour Council, the Newcastle-on-Tyne Trades Council, the Girls' Friendly Society and Emigration Association, the East End Emigration Fund, and the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union.

A full and official report of what took place has just been published, and inasmuch as the utterances of those who represent the classes specially concerned in the question are of the very last importance in any consideration of it, and as nothing but the most meagre report has as yet appeared, we present to the readers of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* the following.

MR. ALFRED SIMMONS (Secretary of the National Association for State-Directed Colonisation, and representative of the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union), after descanting on the prevailing depression, and the poverty and perplexity of many of the labouring classes, said:—

Our proposal is that, in harmony with the Colonial Governments, the Home Government should establish a Board for Emigration and Colonization purposes; that by public loan, or otherwise (but not from the rates or taxes) the Government should secure and provide a substantial sum of money; that unemployed people who will voluntarily proceed to our own Colonies may be enabled to do so under certain clearly defined conditions. At present, unfortunately, our Colonies are much in the same condition, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, as we are at home: depression rules, and labour is at a discount; consequently, it would be necessary for the Colonial Governments to place at the disposal of the Home Government, or of the Board to be created for the purpose, tracts of Colonial Crown lands; and upon these lands, an unlimited number of people might be advantageously settled under a carefully devised system of Colonisation. No possible objection could be raised to this proposal by the Colonial working people, because large agricultural settlements being created, and not too far removed from Colonial towns, there would rapidly emanate from those settlements a demand for all those articles and necessities that the mechanical trades of the towns provide. The advantages to Colonial tradesmen, and Colonial working-men, would be very great. (Hear, hear.) We suggest, my Lord, that the cost of sending out the people, and settling them down as Colonial peasant farmers, should be repaid by them in easy instalments, with a small percentage added to cover the necessary administrative charges. (Hear, hear.) Here, my Lord, I would point your attention to a distinction I think it is advisable to draw. Our proposal is for a State-directed system of Colonisation, rather than for that which is generally described as a State-aided system. We do not ask, as I have stated, for public rates or taxes to be used for this purpose; we ask for a public loan, to be repaid to those who lend it. State-aided Emigration is understood to mean aid by means of the State, and from the State Exchequer. State-directed Colonisation we interpret to mean that the State, by appointed officials, shall direct the Colonisation, but that the public revenues are not to be used for the purpose. Then, my Lord, our proposal is that not a fraction of public money should be used for this purpose. On the contrary, the people proposed to be Colonised are rapidly descending into pauperism. Many of them—a very large proportion—will very speedily become a burden upon our parish rates, unless they are enabled to remove. We ask the Government then to perform a great and a good deed that will positively cost nothing to the State, but will certainly, in the near future, save millions of money to the ratepayers of this country.

MR. J. MAUDSLEY (Manchester Trades' Council): My Lord, with regard to this business I have come from one of our large manufacturing centres. It may be presumed, in the first place, that we are not, perhaps, so directly interested in this question as in others, inasmuch as we could not for a moment presume that we could transfer our artisans and mechanical workers to agricultural districts, and make them into agriculturists, all at once. We are none the less, however, affected by the depression which we find, not only in our large centres of industry, but also in the agricultural districts. We find that whilst our producing capacity, with regard to manufactures, is probably increasing from year to year, we also find that this increase of producing capacity does not require an increase in the number of hands. On account of the improvements in machinery, and from other causes, we find that whatever increase we have in the trade, is fully compensated for, or reduced by the improved power of machinery; and in the present time, in the cotton trade, and in many others, although we are producing from ten to twenty-five per cent more than we did many years ago, we are employing actually fewer hands. You will therefore see that this movement, going on with a corresponding increase in the population, means that a large proportion of our people must be unemployed. While, if we add to this, that we have a large number of working-people from the agricultural districts coming to our centres of population, I think you will agree with me that it accounts very largely for what we now hear as to what is going on all over the country. My Lord, then we consider that if our surplus agricultural population, in place of being drafted to towns, were drafted to the spare lands of our Colonies, thereby making the Colonists produce food for us, thereby keeping down the cost of our food, and producing

customers for our manufactured goods—we should have accomplished one of the best results, and one of the best means for getting rid of the surplus population, which is now becoming dangerous to the country. I do not profess, and I do not wish, at present, to go into the details of it; I think you have had sufficient of that from Mr. Simmons. My object is more to show you that we are thoroughly in sympathy with it. We have exerted every means at our command for the purpose of getting the opinions of the working population of Lancashire on this question; and almost unanimously—I might say quite unanimously—as far as the hearings of our intention are understood, it has been endorsed by the whole population of the country. I have much pleasure, my Lord, in asking, that as far as practicable, you will give us your assistance in this matter. (Applause.)

MR. MERRICK (Leicester Unemployed Committee): My Lord, come from the Midland Counties, where there is a general expression of sympathy in the objects which our deputation to-day are seeking to accomplish. The condition of many of the working people in our districts is very wretched indeed; they would work, but they cannot get it to do. Some hundreds, if not thousands, are either totally out of employment or only partially employed. That state of things has been actually increasing during the last ten years. We see, as my friend has just stated, in manufacturing centres, that the improvements in machinery go on more rapidly, producing large quantities of goods, and that means a much lesser number to be employed, and there is a greatly increased population. And therefore it follows that some steps must be taken to remove the surplus population of the unemployed labourers, or the result may be most disastrous. I quite believe that there are remedies which may be adopted in our own country to reduce the evil to a certain extent; but the extent to which the working-class is unemployed is so very great, and the probability is, according to the law of natural increase, the population will go on increasing—so that this would be a permanent means, as well as a present help, to reduce the present numbers of the unemployed in our midst. I am sure your Lordship will know the condition of the people is such that only those who witness it from day to day could at all form any adequate conception of it. What is really needed, if possible, would be present help; but if that cannot be obtained, the earnest and prompt attention of the Government should certainly be directed to some means by which the distress of the country could be relieved from the condition in which the people are found at present in large numbers. Therefore, I hope your Lordship will be kind enough to entertain the proposal made, and give it your most favourable consideration. (Hear, hear.)

MR. E. MEMMOTT (Sheffield Labour Council): My Lord, I am very sorry, following the strain of some of the previous speakers, to inform your Lordship that very great distress prevails in our town; so much so, that the Mayor of Sheffield to-day is calling a public meeting in order to see what temporary relief can be given. But, my Lord, we are wanting a system to be inaugurated that shall give permanent relief. We are tired of wasting our energies month after month, and year after year, to see our people walking about for work, and cannot find it. It behoves us to adopt some means whereby these people may be fed. The opinion of a number of our Sheffield working-men is that we have not even done our best to find employment in our own country; for it is said that there are yet millions of acres of land capable of cultivation. If the people had the means at their disposal, and facilities were offered, they might be producing food on these broad acres, and finding us employment in the towns, to make them steam ploughs and other things. If, however, my Lord, the land of this country is so locked up that we cannot get access to it, then we come before your Lordship and ask that means may be provided whereby the honest poor may be carried to lands where they are more free. I cannot enlighten your Lordship more than to say that what we are asking for is not a home for our criminal or pauper population. As you are aware, my Lord, the population of this country is increasing rapidly. The town I have come from, in the last half century, has been increased more than sixfold. Whereas, about fifty years ago, we were a small town of some 40,000 population, to-day, my Lord, we number 306,000. We have since then introduced very largely into our manufacturing concerns machinery of all kinds. We have sent into the country districts steam ploughs, and that sort of thing, and that has driven the men back again into the towns to help us to do the work. Then we have invented steam-hammers, and we have taken away from the workmen the work that they formerly had to manipulate, and we do as much with the steam-hammer as perhaps ten or twenty men would do by hand-labour. Then we have these people who have come out of the country districts to do our menial work thrown upon our hands, hanging about, competing in the market, reducing the wages, and, altogether, a burden to themselves and to their fellows. Now, my Lord, we are wanting something, if it can be done, whereby those who are willing to work may be able to support themselves and families, and at the same time of becoming customers of ours—giving us their produce, and taking in return our handicraft. (Hear, hear.)

WE have to acknowledge two handsome volumes of a work published in 1884, by Mr. J. Stanley Little, entitled "South Africa, a Sketch Book of Men and Manners, with an Appendix upon the present situation in South Africa, and upon the affairs of Zululand, the Transvaal, and Bechuanaland, with especial reference to the Boer Mission to England." These volumes are presented by the author, to whom our best thanks are due. Other authors of works bearing on Imperial and Colonial Questions might deem the example of Mr. Little worthy of imitation. This work, we believe, is still obtainable. Messrs. W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., are the publishers.

LITERATURE.

The History of the late 63rd (West Suffolk) Regiment. By Major James Slack, late 63rd Regiment. London: Simpkin & Co.

THE writer of this book in his preface says "He trusts the book may be found useful for reference, as well as of some interest, to both officers and men; and that, inspired by this record of the gallant deeds done, the sufferings and privations borne with patience and fortitude, both by officers and men, under the most trying circumstances, they will, when opportunity offers, again display the same heroic valour, patience, and fortitude, that have been hitherto shown by the regiment in every part of the world." If the Major has written his book specially for his late regiment, he could not probably have done much better than he has done; but if he wrote for the general public as well, then he made a mistake when he arranged his book on the plan of the "Annual Register." As a "book of chronicles" it may, and no doubt will, be "useful for reference, as well as of some interest," to successive generations of officers and men in the 1st Battalion Manchester Regiment, once "the old 63rd;" but the general reading public require books of another style. A great deal of what one finds here the general reader would be inclined to skip. Here and there are interesting pages, but it is only where the writer lapses into narrative form, and tells his story in a straightforward and graphic way, as he would, say, to an interested group of young recruits. This is the only criticism of an unfavourable kind which we have to offer respecting the book, which otherwise is very creditably done. The 1st Battalion Manchester Regiment has a long record of gallant achievements, and if only this book is read by the young soldiers who from time to time enter it, it cannot fail to encourage in them a healthy and useful *esprit de corps*. The author's story itself, as far as it is allowed to appear, should be an inspiration to them, for the Major, it appears, belongs to that comparatively small, but highly honourable, class of officers who, by force of character, ability, and gallantry, have climbed up from the ranks to positions of high command in their respective regiments.

Our Administration of India. By H. A. D. Phillips, Bengal Civil Service. London: Thacker & Co., 87, Newgate Street, 1886.

THIS is a book full of interest for any Englishman who wishes to know the detailed management of our Indian Empire. Mr. Phillips takes the department of a Collector in a Bengal district as his text, promising in a companion volume to take the other half of the District Officer's dual existence, viz., his duties as a magistrate. We have a clear and intelligible statement of the land tenures under the Government, and of the principles and methods of annual payments in acknowledgment, from an official who has taken an active part in the collection of money and the settlement of land, and is satisfied that though there are flaws in the working of the system, our treatment of the native holders is enlightened, just, and very liberal. He writes vigorously about the mischief and misrepresentation of the native press, and is anxious that people at home should not be led into the conclusions to which its supporters would bring them. It is a matter of notoriety, no less than of regret, that the foulest attacks are made in the native press, wantonly and without foundation, upon British officials, and that the officials do not think it worth while to contradict where they are not allowed by the Indian Government to prosecute. So much as that it is quite safe to say, without taking one side or the other in the controversy between the two parties of Europeans. The insubordinate conduct of a portion of the native Bar is another point on which there can practically be no difference of opinion among Europeans.

Mr. Phillips is avowedly a strong defender of the British rule in India, and a strong opponent of the party which sent a Commission over last year to influence the elections in the interests of the "friends of India." He condemns the native associations for rejecting "true and tried servants of India such as Sir Richard Temple and Sir James Fergusson, and selecting men such as Sir J. B. Phear, Messrs. Ghose, etc., as deserving of the support of the Indian public," and quotes with approval the declaration of a leading Bombay merchant, that "what is needed to stamp a man as India's friend is unbridled denunciation of England and all her works." "Mr. Ghose's speeches contained some grossly insulting and offensive remarks regarding English men and English women, which, I am informed, were carefully excised before the book was published in England." "Sir J. Phear is well known in India as the judge whose rulings and decisions brought criminal administration in the Mofussil almost to a deadlock, and necessitated the passing of the Code of 1872, in connection with which the name of Sir James Stephen will always be gratefully and honourably remembered;" and so on.

There are here and there in the book some highly suggestive remarks on subjects which are too often treated as beyond argument; such, for instance, as the need of distinguishing between the abuse and the use of opium, the evil of free trade in opium as contrasted with Government monopoly, and the propriety of encouraging the consumption of rice beer. The European even finds himself defended against the ordinary charge of taking drunkenness with him to the natives, by the fact that the natives are drinkers by immemorial tradition, and that the drunkenness in India is infinitesimally small as compared with that at home.

The Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire, showing the Possessions throughout the World of the British People, their Extent, Population, and Revenue. By T. B. Johnston, Geographer to the Queen. Dedicated to C. E. Howard Vincent, Esq., C.B., M.P., 1886.

Handbook to accompany the "Howard Vincent" Map of the British Empire. W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London, 1886.

THIS large, handsome, and well-executed map has been published during the past month, and a copy of it is now before us, adorning our office wall. It was certainly a desideratum, and will be of great use.

It gives not only the extent, population, and revenue, of the different parts of the Empire, but shows the telegraphs, railways, coaling stations, steamboat routes and distances, and the Royal Navy stations. Under the heading of "Approximate Statistics," it shows the amount, in money, of the "Mutual Trade," and indicates our "Armed Defensive Strength." It is almost startling to be told that we have 500 war-ships, 106,000 sailors, 2,250,000 soldiers (regular, reserved, retired, or of the great police army of order), and 20,000 cannon; at the same time, it is most satisfactory to realise that our armed defensive strength is so great as it must be, even after due allowance has been made.

We note that under the heading of "References" the exemplifications of "Telegraphs" and "Railways" are omitted. This we presume is an oversight; it could scarcely have been done wittingly. We note, too, that the statistics given as to the area and population of the several Australian Colonies do not coincide with some recently given by the Melbourne *Argus*. No doubt, however, the former have been compiled from official sources, and are to be relied on.

Another feature of this excellent chart is a small corner "Map of the World, showing the British Possessions in 1786." This, of course, was just after the obstinacy of George III. had lost us our thirteen American Colonies, and when we were stripped very bare. The contrast between the British Empire in 1786 and 1886 is very striking. It is impossible to look on this map and see what a magnificent heritage the British people have, and not wish—especially when its meaning and glorious possibilities are understood—to preserve it.

The Hand-book contains an address delivered by Mr. Howard Vincent in the Albert Hall, Sheffield, October 15th, 1885, on "The Colonies and Dependencies of the British People; their Trade with the Mother Country, and Openings for English Men and Women;" a list of the Colonies and Dependencies, in which it is stated where they are situated, and how and when they were acquired; and details as to the naval and military strength of the Empire.

We are thankful for this new cartographical contribution to our study of Imperial problems, and feel that it reflects much credit on all who have taken part in the production of it.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

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(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

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British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec. Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

Imperial Federation.

SATURDAY, MAY I, 1886.

In Memoriam.

OUR LATE CHAIRMAN.

"The man who makes this one of the great objects of his life will find that all the problems that beset us will be aided in their solution by this firm and consolidated alliance with our free-speaking, freedom-loving countrymen over the seas."—Vide Speech of RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., at Cambridge, March 14th, 1885.

LONG before these lines are in the hands of our readers the telegraph and the press will have told the tale that a great Englishman is dead. The news has been already echoed and re-echoed throughout our Empire, all parts of which have been thus drawn closer together by common sorrow for a common loss. Wherever the Union Jack flies men have felt, and for many a day will feel, that they have lost one on whose judgment they could rely, on whose courage to express it they could depend. Neither boundaries, nor flags, nor devices which mark or symbolise the diverse interests into which the world is divided, can, however, restrain or confine the homage paid to capacity and courage. These qualities command the admiration of mankind, and it was because MR. FORSTER was so conspicuous above his fellow men by their possession that his life was valued, and his death lamented, far beyond the limits of the dominions of the QUEEN. While the Empire mourns its trusty champion, and England deplores one of her stoutest sons, other nationalities and other peoples mingle their regrets with our sorrow that this great and sturdy Yorkshireman is no more.

When we on the 5th of April lost a statesman, the weak and oppressed of the earth also lost a friend. These are not the pages in which to chronicle the events of that eventful life, nor to review the triumphs of an honoured career. This is not the place to attempt even a brief record of manifold services rendered to his Sovereign, the State, and to humanity. Nor can we now dwell upon noble words uttered and great deeds done by him in defence of the righteous claims of subject races, and the legitimate rights of oppressed nationalities. They follow in natural sequence to the character of the man. Gifted with a robust intellect, practical wisdom, and tenacity of purpose, he has written on the statutes of the realm, or has fixed in the hearts of men, the memorials of his work. It is as little our object as it is beyond our power to tell the story of his life here. We can only rudely draw the rough outlines of a great personality which defies cavil and disarms criticism. His life was one long and determined protest against tampering with truth. Opportunist doctrines of expediency were hateful to the rugged honesty of his whole nature. He despised them as stratagems by which to escape responsibility, as excuses for avoiding the discharge of duty. Persistent in purpose, resolute and strong, his aims were broad, clear, and distinct. His language was never ambiguous, his fervour was never feigned. Calmness of judgment, combined with intellectual power, made him eminent. An abiding sense of duty, and fearlessness in its discharge, made him great. The asperities of party warfare, the turmoil of political strife, with which we in these columns have nothing to do but to ignore, only served to show in bolder relief what manner of man he was. The great dead gone before him have left to England no nobler example of sagacity, honesty, and courage, than he

who amidst the lamentations of an Empire was laid, on the roth of last month, in his last resting-place at Burley.

The position MR. FORSTER occupied in the local politics of the United Kingdom we leave to others to describe. What the people of these islands owe to him are matters of current history—enduring landmarks on the road of our national progress. It is, however, our duty to say a few brief words respecting the commanding place he, and he alone, filled in the far wider sphere of Imperial affairs.

From the course marked out by the great principles and traditions of British statesmanship, which built up our Empire as it is to-day, MR. FORSTER never swerved. With unshaken faith, he believed that England's only road to national and Imperial honour was the simple path of duty. His counsel was always clear, his declarations always distinct, that we should not fear to face our responsibilities nor falter in the discharge of our obligations. The extent of our responsibilities, the diversities of our obligations—mainly due to the growth and progress of our Empire beyond sea—were ever present to his mind. Their constant contemplation did but deepen his convictions and give width to his grasp. What perplexed and dismayed others, helped to fix his resolve; that which made decision in others halt between two opinions, only made him more firm in opinion. With unerring instinct he applied the great principles and traditions of the past to the changed conditions of our Empire, and the changing necessities of our own time. These were qualities which combined to make MR. FORSTER the one man in England whom Greater Britain trusted before all others. The "passionate loyalty"—to quote LORD ROSEBURY—of our Colonies and dependencies to the Mother Country, owes much, if not all, its strength to an honest faith that what England was in the past, she is now, and will be in the future. Her honour is their honour, her interests are their interests. So long as England is true to herself, so long will they be true to her. They, therefore, judge the statesmen of England of to-day by comparing them with those of England in the past. Narrow party issues here, purely local in their origin and result, have but little attractions for our fellow subjects beyond sea. What we, crowded together in these islands, make burning questions and watch with feverish excitement, are often by them but coldly regarded. They gauge English statesmen by a high Imperial standard, they use no other and no smaller tests. Come what may, they expect English statesmen to be true to their traditions. They expect from them directness of speech and a promptness to act in the wide sphere of the world's politics. They look to them for a frank recognition of the facts of their own growth, for an honest appreciation of the weight of the demands of their own interests, and a large hearted sympathy with their own difficulties and aspirations. MR. FORSTER, therefore, was their type of a true statesman. In that far-off island they still call "home," he, above all other men, was distinguished by a mastery of the facts of their progress. He, beyond all others, attached to these facts their full meaning and importance. No matter in what quarter of our far-reaching Empire difficulties and dangers arose, men there in the hour of their perplexity, and in the time of their trouble, turned instinctively to MR. FORSTER—not merely for generous sympathy, but for practical advice and real help. Their trust in him he never betrayed, their faith in the wisdom of his counsel they never found misplaced. The force of his character, the clearness of his aim, his blunt honesty and undaunted courage, recalled to them the by-gone figures of the olden time—of that time when the foundations of our Empire were laid by men who feared

nothing but to fall short of the fullest measure of their duty to their country, and who, therefore, earned for themselves undying renown.

Age and accumulated wealth produce much the same effects on nations as on men. The power of decision declines, and a love of ease prevails. The prophets of smooth things find favour, the policy which apparently saves trouble gains applause. That which may satisfy us at home may not satisfy the younger and more vigorous commonwealths under our flag. These are but entering upon the path England long ago trod. Conscious of expanding power and coming strength, they mean to go forward, and not to stand still. They look to England to lead in a general advance, and regard it as their Imperial birthright that the statesmen of England shall not be weak, but strong. The exigencies of parties at home, to which we attach on both sides so much weight, has no weight with them. They regard the results from their own point of view, not ours. They draw a sharp dividing line between the internal politics of the United Kingdom and the general politics of the Empire. We at home, in the same way, though not so clearly, distinguish between what is purely local in the politics of self-governed Colonies and their external affairs, which are of common concern to the whole Empire. The votes of the United Kingdom often represent no more than local feeling on a purely local question. The results may place Imperial power in the hands of those in whom an overwhelming majority of the QUEEN'S subjects beyond sea have no confidence. Such a result tends directly not towards Imperial unity, but to disruption. The more distinctly the purely local concerns of the people of the United Kingdom assert their influence in the formation of Imperial administrations, the more clearly will it appear that the Empire is outgrowing its Constitution. The growth and extension of the interests of our Colonies are forces driving us towards "the parting of the ways." One leads to unity, the other to separation. At home are forces, equally potent, though less visible, leading onward to the same point. The Colonies will not for ever endure a system which sacrifices their Imperial interests to the convenience of party arrangements at home. They will not long continue to silently acquiesce in the exclusion of men they most trust from offices of Imperial administration which are charged with the conduct of their affairs. The disposal of the seals of the Colonial Office as a reward for party allegiance, and regardless of Colonial opinion, must, sooner or later, bring to us from across the sea open and vigorous protests. It cannot be very long before the great Colonies resent their affairs being fumbled with by our party politicians. The time is perhaps nearer than many think when these great British communities will demand as a right that they shall be consulted in the selection of the statesmen to whose keeping their external interests are committed. That great practical difficulties have not arisen, that the evils of the existing system have not produced serious consequences, is largely to be attributed to the powerful moderating influence which MR. FORSTER exercised. That influence was as wide as our Empire, and ever exerted to promote harmony within it. The Colonies and dependencies trusted to his judgment, and followed his counsels. The Colonial Office feared his impartial and outspoken criticism. That great and active influence in the internal affairs of the Empire is now gone for ever. Time and events can only make us miss it the more. It is a remarkable fact that he on whom the Empire leaned for guidance in Colonial affairs never held the seals of the Colonial Office. Strong, however, in the strength of his own uprightness; strong in his grasp of Colonial circumstances and Imperial facts; steadfast in purpose and firm in principle, the unofficial services he rendered to the

Colonies will live in history long after even the names of Ministers for the Colonies of his own time are forgotten. The memory of the great survives the recollection of the offices held by the small.

In his last speech at Bradford he used these words:—"You know that there is one thing more than another I hope to live for, and to take part in politically; it is that before I die I may see the British realm, a realm extending all the world over, and her children whom she has sent out, themselves self-governing communities, united together in a bond of peace that shall be an example to the world."

The promised land he was not permitted to see. Death has removed him from our midst, and has left the chair of the League vacant. That event has thrown on one and all the branches, and on every individual member of the League, new and increased responsibilities. Those who promote or join any great public movement incur responsibility—the responsibility of doing earnestly and well their duty to promote in every way the object they hope to attain by organisation and association. "Be very careful," said MR. FORSTER, "about incurring responsibilities, but when you do incur them, fulfil them."

The Imperial Federation League, as all the world knows, owes its foundation to him. Down to the last hours of his life his interest in it never flagged, the extreme importance he attached to the movement did not abate. It was the only public body to the affairs of which he gave constant and personal supervision; the only one of which he was chairman. Great caution was exercised, and many months were spent in careful consideration, before the responsibility of starting this great movement was incurred. Little more than sixteen months have elapsed since the League was founded, yet it has spread itself all over the Empire. MR. FORSTER'S study of foreign affairs; his constant contact with Colonial thought; his intimate acquaintance with popular instincts at home; his knowledge of the dead weight in our Parliamentary and departmental machinery; and his varied practical experience as a statesman and Cabinet Minister, all combined to convince him that the Empire is exposed to grave and rapidly growing dangers—dangers which we must face, and must lose no time in preparing to meet, if the unity of the Empire is to be preserved. The first essential steps necessary, are the awakening of popular attention throughout the length and breadth of the Empire to the facts of common concern to all within it, and to promote public discussion of these facts in the Colonies, the dependencies, and at home. This, as all our readers are aware, is the work the League was founded to do, and the work it is doing and will continue to do. This JOURNAL was started for that purpose and for no other. Of the absolute necessity for this publication, MR. FORSTER was convinced. The rules, regulations, and system of management, under which it is conducted, were framed under his personal supervision. In the autumn of last year, though stricken with that illness which was his last, he neither relaxed his interest nor withheld his wise counsel. Much that has been done by the League, and promoted in this JOURNAL, we owe to advice given by him under circumstances of physical weariness and pain. The spirit of patriotism, so strong in him, overcame bodily weakness. His conviction as to the necessities of advancing, in every practical way, our cause, seemed to deepen as he neared his death. To the last Executive Committee meeting held during his life, and not many days before it closed, he sent verbally his views respecting a memorandum of suggested action that the Committee was called to consider. He impressed upon us the desirability of the League, by the combined action of all its branches, now taking cautious but firm steps forward. He dwelt upon the necessity of promoting inquiry, discussion, and a

common effort to bring about cheaper postal service between the Mother Country and the Colonies and dependencies; this he regarded as a practical step necessary to assist the operations of the trade of the Empire, and to encourage interchange of thoughts, opinions, and information between the working classes throughout the Empire. He approved of our making efforts to popularise information as to the growth and current progress of the trade of the Empire. He viewed with favour judicious action being taken to secure more popular appreciation of the vast difference between the movements of population within the limits of our own Empire, and loss of population and producing power by emigration beyond them. He thought that much more ought to be done than is done to familiarise the youth of the Mother Country with the history, conditions, and present progress of our Colonies and dependencies. In these and similar matters he saw a field for immediate, useful, and practical action for the branches of the League at home. The spread of knowledge of a specific character is the first necessity to the advance of our great cause—Imperial Federation. That great aim demands that no steps towards it, however subordinate or small, shall be neglected. To our branches over the sea we look to take such action as they consider suitable to their own localities, and to make suggestions to us at home for our guidance and co-operation. The fundamental principle of the organisation of the *League* is the provision of adequate machinery by which all parts of the Empire shall be kept in touch on all matters of common concern, and by which British opinion abroad may be concentrated and brought to bear on British opinion at home. Whatever form of Federation may be best suited to the actual and real requirements of the Empire, must be developed by necessity. It cannot be artificially forced. Each step must be taken as circumstances demand. Each must be made by mutual consent for the mutual advantage of the Colonies and the Mother Country. The objects it has to accomplish are the maintenance and development of the common interest, and the organised defence of the common rights of the British Empire, while preserving to all self-governed communities absolute internal control of their local affairs.

The most vital, the most urgent matter, and one of gravest concern to every portion of the Empire, is that relating to our position, under existing circumstances, in war. An organised defence of such an Empire as ours cannot be improvised in a day, a month, or a year. The extent and distribution of the territories of the Empire, the magnitude and area of its maritime interests, the necessary varieties of its internal constitutions, and the diversities of its systems of fragmentary action, all combine to make adequate defence impossible, except by mutual arrangements for joint action previously determined and carefully developed. These necessary arrangements for common safety cannot be neglected without peril. We have not made, nor are we, as an Empire, making any real honest attempt to face this question in its entirety. Some parts of the Empire do one thing, others another—many do nothing at all—to provide means of defence. All look to the United Kingdom for general security. At home one party comes into office, examines, inquires, does something or nothing, and then goes out, to be succeeded by the other party, which does the same, or perhaps undoes the results of the spasmodic efforts of its predecessors, hastily made under the influence and pressure of popular panic.

The Governments in the Colonies and dependencies communicate their wants to the Colonial Office, which refers the matter to the War Office and Admiralty; these last-named departments refer the questions out to the

admirals and generals abroad, who write home; and then the interchange of a triangular correspondence between Downing Street, Whitehall, and Pall Mall, is renewed. In a concentrated form it is transmitted back to the Governments who initiated it—"for further consideration." The truth is our Empire has long ago outgrown its constitutional and departmental systems on which provisions for its defence depend.

Of this Mr. FORSTER was painfully aware. The gravity of the situation he deeply felt; its ever accumulating danger he clearly foresaw. Acquainted with the most eminent naval, military, and Colonial authorities; possessing practical knowledge of the workings of our great departments; and with a long experience of public life and of the difficulties of administration, he knew but too well the full meaning and extent of the danger to which, under its existing system, the Empire is exposed. It was to this subject the closing words of his last message to the Executive Committee had reference. They were called forth by propositions submitted for its consideration, and upon which Mr. FORSTER's advice was sought. These propositions were in effect as follows:—That for the organised and efficient defence in war of the sea-commerce of the Empire, mutual arrangements and joint action between the Mother Country, the Colonies, and dependencies, are necessary. That a basis for such mutual arrangements and joint action could best be arrived at by an official BRITISH CONFERENCE called by HER MAJESTY'S authority and composed of accredited representatives appointed by Colonies having responsible Governments, and of representatives appointed by the United Kingdom. That the League throughout the Empire should be invited to consider these propositions, and, if approved of, should use its organisation to promote the accomplishment of their object.

"This suggestion," Mr. FORSTER said, "is deserving of most serious and thorough consideration. BEAR IN MIND YOU CANNOT MAKE IT TOO CLEAR THAT NO MEDDLING BY THE MOTHER COUNTRY WITH THE TAXATION OR INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COLONIES IS PROPOSED."

Having put on record these, his last words to the League, we lay down the pen by his vacant chair in grief.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

LITTLE did we think, in making a note in our last of the—as it seemed—assured return to health of the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, that in this number we should have to record his death. Such, however, is the sad duty which has fallen to us, and we discharge it with sincere sorrow. A sudden relapse, a brief period of suspense and anxiety, and then, on April 5th, the end came.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee, held on Thursday, the 15th ult., the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That we record our deep sorrow at the death of our first Chairman, the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., to whom the Imperial Federation League owes its existence, and under whose guidance it has, in sixteen months, spread throughout the Empire he so faithfully and conspicuously served. We hereby express our conviction that the members of the League will most suitably mark their sense of his great services by special exertions to increase the influence and power of the association which he founded, to further its objects, and to advance the cause with which Mr. FORSTER's name will ever be identified—the permanent unity of the British Empire." The names of those who were present at this meeting will be found in another part of this impression.

At a meeting of the committee of the Liverpool branch of the League, held on the 5th ult., the news of the death of MR. FORSTER was received with very great regret. There was a large attendance, and, upon the motion of the HON. H. HOLBROOK, seconded by COUNCILLOR J. HOULDING, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That this meeting of the Liverpool branch of the Imperial Federation League has heard with profound regret the intelligence of the death of the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, the President of the League, and desires that the expression of its warm sympathy be forwarded to the head office at the loss of its President, and to the relatives of the deceased."

THE members of the committee of the Newcastle branch have also sent a communication expressive of "the deep sense of loss felt by the members of this branch at the death of our President, the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, and their keen appreciation of the services that he rendered to the cause of Federation during life."

In a leader on April 6th, the day on which the morning papers made the sad announcement, the *Times* declared—and in doing so declared no more than the truth—"MR. FORSTER'S death, untimely, but not wholly unexpected, will sober and sadden the country at this moment of unexampled anxiety and suspense." In a similar strain spoke all the papers, both metropolitan and provincial, and nothing could have shown more impressively how large a place MR. FORSTER had occupied, and how deep was the sense of national loss universally experienced, than the utterances of the press.

IN the same leader it is said:—"If we survey MR. FORSTER'S speeches on Colonial and foreign policy, we shall find them inspired throughout by two dominant ideas—a sympathy with the oppressed of every race and clime, and a desire to see the Empire of England consolidated in benevolence and justice, unity and strength." The truth of this none qualified to judge can dispute. By these two ideas he was fully inspired, his love of liberty being as dominant as his patriotism, and both of an unusually enlightened kind. He knew how to distinguish liberty from the deceiver that sometimes assumes her garb, and his patriotism, though nothing short of a passion with him, never interfered with his love of his kind, of every race and nation, and a just and even generous appreciation of their rights and claims.

THOSE who represented the League at the funeral service included the following:—Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for South Australia); Mr. T. H. Baylis, Q.C.; Capt. J. C. R. Colomb; Mr. Sebright Green (Hon. Sec. of the Liverpool Branch); Lieut.-Gen. Lowry, C.B.; Mr. F. P. Labilliere; Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for New South Wales); Mr. Murray Smith, C.M.G. (outgoing Agent-General for Victoria); Mr. Stephen A. Swaine; Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada); Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P.; and the Secretary of the League. These gentlemen placed upon the coffin a large wreath of laurels, with which was interwoven the Union Jack, bearing the following inscription:—"A tribute of admiration and of sorrow from the Imperial Federation League in the Mother Country, Canada, Australasia, South Africa, the West Indies, and throughout the Empire served so well by the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER." Seats were assigned to them in the lantern. After the deputations walked members from either House, who occupied places in the choir.

THE interment took place on April 10th, in the cemetery at Menstone, Burley-in-Wharfedale, Yorkshire, where a vast concourse gathered, variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand. The day before, previous to the removal of the corpse from London, a funeral service, was held at Westminster Abbey, conducted by DEAN BRADLEY, when there was a very large attendance of the friends and admirers of the deceased statesman. Among those who followed in the procession, next to the chief mourners, were MR. GLADSTONE, LORD ROSEBERY, and other prominent members of the Government. Next to these came the members of the deputation from the Imperial Federation League, the League being the only public body of which MR. FORSTER was Chairman, or President, at the time of his decease.

THE loss which the League has sustained is heavy, but thanks to the influence, wisdom, and zealous labours of MR. FORSTER, it has attained to such a position of strength and stability that no one man, however distinguished or influential, is necessary to its existence and usefulness. "LINCOLN is dead, but the Government at Washington lives!" exclaimed GARFIELD to the stunned and bewildered crowd which had gathered in front of his hotel, when the news had spread of PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S assassination. Its Chairman has been claimed by death, but the League lives, and he lives in it and by it. It was largely his creation, and is the depository of a living influence of his which survives him. His friends, and all who admired his character, and endorsed his views, will best honour his memory by promoting the cause he loved so well, and with whose advancement he believed the future welfare of the peoples of Great and Greater Britain was so intimately bound up.

THE question of Imperial Federation will be brought before the House of Lords on May 17th, by LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL.

THE motion of MR. HENNIKER HEATON in the House of Commons on March 30th was to the following effect:—"That the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Governments with a view to establishing a universal penny postage system." The motion was followed by an amendment by MR. JAMES HUTTON, in favour of the system being extended, not to the whole world, but to the British Empire. The result of the debate was that the amendment was negatived without a division, while MR. HEATON got only 127 in support of his motion, there being 258 against it.

WE publish this month the second part of MR. JEHU MATTHEWS' able article on "The Nature and Need of Imperial Federation." He is a Canadian who has been a close student of Imperial and Colonial questions for many years. His book entitled, "A Colonist on the Colonial Question," is, we believe, now out of print, but it will repay perusal by any of our readers who can get sight of a copy. If we mistake not, MR. MATTHEWS has been considering the advisability of issuing a revised edition of it. The articles he has been good enough to favour us with are worthy of attention, as expressing his present views on the great question of which they treat.

THE article by MR. J. STANLEY-LITTLE on "An Imperial Council and its Chief," will no doubt excite thought, and probably, on the part of some, antagonistic thought. MR. LITTLE'S plea for "a one-man-power policy," and "absolutism," even though it be *only* in our foreign relations and in questions of peace and war, will be likely to find small

favour in the eyes of Britons, whether at home or in the Colonies. Some other parts of the article few will find it difficult to agree with, while the whole of it is worthy of respectful consideration as containing the opinions of a cultured and thinking man. Let it be understood—this, indeed, it is now, perhaps, unnecessary to say—that contributors to this JOURNAL are in no way entitled to be regarded as the spokesmen of the League. The writers are alone responsible for the opinions they express.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Montreal Daily Herald*, signing himself "EDWARD PALLISER"—the very name declares the profession of the writer—has been writing on the military Federation of the Empire, or, to phrase it more accurately, because in his own words, on the Imperial authorities using the means the respective Colonies contain "for the purpose of strengthening the defences of the Empire." His letter is long and interesting, and contains suggestions of much value. To specify all of them is more than we are now able to do, but there are two to which we would draw attention. "My advice," he says, "would be to raise two Canadian regiments, keeping one in garrison at Halifax, and the other at Esquimaux, passing the men through the ranks into a reserve. These regiments and their reserves would of course be liable for foreign service on emergency. Some may say, 'Why not raise two English regiments?' The answer should be: 'That would not prevent Canada drifting, and in these days, when allies are not to be had, it is wise to hold on to our great Colonies by every means, before long absence leads to estrangement and indifference.' There ought to be no diffidence. Let it be boldly announced that her Majesty requires Canadian officers and men for two regiments to garrison Halifax and Esquimaux, and I believe twice the number required would be forthcoming. This should be an encouraging view for those who look forward to the time when the Empire will become too strong to be attacked without exhausting preparations to the enemy." This is quite in accord with what has been advocated more than once in this journal, and such a step would, we are confident, be a very wise and useful one. Indeed, the wisdom and usefulness of it seem so obvious that the only wonder is that it has not long since been taken.

THE other suggestion is contained in the following:—"Seeing that Russian and American officers had been invited to witness the manœuvres of our army in India, the United States *Army and Navy Journal* giving the names of the captain and lieutenant about to start from New York to India at the expense of England, I presumed so far as to telegraph a request that Canadian and Australian officers should not be forgotten. It was truly 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness,' but, thanks to the Canadian Pacific Railway, from these hitherto unknown regions even can the request be heard before it becomes too late. I suggested last year that the splendid Staff College of Sandhurst, near Aldershot, might open its doors to a few Canadian and Australian officers who desire to improve their military education for service in their own countries; and I think it most desirable that such officers should now and then represent the Empire at the autumn manœuvres of the German, French, Russian, or Austrian armies, as English officers constantly do. It would be a proof of the growing power of the Empire to military men on the Continent, and forge another link in the chain I am trying to manufacture." It seems astounding when foreign officers were being conveyed to India, for such a purpose as is above mentioned, at our expense, that so reasonable and politic a thing as the extension of the privilege to Colonial officers was not done.

NATURE AND NEED OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SECOND ARTICLE.

"Great changes have been made; great changes are impending; amid these changes there is no greater benefit to mankind than a statesman can propose to himself than the consolidation of the British Empire."—"Recollections and Suggestions," by Earl Russell, p. 201.

COMING TO

THE NEED OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION,

we find the theory that united action on the above matters is essential to enable any people to appear as "one State in reference to other Powers," corroborated by the experience of the British Empire. The fact is that in it the above amount of united action—and even more—was formerly secured by the device of making the United Kingdom supreme over all outlying parts; that Colonial discontent with this policy led to its downfall, and the concession to the Colonies of the prerogatives of local self-government; that for some time after this concession united action on the above matters was still maintained in the manner described by Mr. J. S. Mill some twenty-five years ago, when he wrote concerning the relationship of the Colonies to England:—"Their union with Great Britain is the slightest kind of federal union; but not a strictly equal Federation, the Mother Country retaining to itself the powers of a federal government, though reduced in practice to their very narrowest limits." At that time the duties of a federal government were fulfilled through

ENGLAND'S MONOPOLY OF FEDERAL PREROGATIVES,

and her discharge, in consideration thereof, of its burdens. The Imperial Government was the sole and only channel of communication with foreign Powers. The English army furnished garrisons for all the Colonies, and the English revenue paid them. There was no commercial policy binding on all, but it was thought unnecessary so much as even to suggest that the principles of Free-trade should not be violated. And thus united action in regard to diplomacy, armaments, finance, and commerce, was obtained under this policy by the dignity of the Imperial position being taken as compensation for its burdens, as it had been also obtained under a former policy by the Colonies being ruled as subject states. But since then

ALL THIS HAS BEEN CHANGED.

That there is no corporate unity, in the shape of united action with united resources, for the attainment of any of the above objects, existent in the British Empire, is a fact admitted by one of the ablest advocates of the present régime. Lord Bury—either in his own words, or quoting with approval those of Mr. Forster—tells us that England "does not tax the Colonies, but does defend them,"¹ and as the Colonies certainly do not tax England, it appears that in finance there is not a shadow of united action existent. In commerce it seems that each Colony "has the right to make its own tariff arrangements even with the object of protection;"² a like right of course being enjoyed by England, though we beg pardon for even supposing that she could ever use it with the object of protection; there is thus less united action on commerce than exists between foreign countries maintaining reciprocity treaties. In armaments "Colonial preparations for defence, and naval and military preparations, are either voluntary, or matters of agreement from time to time;"³ and that those of the United Kingdom are equally so there can be no question; there is then less united action on naval and military policy than prevails between foreign states maintaining an offensive and defensive alliance. Nay, as the United Kingdom, and each of the Colonies separately organised for local self-government, maintain separate systems of armaments, there exists

AN ELEMENT OF DIS-UNITY

such as was prohibited by the founders of the American Union. In diplomacy the unavoidable necessity of speaking with one tongue to foreign Powers has led to the control of it being left exclusively in the hands of the Foreign Office. The effect of this latter arrangement is that England alone now "possesses the undisputed power of peace

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1885.

² *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1885, p. 392.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

and war;"⁴ but the Colonies have "if they considered the question of any particular peace, or any particular war, of such importance as to justify the sacrifice, the power of withdrawing from the Confederation;"⁵ which defence, it may be presumed, would also be in the hands of England, should she refuse to diplomatise as her offspring might desire, or take offence at a Colonial movement towards Free-trade, such as a Customs-union between Canada and the States. Unity of action is limited to this—that the several parts shall submit to be treated as one corporation by foreign countries. The Empire to-day presents the most

COMPLETE EXAMPLE OF "THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM"

probably ever attempted. The existence of the corporation is assumed to be a matter of indifference, as the remedy proposed for any disagreement is its dissolution. The responsibilities of the members towards each other are expected to be adjusted by no one of them offending the rest either in its acts of omission or commission. And while their co-operative capacity is, on the one hand, rated so low that in internal affairs, the concession to each of as much power to differ from and thwart each other as they would possess if foreign countries, is represented as absolutely indispensable to harmony, it is, on the other hand, rated so high that they are declared capable of leaving action on matters involving both property, liberty, and life, in the hands of one member exclusively, and proving satisfied with its action abundantly. The absence of any machinery for securing unity of action on diplomacy, armaments, finance, or commerce, is freely admitted. Nor is even the existence of an understanding as to the reciprocal duties of the several parts asserted. But the British Empire, being recognised by international law as a sovereign State, may at any moment find foreign Powers calling for action on its part, which can be satisfied only by united action in regard to one or all of these departments of politics. Moreover, it appears that should its supreme authority find itself, from any cause whatever, unable or unwilling to act on behalf of all parts of the Empire, the neglected parts will be forced by foreign Powers to act on their own behalf, which action will constitute a dissolution of the legal union. Hence it follows that to maintain the present legal union we must supplement it by a practical union manifested in unity of action. How can the requisite united action be supplied?

There are but

TWO WAYS IN WHICH UNITED ACTION

can be attained in any corporation: by having one individual or more direct the affairs of all, or by having all act together. We have seen that in the British Empire unity of action was formerly secured by the former method, under which the United Kingdom was supreme over all outlying dependencies. But that it will never again be secured by a restoration of this method is a matter of certainty. The Colonies would not accept it; the Mother Country would not undertake it; and even were she inclined to do so, and the Colonies willing to have her do so, she would be unable to bear the burden. To garrison and defend the Colonies of forty years ago, in face of the possible foes of that generation, was a task very different from that of performing a like service for the Colonial nations of to-day in face of their possible foes. A Canada ending at Windsor was very different from the Dominion of 5,000,000 inhabitants, stretching from Halifax to Vancouver, with a frontier continuous with that of the Great Republic. The convict settlements of New South Wales were quite another thing from the island-continent of Australia, backed up by Tasmania and New Zealand, and peopled by nearly 3,000,000 thorough-bred Britishers. Even the settlement at the Cape has swelled with South Africa, comprising a large corner of that continent. And behind these come many isles of the Caribbean Sea; Crown Colonies in every hole and corner of the earth; and the peninsula where the Empress-Queen virtually sways two hundred and forty millions of subjects. The competency of the Mother Country to bear the charges of such an Empire single-handed is doubtful, but must cease to be so before the close of the century, when the Colonies will have swelled to twice their present inhabited area and population. And even supposing them

to be mean enough to wish that she should bear such charges, it is certain that she will not do so while receiving nothing from them, and that they would not be sufficiently docile to yield the obedience which such a policy would demand. Foreign affairs become to them of really increasing importance annually. Their complete local independence stimulates their desires to enter this field of action, and signs are not wanting that "peace at any price and cheap at that" will be less popular there than it has been amongst the buyers and sellers of Manchester and Birmingham. Thus the fact is that England has abdicated her paternal rights, while the Colonies have not yet assumed the prerogatives of manhood; and the position of both calls for an application of the

PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY LORD MACAULAY

in his remarks on the Irish woollen manufactures controversy. He there tells us distinctly that—"There cannot really be more than one supreme power in a society. If, therefore, a time comes at which the Mother Country finds it expedient altogether to abdicate her paramount authority over a Colony, one of two courses ought to be taken. There ought to be complete incorporation, if such incorporation be possible. If not, there ought to be complete separation. Very few propositions in politics can be so perfectly demonstrated as this, that Parliamentary government cannot be carried on by two really equal and independent Parliaments in one Empire."⁶ The fact is, that the present system is a case in which the Mother Country has abdicated "her paramount authority," and cannot resume it; in which about half a dozen "really equal and independent Parliaments" are at work, and that it can last simply until it receives a strain, when one of Macaulay's alternatives must be accepted, it being understood that the only "complete incorporation" needed or practical is a Federal incorporation on the basis of equal privileges and burdens.

To this argument it may be, and sometimes is, replied, that "facts are stubborn things;" that the condemned policy is welcomed in every corner of the Empire, and, under it,

IMPERIAL UNITY IS PRACTICALLY STRONGER NOW

than it was twenty years ago. The correctness of this view of the case and of this line of argument seems to be very doubtful. The concession of self-government to the Colonies has undoubtedly been a popular measure therein; but that attachment to British connections and institutions has in some of them increased during the last twenty-five years seems to me by no means certain, and there are others, I presume, of the same opinion.⁷ Waiving this point, however, the Colonies are only one part of the Empire. Coming to England, we find it, from the opening of the American Civil War to the Treaty of Washington, almost unanimously in favour of "emancipation;" and, as Mr. Froude has well said, "especially impatient of the reluctance of Canada to part with us; for Canada we regard as a temptation to America to quarrel with us. Were we clear of Canada, we imagine that war with America would be impossible, while, so long as it continues a part of the Empire, and is willing to share in its own defence, we feel that we cannot honourably throw it over."⁸

It is true that this

FEVERISH DESIRE FOR DISINTEGRATION HAS OF LATE CONSIDERABLY ABATED.

But is it either impossible or improbable that a revival of like causes might at any time produce a revival of like effects? Has not England even yet been found to complain feelingly of the weight of the burden laid on her in the charge of the interests of territories covering one-sixth of the earth's surface, and this all the more from the fact that they make no direct contribution to the charge of Imperial armaments? Have we not had the Colonies complaining, though with rather less fervour, of their liability to be dragged into war on questions touching "the balance of power in Europe," in which their interest is alleged to be simply *nil*, and this all the more from the fact that as they

⁶ "History of England," chap. xxiii.

⁷ See "Canadian Loyalty," by Roswell Fisher, in *Macmillan* for May, 1885.

⁸ "Short Studies on Great Subjects," Second Series—"Reciprocal Duties of State and Subject."

have no influence whatever in determining the foreign policy of the Empire, they are exposed at any moment to suffer from sins either of omission or commission at the Foreign Office? It is true, and it is a good omen for Pan-Britannic unity, that in 1885 Canadians and Australians, "spoiling for a fight," were found ready to go to the Soudan under the old flag. But it is equally true that there were ten times as many ready to go to the Crimea in 1855; that while volunteering for the Soudan, Australians were quarrelling with Imperial diplomacy on the policy whereby most of New Guinea had been lost; that had 1885 witnessed an Anglo-Russian war, and a Russian fleet, with perhaps, a small army, on the coast of Australia or British Columbia, the aid which Fatherland and Colony would have expected from one another in repelling it would have been utterly unknown, the preparation to meet it almost *nil*; that difficulties arising from "misunderstandings" are those most prolific of quarrels; and that, this danger escaped, there remained the possibility of another quarrel on commercial matters within the year.

Practically, to strengthen any corporate union,

THE FIRST THING NEEDED IS A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING
OF MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES,

and a hearty acceptance of them; and on these it would seem to be admitted that there is now no understanding whatever existing. But supposing the policy in question to be as popular as is alleged,

IS IT REALLY NEEDFUL TO COMBAT THE THEORY THAT
THE POPULARITY OF A SYSTEM MAY BE TAKEN AS A
MEASURE OF ITS MERITS?

There are few more well-worn themes than the difference in the paths of duty and success and of use and pleasure, either for individuals or communities. To become popular a system needs only to harmonise with the prevalent taste. Is it not possible that the taste of the members—or of the ruling part of the members—of a great commercial corporation, may become that of "a certain rich man" who, after arranging where he would bestow his fruits and his goods, went on to resolve: "I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry"? And that, in pursuance of this resolve, the company may divide its business into many different branches, set each in charge of a member, or a board, which shall be allowed to act according to its own sweet will in all matters appertaining to that part of the business; be enabled to do so by having at head-quarters a figure-head to sign whatever papers he needed; go on to declare dividends irrespective of earnings; find the result during a long course of years to be "unity, peace, and concord" amongst shareholders, and a development into bankruptcy, accompanied, perhaps, by a collision with criminal law in the end?

SIMILAR ILLUSTRATIONS MIGHT BE FOUND IN ALMOST
EVERY SPHERE OF LIFE.

I would not for a moment be so rude as to suggest that my dear fellow-countrymen, either at Home or in the Colonies are actuated by any such naughty spirit; but would take the liberty of inserting a few lines from the pen of one who will probably be recognised as the ablest champion of *laissez-faire* now living in England. Professor Bonamy Price tells us that Adam Smith presumes men "to be keen in the pursuit of riches, and to be sure to act always for their interest; but, unhappily, they are found not to do so, and so, even here, to the end of the chapter. They rush into ruinous wars from passion. They know that the way to be rich is to labour, and they prefer idleness. Whole nations like better to bask in the sun than to take the trouble to accumulate wealth. They are well aware that the tradesmen with whom they deal oppress them with unjust prices; they will not be at the pains to seek out the shops where good commodities are to be had at fair rates, thus making the boasted economical principle of competition to be anything but universal. Saving they would confess to be the foundation of wealth and the security for old age; they spend all they can on drink. Governments and peoples have been taught the reasonableness and profitableness of Free-trade; they persist in Protection."⁹ But do individuals, companies, or

states, in any of the illustrations offered, ever admit that they are walking on the road to ruin, and that they do it by choice? Do they not always either shut their own eyes, or find some kind friends who will hold them shut, to this unpleasant fact; do they not always report that "the course of events during the period under review furnishes every reason for satisfaction;" and do they move onward escorted by "funeral marches to the grave," or by songs of triumph and shouts of "Excelsior"? If, then, men can, and do, make such dangerous mistakes in their preferences on such simple matters as Mr. Price asserts them to do, may they not much more easily be mistaken in so abstruse a matter as the question of the best scheme of government for the British Empire? Nay, may not a policy even gain popularity for itself by requiring only "a little more sleep, and a little more slumber, and a little more folding of the hands to sleep"? And thus may not popularity be the very element entitling it to receive the anathema—let it be accursed!

But granting the present policy to have been as popular as is claimed, that it will long continue so seems highly improbable. For there can be little doubt that both

FATHER-LAND AND COLONIES ARE ABOUT TO BE AWAKENED
FROM THEIR SLUMBER

on this matter; and inquiry must reveal the fact that it is based on altogether false principles. Gibbon has well said that "the desire of obtaining the advantages and of escaping the burdens of political society is a perpetual and never-ending source of discord." This absurdity is the *desideratum* which, in effect, Fatherland and Colonies are seeking under the present system. In pursuit of it England has withdrawn the Colonial garrisons, and refused to retain the task of Colonial defence; but she has not thus escaped the danger of becoming involved in wars on Colonial questions; while, by leaving the Colonies unprotected, she has increased the temptation to attack them, and decreased their inclination to accept her regulation of their foreign relations. The Colonies have pushed their rights of self-government to their utmost limit; but they have not thereby avoided being involved in wars undertaken, it may be, from considerations affecting the interests of the United Kingdom exclusively, while they have diminished its motives for attending to their special interests. England has ceased to regard Colonial interests in her commercial policy; and the Colonies have ceased, or are ceasing, to regard English interests in their own, thus endangering the most valuable trade which England possesses, and probably laying on "the straw that breaks the camel's back," since this action is more likely than anything else to make England "Emancipationist." This will never do. "People are never worse friends (in the end) for understanding each other"—or the truth either.

BRITONS MAY JUST AS WELL OPEN THEIR EYES

to the fact that the effect of union, in any political society recognised as a state, is to subject its people to exactly the same mutual responsibilities, whether the state be large or small, a monarchy or a republic, a nationality or a Federation. The legal unity of the members of the British Empire thus subjects them to all the risks and responsibilities on each other's behalf, to which they would be exposed if united in a federal union. But unless it shall in like manner unite their strength to meet them, it will do nothing whatever to confer on each the increased strength derivable from membership in a Federation. And unless it shall enable them clearly to understand the duties which they owe to one another, and make provision for their fulfilment, it will only open the way to misunderstandings, and these to quarrels, which may lead to the union being ended in ill-will. That it fails to provide for any union of strength, or any understanding as to mutual responsibilities, we have seen admitted; while the fact that

THE CONDITION OF THE WORLD

is such as to render

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH STRENGTH,

and understanding as to its disposal, increasingly desirable, is quietly ignored. In the nineteenth century small states have been consolidated into great nations, great nations have grown into nations still greater; mighty empires into empires still mightier. The art of war has become an

⁹ "Practical Political Economy," p. 12.

increasingly abstruse science. Battalions, in European states at least, have multiplied until they can embrace every able-bodied man in the land—save in Britain. Ironclads float in every sea, and screw-propellers drive them across it with increased speed and security. Their numbers have been increasing abroad at such a rate as to elicit a reluctant confession that the old "Mistress of the Seas" may find her supremacy endangered; and this, too, at the very time when it is also confessed that the "Alarmists" have been right in another matter also, as it is now certain that the "impassable deserts" have been traversed, and the "inaccessible mountains" have been scaled by the military aristocracy of the mightiest Empire in the world, which can now quietly exclaim: "Russia does not want India; she wants the Bosphorus; meet us on our way to the Indus or let us walk into Constantinople; and, *sub rosa*, then see us ready to try to walk further." While on the other side of the world the Great Republic can exclaim: "Accept our view, or see closed ports leaving British stomachs without food and British cotton mills without fodder, and private energy taking to equipping *Alabamas* as a good speculation, in a nation which has once put nearly half a million of men under arms." These are simply incontrovertible facts; and danger from all, save the last, will at once be admitted by anybody. In a world such as this,

DISRUPTION WOULD LEAVE THE COLONIES STATES
EXISTENT ON SUFFERANCE;

and a State dependent on foreign commerce to the extent that isolated England would be, one liable to ruin from the loss of maritime supremacy during half a year. Had she taken care during the last sixty years to direct the stream of emigration from her shores into the Colonies, instead of allowing it, in pursuance of her all-sufficient *laissez-faire* policy, to spread at pleasure, their population to-day would have been double what it is; and a Pan-Britannic Empire, with a British population of fifty-five to sixty millions, could have enforced respect. Under actual circumstances, however, if the proverb "Union is strength" should appear to apply to the Empire as it is, there can be little doubt that that fact alone ought to secure a verdict for Federation. But here rises the question of

THE EXPEDIENCY OF FEDERATION,

a matter altogether different from that to which this paper applies, and which embraces questions of different interests in different countries, and the comparative effects of different policies on them. And behind this stand the questions if it is practicable; if it is so, under what system of government; or if there is any room for choice between different systems. Having traversed the whole of this region fourteen years ago,¹⁰ I can testify that this subject is one of immense extent and of deep intricacy, embracing questions for the legislator, the economist, the soldier, the sailor, and the diplomatist. I return to it, perhaps less confident on the feasibility of Federation; but as sure as ever that if it be not practicable,

DISRUPTION MUST MAR THE WHOLE FUTURE OF THE
BRITISH RACE.

A matter of such transcendent importance should never be allowed to become the football of political partyism. Let us get at the truth. It is impossible to adopt *any* policy for the settlement of the Colonial question which would not be liable to severe criticism, and for that reason no ministry will choose to run the risk of attempting to settle it single-handed. To discover the best policy and to put it into force, it is essential not only that one-half of the statesmanship of the Empire should be free from the opposition of the other half, but also that all should unite their forces in the work. It is probable that

A FULL EXAMINATION OF THE MERITS OF THE CASE COULD
BEST BE EFFECTED BY A COMMITTEE OF BOTH HOUSES,
OR A COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE CROWN,

and consisting of leading men of all parties, empowered to summon witnesses from all parts of the Empire, or to visit them, should it prefer to do so, and to report its views on the various policies open, or its answers to the various questions submitted to it. For these reasons I think that

the Imperial Federation League is likely to advance the cause best by bending its efforts to securing the appointment of such a committee or commission. The difference of opinion existent would itself still opposition to the appointment of the body; and, if supported by men of weight and influence, such as the League already contains, it could scarcely fail to be granted. A favourable report would certainly prove a formidable weapon in support of the movement. Even an unfavourable one would almost certainly state the case more impartially for discussion than would the statements of heated opponents, unchecked by any authority to which deference was due. Should the scheme appear to be as utterly hopeless as is alleged, there are few who would be either so foolish or so unpatriotic as to wish to persist in it. Appearing in this light, and asking for the means of discovering the truth, Federationists would be entitled to respect, and would probably command it. While carrying on the propagation of their principles by such means, they could still open their ranks to men of all parties, and call to their aid—if not, as Lord Russell tells us, all who would benefit mankind—at least, all who have at heart the safety, happiness, and prosperity of the British race, entrenched at home in the ancestral islands, and thence spreading abroad to subjugate a sixth part of the earth by the peaceful process of colonisation.

Toronto.

Jehu MATTHEWS.

AN IMPERIAL COUNCIL AND ITS
CHIEF.

At last it may be fairly claimed for the principle of Imperial Federation that it has been accepted, not only by our leading politicians, but by an enormous majority among the thinkers of our race. This happy result is beginning to be adumbrated, however faintly and imperfectly, in our public journals; indeed, in some quarters where our hopes and schemes were erstwhile received with open hostility, we have now gained many staunch allies; while at the worst, opposition to the policy of the League, takes the shape of indifferent or amicable neutrality, or playful banter. Where banter is the order of the day it tends very much in one direction. "We grant your principles, but how are you going to put them into practice. Why don't you formulate a workable scheme?" It can scarcely be denied that some force rests with this kind of criticism. Plans have been advanced in plenty, and it is hard to believe that on some generous eclectic basis a *modus vivendi*, from the woof of this rough material, might not be evolved. It seems to some of us that we are

CARRYING OUR CAUTIOUS CIRCUMSPECTION A LITTLE
TOO FAR.

The Fabian policy is all very well, but a time must come, and that, perhaps, shortly, when we shall have to enter the field, bearing a banner, inscribed with a definite and precise programme, by which we mean to abide, for which we intend to fight. The oft-repeated tale, "We have met here to give our assent to a principle, not to discuss details," is becoming a little fusty, not to say ridiculous, seeing that most of us have given our assent to the principle a thousand times before. If, when we are on the eve of a most important event in the history of our Empire—the inauguration of the Colonial Exhibition—we are still unprepared to discuss, and to try to agree upon, some actual and practical method of giving effect to our wishes, it may well be said of us that our caution amounts to cowardice, and that the movement we champion is never likely to pass out of the chrysalid or academic stage. To-day, in sight of an enfranchised million, wanting to know the why and the wherefore of every institution in the realm, is not the day for merely standing on the defensive. The temper of our new rulers is unmistakable, and it wants no delphic wisdom to prophesy that

WE ARE ON THE EVE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL
REVOLUTIONS,

the like and extent of which few periods of our past history have witnessed, few foreshadows of our future record can measure. Every time-honoured institution rests on queachy ground indeed. A great shuffling of the cards is imminent; nothing can avert it. Selfish and retrograde corporate bodies, whether political, municipal, ecclesiastical, charitable, social,

¹⁰ See "A Colonist on the Colonial Question," by Jehu Matthews. London: Loogmans, Green & Co., 1872.

or artistic, will have to put their houses in order; will have to prove irrefragably that they have a clear *raison d'être* to plead for their continued existence; will have to show cause why sentence should not be passed upon them. In this darkling hour of their trial at the bar of public opinion, no institution is in so parlous a condition as the Imperial Parliament itself. It has persistently subordinated far-reaching and all-embracing interests to petty and personal concerns. It has cried "Peace! Peace!" when there was no peace. With crass hebetude resulting disastrously, it has constantly evaded its duties as the paramount council of a huge Empire, an Empire won for us by the zeal, blood, and treasure of our ancestors; and it has administered the Empire in a thoroughly unconscientious, because in an ignorant and a lazy and careless manner.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT,

as an *Imperial* parliament has, in its own collective person and in that of its officers,

A WORSE CASE TO BRING INTO COURT

than any of the institutions to which, in a spirit of righteous retribution, it will shortly give its quietus. It has been in its Imperial capacity worse than a bungler; it has been a sinner against the English race which it represents. In virtue of this fact, it has, of course, only reflected the sin of the people.

At the eleventh hour the moiling mole-eyed multitude is awakening to a sense of the wrong which it has done itself through its rulers. The masses are at the end of their tether. They have well-nigh exhausted the capabilities of the limited area in which they have been permitted to depasture, and they naturally begin to turn their eyes toward those virgin untried fields which await them—starving. They will want to know why they are to be mulcted in the cost of an army and a navy to keep and protect "them foreign countries" from which the profitable resultants seem to them, at best, but shadowy and indirect. The upper and middle classes are also demanding clamantly, why they must bear the onus of a national debt, which in a large measure constitutes the debit side of that balance sheet, which shows our much-neglected and little-utilised Colonies for the assets.

THE EFFECTIVE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE

would mark the commencement of a rational system, first of alligating and controlling the amorphous mass of our Imperial possessions into a homogeneous whole, and from this would follow certain generous measures for administering, protecting, enlarging, and improving the national heritage in the interests of *all*, not of a *few*, in the service of the entire race and those of other races who elect to join us.

No mere board of advice; no tentative measure of representation in our present Parliament, where the highest morality too often takes the Procrustean form of chopping or stretching individual principles to suit the exigencies of party allegiance; nothing in short which does not provide for a real Imperial Parliament, with primal authority over and above all, can meet the case.

A short and ready way of meeting this desideratum is required. *This* seems a feasible plan. The present "Imperial" Parliament, together with every Colony, whether it have or have not full representative institutions, should send from both its Houses certain delegates elected by those Houses, to form

AN ENTIRELY NEW IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

The actual number from each of these Colonies, and all other details, to be arranged on equitable terms by a council endowed with plenary powers, to be composed of plenipotentiaries from each Colony.

This scheme for the impastation of the Empire has the advantage of simplicity, and it provides for a kind of double sifting process, whereby the best and most experienced men from each portion of the Empire would be detained for the purposes of the supreme council of the whole nation.

The matters which would properly appertain to such a council have already been put forth by Mr. Labillière and others; but about

THE HEAD, OR PRESIDENT, OF THIS COUNCIL,

a word, albeit adscititious to the actual scheme, may not be out of place. The new council would elect a president, to

whom sovereign power, subject to the veto of the Crown, should be accorded in all matters of a warlike nature.

To the first objection to this proposition, namely, that the particular local centres involved would resent the enforced absence of their delegates from that assembly, where they could guard their more individual interests, it may be fairly answered, that surely patriotism and the honour of being directly represented in the most august assembly in the Empire, might be counted upon to outweigh and overrule petty feelings of that kind. Moreover, if we premise the antecedent or contemporaneous creation of local boards, this objection falls to the ground. There would then be a Parliament for the Empire at large, Parliaments for Great Britain and her Colonies respectively, and, so far as England be concerned, subordinate local Parliaments in the shape of local boards.

It may be objected, too, that to vest the absolute power in a president would be to make him, so far as our foreign relations were involved, a dictator. Just so. A dictator is what we want. There is public opinion, and a possible impeachment, to temper his actions. A people like our race needs a supreme ruler. At present we are practically governed by a bureaucracy; but we require to have a strong, unfettered man at the head of our affairs, such a one as will not be subject to dismissal from his position as our sole representative to foreign nations, at a most critical moment, because he has been unable, forsooth, to secure the favour of a coterie of religionists, or a ring of trade monopolists.

The history of the world proves incontestably that

A DEMOCRACY TENDS TO AN AUTOCRACY,

and *vice versa*. A natural law like this may not be a permanent law. Still, we are not likely to avert its course just yet, though we may modify its action. Sir Henry Mayne has shown how childlike is the popular belief in the permanence of democratic institutions, once attained. Let the democracy rule its own household; but, if it be wise, in matters affecting its outside relations it will submit to the double and treble filtration process here foreshadowed. An Imperial Parliament, to contain what to the subsidiary Parliaments may appear to be their best men, and the best man from the Imperial Parliament—in the eyes of that Parliament—to be the helmsman of the Empire.

In all matters as affecting her national and extra-national existence and position, Germany has gained from the absolutism of Prince Bismarck. The same may be said of Russia and the Czar. The mischief in either case has accrued from that absolutism being extended to domestic affairs. England, as England, was practically established by two autocrats, Elizabeth and Cromwell.

All this may seem to be too drastic and revolutionary. It is the firm conviction of the writer of this paper that if we do not thus peaceably provide for the creation of a one-man-power polity, the utter collapse of our present Parliamentary system will end in a far less agreeable manner, probably in a violent, usurpation of power on the part of some strong man, who will have become a necessity.

This may be called ultraism. These opinions may be stigmatised as millenarian. Anyhow, they are not set forth as a catholicon for all the ills politic of our race. It is the sincere belief of the writer that we Imperial Federationists ought to have done with half-measures, and push on to the goal. We ought not to be afraid. We are on the eve of a series of momentous changes. Feudalism broke down long ago. Government by a plutocracy—the very existence of a plutocracy—is threatened. Some of us think we see the dawning of a Christian Socialism, when the strong in brain or heavy of purse shall need no goading to induce them to share the superior endowments which Kismet has accorded them, with their weaker brethren. In the great chain of human progress, Imperial Federation is only a measure of the first magnitude, because it looms large on the horizon of our present day. None the less

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IS BUT A TINY LINK IN THAT GREAT CHAIN OF HUMAN ADVANCE.

Of human advance! Is man himself the *ultima Thule*, the last word and work of the creative energy? The primordial zoophyte of the naturalists might as well have thought creation had accomplished its work when it was evolved.

Haslemere.

JAS. STANLEY LITTLE.

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Imperial Federation.

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1886.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY AND
"IMPERIAL CONFEDERATION."

THE banquet to Mr. R. Murray Smith, the late Agent-General for Victoria, which took place on the 7th ult., at the Freemasons' Tavern, and was presided over by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, is worthy of note on more accounts than one. It was a splendid compliment to the genial and able official in whose honour it was given, as well as to the Colony he represents, and the Colonies generally. It was an expression of the high esteem in which Mr. Murray Smith is held in this country by those who have had official relations with him, and by others who have in various ways been brought into contact with him; and it accentuated the wide-prevailing interest which is now being felt in all matters Colonial. The warmly loyal and patriotic way in which the guest of the evening spoke of England—"the England of story and song"—and of the moving influence of the hallowed associations which cluster about her hoary monuments, was no more than every one who knew him expected. "Our hearts turn," said he, speaking as a Colonist, "to that old fortress by the river whose records for good or evil are inextricably interwoven with English history in all times; or to that great city cathedral where the saviours of the silver-coasted isle, Wellington and Nelson, sleep side by side; or, most of all, to that hallowed abbey, where rest the bones, or are inscribed the monuments, of those great men to whose genius, to whose labour and sacrifices, we owe so much of all that makes life worth having. Who is there so dead of soul as not to be moved by these things? Who sees them and does not thank God that Australian, Canadian, South African though he be, he is nevertheless an Englishman? This is the England we love; we love her for the dangers she has passed. And long may such associations be hallowed in our mind, long may we find in her a just and beneficent parent, and if her evil days should come, which God forbid, may those whose infancy she has protected rise and aid her in their manhood." These eloquent words, of a piece with the entire speech, do honour

to one of the worthiest and most capable of agents-general, who carries with him to the Antipodes, whence, doubtless, we shall hear of him again, the hearty good wishes of his many friends.

But the most noteworthy speech of the evening in many respects, was that of Lord Granville, who, as a contemporary has remarked, is "making up for lost time, his speeches as Colonial Secretary being as strong for the Big England, as his actions as Foreign Secretary used to be for the Little England." The noble earl, while paying a just tribute to Mr. Froude, warmly took that versatile writer to task because he "hardly loses an opportunity of stating that in England, a great party in general, and the Colonial Office in particular, are indifferent, or rather hostile, to the Colonies." He denied the validity of the impeachment, and doubted the discretion of making the charge, even if it were well-founded. On this latter point we venture to express our non-concurrence with Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies. Great political parties and Colonial Secretaries, forsooth, are not to be criticised, whatever may be their shortcomings; it is not discreet or "advantageous" to criticise them! On a similar ground all unfavourable criticism of public men and public measures might be deprecated. But writers, and especially writers of Mr. Froude's mettle, are not to be deterred from discharging what is now a recognised part of their duty by any such plea. No doubt when great political parties and Colonial Secretaries egregiously err, and signally fail to do their duty to the Empire, and to discharge adequately the great responsibilities resting upon them, it is not "advantageous" to *them* to have their failures pointed out, and their condemnation pronounced; but that it is decidedly discreet on the part of those who, in the interests of Empire, point out the failures and pronounce the condemnation, we maintain, events have repeatedly proved. We question whether Lord Granville does not, in his own person, afford an illustration of it. His conduct of foreign affairs, especially in those respects in which the Colonies were involved, was not such as to win universal approval even among the ranks of his own party; and before he left the Foreign Office the voice of condemnation was growing loud and deep. Doubtless some echoes of it reached his lordship, and, doubtless, he has discovered by this time that *Angra Pequena* and *Cameroons* are names which are not heard with unmingled pleasure by Englishmen. It is possible that some of his lordship's new-born zeal, not simply for Britain, but for Britain and her Colonies, in other words for the Empire, has obtained some of its fervour from the "indiscreet" criticism to which he has been subjected. About that, however, we do not care to inquire too particularly; we are only too glad to find the Colonial Secretary expressing right sentiments about the Colonies, and taking wise measures of Imperial policy. It is reassuring in the highest degree to find him expressing the hope that a "closer connexion may be formed on a permanent basis between the Colonial and Imperial forces," and mentioning this, as well as the granting of commissions and cadetships "above those allotted to the chartered Universities," and the establishing of a kind of branch Sandhurst College in Australia, as likely to afford a "practical and solid contribution towards Imperial Confederation." Proposals, we are told, are now under consideration for the co-operation of the Imperial Government and the whole group of Australian Colonies for defending King George's Sound; similar proposals, accepted in principle, are being considered by the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada as to the defence of Vancouver; and proposals are about to be submitted to the Cape Government as to Table Bay. Hong-Kong and Singapore, "as probably will be the case with Mauritius and Ceylon," are bearing their share of the cost of Imperial defence. All these are steps in the right direction, and have been advocated by us more or less distinctly and persistently from the beginning. We are inclined to think that his lordship must be a "constant reader" of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, and that he has benefited by a perusal of our columns. At all events, we heartily hope that he will go on as he has begun, and his appointment as Colonial Secretary, which at the time it was made can scarcely be said to have been very popular, will be remembered with gratitude by all friends of the Empire both at home and in the Colonies.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND AN IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

THE recent debate upon an Imperial Penny Postage was a misfortune but not a disaster. It is not a disaster, because so ill-considered, so ill-informed a discussion leaves all parties free to begin again without prejudice. It is a misfortune because that very large section of the public which has not time to inform itself as to facts, and which has not knowledge enough to recognise other people's fallacies, is certain to be alienated for a time from a good and a deserving cause.

The House of Commons was altogether at sea in the matter. Two-thirds of the members did not know and did not care what the facts really were. The officials did care and did not want to know. The friends of the measure, alas, though they did care, had not taken sufficient trouble to know, and spoilt a strong case by allowing it to be overruled by irrelevant arguments and doubtful facts. Last of all, to make confusion more confounded, an ill-advised, though doubtless well-intentioned, group of speakers, thought fit to trail a red-herring across the course in the shape of a demand for an international penny postage, which would be of little value if it were obtainable, and which every single speaker knew perfectly well is not obtainable. As for a penny postage within the limits of the Empire, it not only is obtainable, but must ere long be obtained; but first its advocates must get up their case better than they have done hitherto.

The real points were hardly touched in the debate. The official obstructives were allowed without protest to put forward as a conclusive reply, the ancient fallacy that the Post Office is by right a revenue department. As a matter of fact it is an accident, and an unfortunate accident, that it returns a large profit. If the department were losing money, we should soon rise to the situation, and the British postal arrangements would be in advance, instead of as at the present moment a long way behind, those of the other great countries of the world.

Then, again, why did nobody point out that the question of expending money in subsidies is merely one of degree. If it be wise to grant one or two hundred thousand pounds annually, it is not necessarily unwise to grant three or four hundred thousand. The point is, what do we get in return? The administrative union of a great Imperial department would, as a matter of fact, be cheaply bought at the latter rate. But it is impossible to mention this matter of subsidies without referring to one other fatal omission from the brief for the plaintiffs in the House of Commons. Why did not they say, as they were justified in saying, that the inland postage of Australia is already larger per head of population than that of any other country in the world, and why did they not point out that the inevitable result of removing the present prohibitory sixpenny tariff would be to give a large immediate, and an enormous prospective, increase to the revenue of the postal traffic between England and Australia. The lessons of the penny postage were staring them in the face, why did they not apply them boldly?

Lastly, why was no voice heard calling attention to the real difficulty which has now to be encountered—namely, the excessive charges paid to the countries through which the Australian and Indian mails pass, for the conveyance of the letters at express railway rates? As long as the official world is resolutely hostile, in everything except fine speeches, to anything calculated to bring the various parts of the Empire together, it is necessary to go slowly and to be content with small results. The first step which will have to be taken is the establishment of an over-sea, as opposed to an over-land mail. The time of transit to Melbourne and Calcutta will be slightly longer, no doubt; but in nine cases out of ten correspondents will be able to afford the delay. Telegraphic messages and cipher codes now do the pressing work of commerce. Few letters, provided they come regularly, cannot wait two days. Let us, then, ship our mails in bulk as cargo by the great steam lines, send them direct, and pay for them by weight, one fiftieth of what we pay now.

That is the first step in the right direction. Before long the whole question of the Imperial postage must be brought up again. We shall make it our business, as far as in us lies, to ensure that the cause shall not lose a second time for want of instructed and energetic advocacy.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE met on Thursday, April 15th, at 2.45 p.m. There were present—Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone, M.P. (in the chair), Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., Mr. W. J. Browne, Capt. Colomb, Messrs. W. J. Courthope, R. R. Dobell, C. Washington Eves, Hon. H. Finch Hatton, Messrs. F. P. Labilliere, H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., W. Mackinon, K. B. Murray, Col. Sir C. Nugent, K.C.B., Mr. J. L. Ohlsen, Sir R. H. Rawson, K.C.M.G., Messrs. G. W. Rusden, A. O. Rutson, Sir F. V. Smith, Messrs. A. Turnbull, C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., J. Dennistoun Wood, and F. Young. Special letters accounting for inability to be present, and expressing the desire of the writers to be associated with any vote referring to the late chairman of the League, were received from Lord Castletown, Right Hon. Sir H. T. Holland, M.P., A. J. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P., Mr. Sampson S. Lloyd, and Mr. H. A. Perry.

THERE are now close upon a hundred members of the House of Commons who are members of the League.

EXETER HALL, LONDON.—The Exeter Hall Debating Society, at the beginning of the past month, discussed the question of Imperial Federation. The *Christian Commonwealth* makes very unfavourable comments on the way in which the debate was conducted, and remarks:—"Debates so conducted are worse than useless to young men. Discipline ought to be maintained, silence preserved, and irrelevance checked, so that members may be compelled to get up facts and found reasons upon them." We rejoice that some, at least, of the young men at Exeter Hall have been giving earnest thought to the subject of Imperial Unity, and would recommend to all the young men of the Empire to take this subject in hand, not simply as one on which they may exercise their debating powers, but as one to be carefully thought out, and upon which a judgment should be formed.

HAVERHILL.—On Friday evening, March 26th, a large meeting was held in the Town Hall, and addressed on the subject of Imperial Federation. A report of this meeting and the speeches made will be found elsewhere. The meeting was convened chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. F. Cottingham, Congregational minister of the town, whose example may well be imitated by others in other towns.

HIGHGATE, LONDON.—The subject of "Colonial Federation" was discussed by the F. D. Debating Club, Highgate, on Thursday, April 8th, the subject of Imperial Federation necessarily coming in for remark. Mr. Stephen Bourne was present, and took part in the discussion. We have his speech in type, but at the last moment find it crowded out.

LANCASTER.—The Lancaster Reform Club, on March the 30th, debated the subject of Imperial Federation. The subject was introduced by Mr. Geo. Spear, in a carefully prepared and interesting paper, and evoked some spirited speeches. Eventually the debate was adjourned to April the 6th, when there was further animated discussion. A full report will be found elsewhere in this impression. Debates of this sort cannot fail to do the movement for Federation good, for the question only needs to be examined to win its way.

LEWES.—The Lewes Mutual Improvement Society have had a debate on Imperial Federation, which is described as having been very spirited. It was opened by Mr. Finoker. The Rev. G. Andrews and Messrs. Edgeler, Annear, Goble, and others entered in the debate, and much interest was taken in the subject by the members present.

MANCHESTER.—The ordinary meeting of the Junior Liberal Association was held at the Gordon Coffee Tavern on Wednesday evening, April 8th, under the presidency of Mr. David Williams. A paper on "Imperial Federation" was read by Mr. W. Johnston, and a discussion followed, in which Messrs. J. Russell, Meyrick, J. H. Williams, Edward Thomas, T. Hopkins, and the chairman took part. There was a full attendance.

MONTREAL.—A meeting of the Montreal branch of the Imperial Federation League of Canada was held March 16th, in the rooms of the Association, 15, Phillips Square. A paper was read by Mr. Alex. G. Cross, B.A., B.C.L., on "National Cohesive Forces." There was some discussion by members, after which the meeting adjourned.

THE growth of Imperial Federation is slow but perceptible. —*Sussex Daily News.*

HERE AND THERE.

IN commencing my notes this month I would like to pay my humble tribute of respect to the true, though not titular knight—*sans peur et sans reproche*—who has so lately left us, the Right Honourable W. E. Forster. A man of more sterling qualities never breathed. Noble in character, unspotted in reputation, firm in friendship, a man of principles and conviction, and having the courage thereof, a man of large and sympathetic nature, and large and comprehensive views, with many of the very finest qualities of statesmanship, we do not look upon the like of him every day. There could have been few, perhaps, we might say none, even among his enemies, who did not in their hearts respect him.

ONLY once did I have the honour and pleasure of a private interview with Mr. Forster. The interview was at his own request. It had relation to the subject of Imperial Federation, on which I had ventured to express some ideas of mine in a letter to him, which he was pleased to receive very favourably and endorse. I had never seen him nearer than from the gallery of the House of Commons, and was struck, on being ushered into his room, by his presence. There was evident power in the man; that was clear, and would have been even if he had not given such unmistakable proof of it as he had throughout his political career, and especially during the latter part of it. But what struck me most of all was his gentleness. I had heard something about the ruggedness of his character, and was familiar, in common with all Englishmen, with the fearlessness and tenacity he had displayed as Irish Secretary, and I expected to meet a man abrupt and decisive of speech and manner, rugged even in receiving his visitors. Nothing, however, could have exceeded his gentle courtesy. I should judge from what I saw of him then that, like all men of truly great and noble natures, he had not only the strength and manhood which properly belong to the man, but also something of the gentleness and tenderness of a woman. He was a good and great man, and the loss which his death inflicts is a loss which is even more than national.

THE London correspondent of the *Western Times*, in referring to the funeral service of the late Chairman of the League in Westminster Abbey, says:—"There was a large attendance of many of the Parliamentary colleagues of the deceased statesman. The Imperial Federation League took a prominent part on the occasion. It was a singular coincidence that the great idea which had such a foremost place in the mind of Mr. Forster should have, on the eve of his funeral, played so prominent a part in Parliamentary debate—for the idea of Imperial Federation is the idea that lies at the bottom of apparently the very serious objection felt among Liberals to the proposals of Mr. Gladstone. So far as I have been able to see, it is the exclusion of the Irish members which, curiously enough, is found to be the most unpalatable feature. Indeed, so far as many Radicals are concerned, it might be said to be the only unpalatable feature in the proposals of Mr. Gladstone. It is held that the departure of the Irish members marks the break-up of Imperial Unity, and, above all things, puts a bar in the way of that Imperial Federation which floats vaguely before the imaginations and, at the same time, attracts the hearts of so many men."

AN expedition for the exploration of German New Guinea has been set on foot by the German New Guinea Association. It is under the command of Dr. Schrabert, of the Hamburg Observatory. The expedition consists of five naturalists, six foresters, and forty Malays, and it is expected to be engaged upon the task of exploration for about three years.

IN the last number of this journal appeared a note to the effect that Mr. Howard Vincent, had in the House of Commons, on March 26th, given the following notice:—"To call attention this day four weeks to the magnificent development of the possessions of the British people in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and other lands beyond the seas, and to move, that in the opinion of this House the time has now arrived for the Government of the Mother Country to take active steps to bring about the Federation of the Government of the Empire for such Imperial purposes as defence and foreign affairs, and the extension of mutual commerce." The day on which, according to this notice Mr. Vincent would bring forward his motion being Good Friday, a good deal of fun has been made at the honourable member's expense. Of course the motion remains over, but it is to be hoped that it will not be dropped altogether. Mr. Howard Vincent may not keep such a sharp look out for Maunday Thursday and Good Friday, and other festival and fast days of the Church, as the late Lord Beaconsfield, but he keeps a sharp look out for the interests of the Empire. We want more men of his stamp in this respect in the House of Commons.

THE Hon. M. E. G. Finch-Hatton, who represents Spalding in Parliament, and is a member of the general committee of the Imperial Federation League, took part, I noted, in the debate on Monday, the 12th ult., and had something to say from the League's point of view. "The problem," he said, "was to satisfy the aspirations of Ireland and, at the same time, to maintain the complete integrity of the Empire. This might be done by a scheme of Imperial Federation—a scheme which would grant to Ireland, and to Wales and Scotland if they desired it, control over their own domestic affairs, while at Westminster there sat a really Imperial Parliament, to which representatives from every nation under the British Crown should be sent. If a scheme such as this could be carried out, Ireland would, at some future day, rejoice that on this historical occasion her representatives were not allowed to sell her birth-right for a mess of pottage."

At the eighth annual meeting, in the Social Science Association rooms, Adelphi, of the Social and Political Education League, which has for its object the extension, by means of lectures, of political and historical knowledge in the constituencies, Mr. Oscar Browning, who presided, urged upon the meeting the importance of exact historical knowledge and definite political education upon the two great problems of English politics—Home Rule and Imperial Federation. What must be devised, urged Mr. Browning, is a plan by which different political bodies, all possessing sovereign authority, can work together.

At a meeting of the Reception Committee of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held on Monday, the 12th ult. at the Society of Arts, Mr. Somers Vine, the Official Agent of the Exhibition, attended, and reported to the committee the arrangements which had been made with the Railway Companies with the view of affording extended facilities for railway travelling to all Colonial and Indian visitors coming to the Exhibition. The Chairman, the Duke of Abercorn, reported that, in accordance with the wishes of the Committee, and with the approval of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, he had communicated with the mayors of some of the chief provincial cities, asking if they would arrange for visits of parties of distinguished visitors. It was resolved that a subscription list should be opened; and the hope was expressed that those who have enjoyed the benefit of Colonial hospitality will avail themselves of this opportunity of contributing to the entertainment of those who come to England, from the Colonies and from India, for the purpose of visiting the Exhibition.

MR. E. GUNNETZ, of Toronto, writes to the *Toronto Daily Mail*:—"Universally the idea gains ground that the time has come when, if the Empire is to continue its career of prosperity, the whole must be welded more closely together, so that the title an Englishman shall apply with equal force to an Australian, a New Zealander, a Scotchman, as to one born in London. It is the old fable of the bundle of sticks; united they cannot be broken. Imperial Federation should be the watchword of every man who is true to the interests of England and of her daughters, the Colonies. The prosperity of trade, the well-being of agriculture, the advance of arts and science, and lastly, and most important, the influence of religion and true loyalty, call aloud with one voice for a close alliance throughout this vast Empire to repel a caucus of incendiaries who would fire the moral world and immolate civilisation in the conflagration. If the experienced statesman at the head of Canadian affairs adopts the watchword policy, "The Empire and loyalty," he may command a stronger position than perhaps he has ever done before, for many who have hitherto opposed him on fiscal grounds would come in under his leadership, being disgusted with the office-seeking, disloyal, and republican opposing faction."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *New Zealand Times*, commenting on the discussion which has been raging on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals, says:—"All this discussion, however, quickens considerably the general question of the Federation of the scattered members of the Empire. It is quite impossible for an intelligent observer not to see that, despite the wet blanket criticism of Mr. John Bright, the subject cries aloud for settlement, or, at least, serious and statesmanlike consideration. If Ireland is to become practically a Colony, and sending representatives to Westminster merely to decide Imperial questions, why should not Canada and Australia do so, and why should not the intelligent natives of the Indian Peninsula have at least some representative to speak for them in the great council of the nation? And why, above all things, are the unfortunate English and Scotch tax-payers to be mulcted in a heavy fine to provide the means of defence by sea, and sometimes even by land, in the interest of all, without any material pecuniary assistance? I say that the signs of the times point to the fact that this question is being gradually lifted by the demands of the Irish people into the region of practical politics."

THE correspondent of the *South Wales Daily News*, in discussing the objections brought against the provisions of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule measure, and in particular against the exclusion of Irish members from the Imperial Parliament, writes:—"When I asked the opponents of this part of the scheme what was the reason of their opposition, their answer was that it marked the break-up of the Empire, and would be an obstacle to the idea of Imperial Federation. A Cabinet Minister gave me the following answer, in substance, to this objection. Mr. Gladstone has pointed out, and will be able to point out still more clearly when the second reading stage comes, that the presence of the Irish members must mean Federation immediately, and that for the changes required for Federation the public opinion of England and Scotland is entirely unprepared. Mr. Chamberlain, for instance, made an allusion to Germany, but he did not mention that in Berlin itself there are two Parliaments, the Reichstag, representing the Imperial interests of all Germany, and the Prussian Landtag, representing the interests of Prussia Proper alone. Similarly there is to be an Imperial Parliament, representing Imperial affairs, and those alone. There must be also an English Parliament, dealing with English affairs; a Scotch Parliament, dealing with purely Scotch affairs; and, just as there is proposed to be, an Irish Parliament to deal with purely Irish affairs. 'Is England,' asked my interlocutor, 'prepared for such a hacking and hewing of her Parliament? Is Scotland? And if neither England nor Scotland be prepared for a purely English and a purely Scotch Parliament, then it is nonsense to talk of Federation just now.' This, I believe, will be the line of argument taken by the Ministerial speakers."

THE *Sydney Morning Herald* just received, states that on the 3rd March, the anniversary of the departure of the Contingent to the Soudan, "a number of the members of 'B' Company" celebrated the event by a social gathering. Those members of the Company who took part in the affair were exclusively non-commissioned officers and the rank and file; and the only guests were the three special correspondents who represented the Sydney press with the Contingent. The proceedings were commenced with dinner, during which reminiscences of "army rations," "sentry go," and "fatigue duty," and the thousand troubles and trials of the troopship and the campaign, were jocularly recalled. When the table had been cleared the Company devoted themselves to a thoroughly convivial evening; and throughout the whole proceedings there was a tone of close comradeship and warm brotherly sympathy. The toast of the evening, "The 3rd of March," was proposed by ex-Colour-Sergeant Shipway in a few words of reference to the manner of their meeting as strangers a year ago, the changes they had since passed through, and their happy meeting on that occasion to commemorate "one of the greatest events in our history." The toast was honoured with sincere fervour; and the Company, standing round the table, then joined hands and sang "Auld Lang Syne" with enthusiasm. Some other toasts were honoured; but the chief interest of the evening was in the songs, recitations, etc., which several of the Company contributed. A suggestion was thrown out that the infantry of the Contingent should contribute to the erection of a tablet in St. Andrew's Cathedral to the memory of the dead. As to the celebration itself, it was said that there was every indication that it will be a permanent institution, and that the members of "B" Company present, together with their guests, look forward to meeting again in cordial friendship to commemorate "The 3rd of March."

WITH the peculiar ideas of the people who call themselves Anglo-Israelites I cannot say that I agree, for I scarcely see how our very much mixed nation can be identical with the "lost ten tribes." It is clear, however, that they have sensible ideas about the Empire. They go in heartily for Imperial Federation, and consider that we who are trying to bring it about are "unconsciously fulfilling prophecy." In a recent number of their organ, the *Banner of Israel*, Mr. J. Thomson has an article on "The Extent, Population, and Trade of the British Empire," which he concludes in these terms:—"Thus we are led, perforce, to the consideration of the Imperial Confederation of the whole British Empire; a problem of vast interest to us, and incalculable importance to the world. That it will be brought about in the no distant future we have no doubt; and that when it is brought about, it will secure the peace of the world more than anything yet recorded in history, except the promulgation of Christianity itself, is, we think, equally indubitable. Anglo-Israelites are doing nothing but their duty when, as British patriots, they advocate this desirable end on every favourable or unfavourable opportunity." Doubtless the League will welcome the help, pecuniary and otherwise, of the "Anglo-Israelites," while leaving the subject of "identity" to those whose speciality it is. On the particular point of "identity" I do not wish to write disrespectfully; I simply say I don't see it.

FEDERALIST.

In Memoriam.

W. E. FORSTER.

DIED APRIL 5, 1886.

As Moses from the mountain's height
Saw far below his gaze unroll'd
The wealth of Canaan's landscape, bright
With undulating gold,

While Israel's host, in dread array,
Awaited the Divine command—
"Go forth, my people, on your way :
Behold the Promis'd Land !"

And as upon that journey's end
In faith he bent his failing eyes,
Yet might not from his post descend
To lead them to their prize :

So our great leader, bravest, best,
Lifted above the sordid herd
Of those who, slaves to interest,
Forsake their plighted word,

Beheld the England yet to be
Superbly stretch'd beneath his feet
In all her breadth of land and sea,
Compacted and complete,

But never harvested the hope
That set his English blood afire,
Nor mark'd the perfect crown and cope
Of his august desire !

H. F. WILSON.

THE JULY CONFERENCE.

THE Sub-Committee met on April 13, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive. It was reported to them that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had consented to place the Conference Hall of the South Kensington Exhibition at the service of the League on Thursday and Friday, July 1 and 2.

The Sub-Committee have, therefore, made preliminary arrangements for the Conference, and we are happy to report that Messrs. Reuter have telegraphed without charge to their agents in the several Colonies, announcing beforehand the invitation forwarded by the Executive to the Branches of the League.

It is recommended that the Conference sit on July 1 and 2, from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., with an adjournment of half-an-hour, the programme to be as follows:—

THURSDAY, July 1, 11 to 1.30 a.m. Subject: "*The Objects to be gained by Imperial Federation.*"

" July 1, 2 to 4 p.m. Subject: "*Means by which Imperial Federation may be carried out.*"

FRIDAY, July 2, 11 to 1.30 a.m. Subject: "*Imperial Defence.*"

" July 2, 2 to 4 p.m. Subject: "*Emigration and Immigration.*"

A REMARKABLE YEAR.—"The champions of Imperial Federation are going to take advantage of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition to forward their views. Large numbers of Colonists will flock to London this year, and in July a conference is to be held of representatives from all the Colonies. The interchange of views may be expected to give a vast impetus to the movement, which, indeed, has already made most extraordinary progress. A few, very few, years ago almost all true Liberals regarded it as a vital part of their creed to laugh at Imperial Federation, and even some Tories regarded it as a beautiful but impracticable dream. But now that is all changed. The matter is deliberately entertained, and it is highly unfashionable to say a word in opposition to it. During the Home Rule debate this has been very evident, for many eminent speakers have alluded to Federation as a coming reality, chief among them Mr. Chamberlain. On the whole, this will be a remarkable year. For it will be remembered as the year in which England made her first great effort to bind in closer bonds her Empire abroad while she was disintegrating it at home."

THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

(BY OUR OWN COMMISSIONER.)

ON Wednesday, April 21st, Sir P. Cunliffe Owen accompanied a number of representatives of the press through the Colonial and Indian Exhibition buildings, and pointed out the progress which had been made in the various departments and courts. Of course the preparations are now far advanced towards completion, as the time is now quite near when "The Colonies" will be formally opened by the Queen. Altogether about a thousand workmen are being employed on the structural alterations, and the arrangement of the various exhibits.

The improvements on the arrangements of former years are many and manifest, and begin with the outside of the building. A decided improvement in the principal entrance to the building has been effected by the construction of a glass roof over the pavement in front, which will be found most useful in rainy weather. On entering the building the visitor will find himself, as in previous years, in a spacious entrance-hall, with a statue of the Prince of Wales on horseback in the centre. Around the hall in the bays are pictorial representations by Messrs. Gillow & Company of the leading Colonial cities, with a few statistics beneath, giving the area, population, and other particulars relating to the different Colonies in which the cities are situated. On one side of the hall will be a large representation of London, showing the Houses of Parliament and other buildings. The entrance-hall leads into the vestibule, which will be more or less devoted to objects connected with India, and is already very effectively draped with textures of native manufacture. There will be exhibited here some of the P. and O. Company's steamers, whose fleet is said to be the largest in the world next to the British Navy. Beyond the vestibule, on the right-hand side, down the steps, will be a very realistic jungle scene, prepared by Mr. Rowland Ward, F.Z.S. The trophies here presented are designed to represent the fauna and flora of India and other parts of the Empire, picturesquely grouped in illustration of their life habits. Some features of tropical country with vegetation form the foreground, and spaciousness is aimed at by pictorial effect. Among the specimens and groups of great game in this division may be noted: Wounded boar finding refuge; cheetahs and axis; gaur; buffalo; bears and young; ovis ammon; goral; nyalgai; markhor; bara singha; hog-deer; blackbuck and albino blackbuck; sambur; jhar; leopards, &c., &c., and many birds. Among the reptiles are alligators, pythons and other snakes, lizards, &c. Mr. Rowland Ward, it may be added, is the only member left in the profession of the Ward family, long unrivalled for their accumulated experience and their skill in practical taxidermy, especially in its artistic department.

In a line with the chief entrance in Exhibition Road is the long Middle Court, more than 200 yards in length, which, together with the North Court on one side and the South Court on the other, is devoted to the products of India and Ceylon. The Middle Court will undoubtedly be one of the favourite courts in the exhibition. Here will be exhibited a series of elaborate carved screens of native Indian design and workmanship. The material used is for the most part wood, inlaid with ivory, though there is also some beautiful carving in stone. The screens have been presented by, or purchased from, the different Provinces and States of India, and much willingness has been shown to assist in procuring them. Although others may be equally imposing when in their places, two of the screens—those from Baroda and Bengal—seem specially worthy of mention. Towards defraying the cost of the latter, the Maharani Turnomoye, of Cossimbazar, and the Nawab Ashanullah, of Dacca, each contributed 3,000r. The two portions of the Bengal screen, which will stand opposite each other, one on one side of the court and one on the other, are both extremely handsome. The one is strictly Hindoo in character, after the style of the Kantonagur Temple; the other is to represent Mahomedan ornamental work, and is copied from mosques still standing in the ruined city of Gaur. Between the screens on the right-hand side of the court and those on the left, a distance of at least 23 feet has been left, so as to afford a broad promenade the whole length of the court, which will be much appreciated in rainy weather. Under each of the screens along the avenue thus formed there will be a little court specially allotted to the State or Province from which the screen has come. The art productions of the natives of India will take up the greater part of this Middle Court, and there will be a great display of artistic gold and silver-ware, brasswork, pottery, silks, carpets, and many other articles, far too numerous to be here noticed. A series of sketches is to be exhibited, typical of Bengal scenery; also two large pictures representing Mounts Everest and Kinchington, the former the loftiest mountain in the world; also Mr. Van Ruith's pictures illustrating native life in the Bombay Presidency. Another interesting exhibit will be that of medical works, publications, and appliances peculiar to India; and another will be a collection of Indian ants, some of

which form a part of the regular food of the hill tribes. Ant-hills and nests are to be shown in their complete and natural condition.

The North Court will be partly occupied by private exhibitors, and partly by collections of teas, coffees, cocoas, and tobaccos. A portion of the North Court will be devoted to Ceylon, and will contain, among other things, a large ethnological collection from the Maldiv Islands. In the South Court will be exhibited principally raw products, and here will be represented the latest addition to the Indian Empire, until this year the dominion of King Theebaw. Large logs of teak are being sent over from that part of the world by the Bombay and Burmah Trading Corporation. The centre of the Middle Court, from end to end, is to be kept open and unobstructed, so as to form a promenade. The "pigeon house," which visitors will discover for themselves, Sir Philip C. Owen recommends as a trysting-place. A large share in making the arrangements for the Indian Courts has been taken by Mr. C. Purdon Clarke, C.I.E., Keeper of the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum. Mr. Clarke was commissioned by the Prince of Wales to arrange for illustrations on a large scale of the handicrafts of India, as carried on by native artisans, and visited India early in 1885 for the purpose. The "right hand" of the native artisan has not as yet "forgotten her" ancient "cunning;" but there is some danger, according to Mr. Clarke, of Indian art designs degenerating through an unsuitable and inharmonious introduction of European ideas. Pains have been taken to have purely Indian designs executed in the screens and other artistic work brought over.

The West African Court will be interesting on many accounts. One object, which will be an object of great curiosity to many, is a collection of some of the gold paid by King Coffee as indemnity to the British Government on the conclusion of the Ashantee War. The Cape of Good Hope will show samples of its vegetable productions, and in this court, too, will be seen a model of the Bultfontein Mine in Griqualand West, the scale being one eighth of an inch to a foot. The Cape also, as would be expected, exhibits diamonds, said to be valued at £40,000. New Zealand will have one of the best and prettiest Courts in the Exhibition. It will be, Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen informed us, "the most scientific of all the courts," thanks to Dr. von Haast, the curator of the Canterbury Museum, who has charge of the scientific department in this court. Canada was late in the field, but has large space allotted to her, and will be well represented. This is largely due to the energy of Sir Charles Tupper, the High Commissioner, who finding last summer that Canada did not seem to be taking much interest in the matter, spent his holiday in stumping the country, and as the result awakened among Canadians such a sense of the opportunity they were letting slip by, that now "half the exhibition buildings might be devoted to Canadian exhibits." The Commissioner for South Australia is evidently the right man in the right place. The decorations, which are proceeding under his directions, are most tasteful and effective, and the arrangement of the exhibits is being made with much judgment. Victoria will be well represented; there will be illustrations of its natural history, vegetation, mineral resources, etc. A striking feature here will be a trophy representing all the gold which the Colony has produced, to the amount of £216,000,000. The exhibits of New South Wales will be very similar to those of Victoria. Visitors to this court will scan with great interest photographs, which are here to be seen among the exhibits, of the members of the Soudan contingent. West Australia also is promising to make a good display.

It is impossible to describe all the courts, within the brief space available, but special mention must be made of the Indian palace, which no doubt will be one of the features of the Exhibition. The gateway is a superb piece of carving in stone, sent by the Maharajah Scindia—I understood Sir Philip to say—with directions that after the closing of the Exhibition it should be presented to South Kensington Museum. Inside the palace, and around its sides will be a kind of bazaar, where native artisans will be seen working at their various handicrafts. The design and carving (wood) of the interior of the durbar hall cannot fail to excite admiration. The whole of this reflects the very highest credit on Mr. Purdon Clarke, under whose superintendence, and largely from whose designs, the work has been executed.

The opening of the Exhibition will be formally made, as is now well known, on May 4th, by the Queen. The Poet Laureate has composed a special ode for the occasion, which will be set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, and sung by Madame Albani, who will also sing "Home, Sweet Home," as likely to be sympathetic with the feelings of the Colonists present.

WHICH are we to choose? A fairly drafted and practicable scheme of federation would consolidate, perpetuate, and expand the proud position to which we have attained in the world. To drift down stream to the cataract of disintegration is to decide upon the act of suicide which nations employ to distinguish an effete and paralytic dotage.—*Sheffield Telegraph*.

GREAT MEETING AT HAVERHILL.

A PUBLIC meeting in support of Imperial Federation was held at the Town Hall on Friday evening, when the chair was occupied by W. Cuthbert Quilter, Esq., M.P., who was supported by D. Gurteen, Esq., J.P., Mr. C. H. Vincent, and Mr. D. Gurteen, jun. Amongst the audience were noticed—Rev. J. Cottingham, Rev. E. Stevens, Chas. Brainsford, Esq., M.D., Messrs. W. Gurteen, C. Freeman, F. Bates, B. L. Tandy, J. Gurteen, D. K. Long, W. Mason, French, J. Atterton, H. Barron, W. Atterton, W. Newman, T. Jarvis, J. Basham, J. Bareham, Rev. Aiken, etc. A few ladies were present in the balcony.

Some little disappointment was felt, as it was anticipated that Professor Seeley would have been present. The Professor, however, sent the following letter:—

DEAR SIR,—I am very glad to hear that Mr. Labilliere is to pay you a visit, I hope the people of Haverhill will take up this question in earnest, for it is a question which only the people at large can solve. It is also a question immeasurably greater than most of those on which parties are divided, and it has the advantage for the present, that parties are not divided upon it. It is a question, as I have tried to show in my "Expansion of England," the study of which is eminently educational, and leads to large views of the past history as well as the past destiny of England. Its momentous importance I feel more and more every day. We must all have long felt that emigration on a large scale must sooner or later be set on foot. But many of us have also felt it as a sad necessity that England should have to part with so many of the most vigorous Englishmen, and, of course, we cannot burden the Colonies with our refuse, with the feeble and incapable. The matter changes its aspect when we begin to think of the whole great English Realm as one. Then we understand that those who leave this island are not lost to England; on the other hand England is not lost to them. Out of the crowded city into the free air and the new countries they can go without leaving England, and we can see them go without feeling that England loses them! To make this a most real truth it is only necessary that our people should hold out their hands to their brothers on the other side of the water, and that they should form the habit of constantly thinking about them, and of informing themselves about them. Let branches of the league be formed everywhere, and let them take in the *Journal of the League*. Let Colonists and persons who know the Colonists be frequently invited to lecture; let an effort be made to keep the subject always in view; let us carefully keep in mind those who are out of sight. This is the principal thing. If this is done those Federal arrangements of which Mr. Labilliere will speak to you, will come in due time.—Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully,

PROFESSOR SEELEY.

The CHAIRMAN who, on rising to speak, was received with rounds of cheering, said: Ladies and gentlemen, this is not the first time of meeting you in this hall, therefore I won't for one moment pretend to be bashful, and it affords me the greatest pleasure in seeing so many of the fair sex present on this occasion, as this is the first time I have had the pleasure of meeting you since you did me the honour of electing me as your member for this Division of Suffolk. I always feel a pleasure in coming to Haverhill, as it recalls to my mind the kind and sympathetic greeting you gave me during my inexperience when I used to address you some months ago. I must confess that I feel a little afraid sometimes of my friends in other parts of the district, as they say you always find time to go to Haverhill, whilst you cannot come and see us. I am here to-night, and I don't think it is any exaggeration to say that I was much pressed to come and I accepted it, but I am bound to tell you I accepted it after some little hesitation, as I think it my duty to be in another place to-night to look after your interests and the welfare of the whole of this large constituency, as I must tell you that there is not one single evening but that there is some pressing question coming up for discussion. He (the chairman) continuing, said that he felt that on the occasion of that lecture they were upon common ground, being met to hear the details of a great proposal, which, if it could be carried out, must be fraught with very great benefit as a whole. Although Haverhill was a very important place, and although England might be the greatest Empire, yet they must remember that there were brothers upon the other side of the sea. We in England were rather closely pressed and competition was very keen in this old country—keener than it was over the seas. It was a pleasant thing to feel that when our friends came to leave the shores of the old country they were not leaving the Empire, but were only going to another part of it. He regretted that they were deprived of the pleasure of seeing Professor Seeley, who was well known to many present, and so far as his own qualifications for presiding at that meeting were concerned, they were not more than those of anyone present. He had some ideas and warm aspirations with regard to this subject of Imperial Federation, yet he could not claim thought or time, as he had recently been compelled to devote a great deal of time to other questions, and he trusted that they would all leave the room with better ideas of Federation, learn more of that greater England beyond the seas. There were men in Haverhill who, he felt, if any question were put before them, would read up the various papers upon it and form their own opinion of it. He trusted that the good seed which would be sown that evening would ripen into a larger appreciation and knowledge of that larger region beyond the seas, so that when the time came it would help them to form their opinions, so that Mr. Labilliere's remarks would not be thrown away. He wished to take this the first opportunity of stating to them that he did not merely consider himself the representative of a certain party, but a member for the whole division, and if he could at any time help anyone, irrespective of party or creed, he would only be too glad to be of service to them. (Loud applause.)

MR. F. P. LABILLIERE, who has spent many years of his life in Victoria, and is a native of Melbourne, then addressed the meeting. The speaker, whose address occupied an hour, began by saying that the Chairman had struck the key-note of the question in his observation, that the people in this country should regard the people of the Colonies as fellow-countrymen, and make themselves as well acquainted with them as possible. As Professor Seeley had said, the Colonies should

be regarded as extensions of England—as “so many Kents.” He would say, so many Suffolks, as we were in Suffolk. Notwithstanding all their facilities for travelling, the great majority of the people of Suffolk could never see the great majority of the people of Cornwall or Cumberland. Was that any reason why they should not regard them as fellow-countrymen? And was the fact that the people of England could see but few Canadians and Australians and South Africans, any reason why they should not feel that they also were their countrymen? The speaker referred to the marvellous growth of the Colonial Empire, illustrating it by stating his earliest recollections of his native city, Melbourne. One of the few Colonists still living, who had been there just after it had been founded, could remember Melbourne as only consisting of half a dozen huts built of sods. He could himself picture what he had seen when a very little child—goats feeding in what are now some of the principal streets. He had also been, as a little boy, at Ballarat, shortly after the first discovery of gold there, and when there was not a house, only a few tents, where there is now a fine town. Reference was made to the fact, that whilst Canada and Australia have about one inhabitant to the square mile of territory, and Russia between 40 and 50, the United Kingdom has upwards of 300. Russia has room for a large increase of population. This country could not bear double the number she now possesses. What, therefore, will be her position beside Russia and other great Powers, if she is to be left alone in future, instead of being in union with her Colonies? She must be dwarfed by other nations. The trade with the Colonies was of great and increasing value. In spite of Protection, the Colonies took far more per head for their population of her goods than any other customers of the Mother Country. Their vast territories afforded wide fields for her surplus people. The Canadian Pacific Railway would not only open up great tracts of country for emigrants, but be of vast importance, in the event of war, for carrying troops and keeping up communication between different parts of the Empire. It vitally concerned this country that the commercial and food supply routes should be kept open and secure, because the principal part of what the people of this country have to eat comes from beyond the seas; so that if the navy of England lost the command of the ocean, the price of food would go up to famine prices; for it would be possible for a very few hostile war vessels to blockade the entrances to the English and Irish Channels, so that not a single vessel could enter any port from the mouth of the Thames to that of the Clyde. It is impossible to insure our safety in the Old Country and the Colonies except by the union and defence of both by joint organised action, and that meant Imperial Federation. Some people did not like the words “Empire” and “Imperial,” but there are Empires and Empires. There were Empires such as those of ancient Rome and of the Bonapartes, military despotisms, which he utterly detested. Their only support were swords and bayonets, and as soon as these were withdrawn those Imperial systems fell and were shattered in the dust. But the United British Empire was a totally different thing, it would be upheld by the free will of our free and self-governing people in Mother Country and Colonies. It would exist not for conquest or aggression, but for the security and peace of all our dominions. We should be prepared to maintain all our rights and interests, and to respect those of other nations. Mr. Labilliere referred to the success of Federal unions in securing for other great Powers everything we required for our Empire; he also pointed out the advantage of having a distinct legislature and executive to deal with the common affairs of the Empire, instead of their being mixed up and entangled with the domestic concerns of the United Kingdom. He did not think the time had come for deciding what should be the precise form of Imperial Federation, but it was well to study various systems, and for people of the Empire to consider and make up their minds as to the best means of carrying out the great policy. The speaker concluded by earnestly impressing upon his audience that the permanent unity and Federation of the Empire far surpassed all questions of party politics in their bearing upon the future of our race and nation.

MR. C. H. VINCENT said they were all glad to welcome Mr. Labilliere amongst them. The lecturer said he had opponents. He did not know them. He saw many good Conservatives as well as Liberals amongst the promoters of this object. There was one thing that commended the scheme especially to his mind, and that was the idea of advancing the Brotherhood of the English race, he therefore proposed “that with a view to the permanent and closer union of England and her Colonies and to the commercial interests and general prosperity of the British Empire both at home and beyond the seas some form of Federation is desirable.”

This was seconded by MR. D. GURTEEN, Jun., who said he had much pleasure in seconding the resolution, remarking that a large and wide question had been opened up by the lecturer. He knew there were not many members of their great landed families who emigrated to the Colonies, while in many families of the artisans there were those who had gone forth to other countries. It was a large question from a social and economic point of view. They imported a large quantity of food but they also exported a great many manufactures. There was, however, nothing here that they required but the Colonies could grow, and there was nothing the Colonies required but what they could supply them with. Mr. Labilliere had done well, and he had given them a good meal to digest on the present occasion, let them hope that they should leave that hall with a larger conception of that great question, with fuller heads and warmer hearts. The speaker at the close of his remarks commented somewhat on the behaviour that had been going on in one part of the hall, recommending the parties that if they could not behave themselves and quietly sit to listen to an instructive address, that they ought not to come and disturb those who did come to seek information. (Hear, hear.)

MR. D. GURTEEN said he had a pleasing duty to perform. There was no necessity for him to enlarge on the subject which had been so ably handled by Mr. Labilliere. He thoroughly endorsed his remarks, and he felt fully alive to the importance of urging forward the Imperial question to strengthen the bonds of unity between old England and her

Colonies. He begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to the worthy chairman, whom they welcomed amongst them for the first time since his election as their member. When he first became acquainted with him, he felt sure that he was the right man to represent them in the House of Commons, and the more he knew of him the more he felt that he was the right man in the right place.

MR. B. TANDY, in seconding the proposition, said he was able to speak of the good feeling and unity that existed between America and their own country, having had occasion to cross the Atlantic several times. The speaker also complimented the meeting upon securing Mr. Quilter as their chairman, saying that they ought to be proud of him as their representative for this large and important constituency.

MR. QUILTER, in returning thanks, said that the remarks with reference to himself had been far too flattering. All he could do was to thank them heartily in return for their kindness. He was pleased to say that all sections of the community had received him throughout the division with the greatest courtesy. He had listened to the subject with great interest, and the time had passed quickly by, but he thought a most instructive lesson had been taught them all.

This concluding the meeting, MR. THOS. JARVIS played the national anthem on the organ, and the company separated.

LANCASTER REFORM CLUB.

DEBATE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE Debating Society of the Lancaster Reform Club took up on Tuesday evening, March 30th, the consideration of the question of Imperial Federation. MR. ROBERT PRESTON presided. The subject was introduced by MR. GEORGE SPEAR in a carefully prepared and interesting paper.

MR. SPEAR prefaced his address by moving the following resolution:—“That this meeting is of opinion that Great Britain and her Colonies should be bound more indissolubly together than they are at the present time. That in the interest of the unity of the British Empire, Federation of the different parts of the Empire is worthy the attention of our statesmen and the people at large, and that the time has now come to devise some means to draw the bonds of unity between Great Britain and her auxiliary kingdoms still closer.” The speaker proceeded to sketch briefly the various phases of the growth and expansion of the British Colonial Empire, and how these Colonies are governed—distinguishing between what are called “Crown Colonies,” the Government of which is vested in a Governor appointed by the Crown, and, under him, a nominated Council—Colonies such as West Africa, Malta, St. Helena, and Ceylon—and those larger Colonies where self-government has been established, and where the machine of legislation is a Parliament elected by the people. Such Colonies are Cape Colony, Canada, and Australia. Our Colonies were useful to the Mother Country in many ways—some as fields for emigration for our own people, others as stations for the shelter of our fleets and for the protection of our commerce, others as trading stations from which commodities could be shipped to all parts of the Empire, etc. It was an advantage to Englishmen to transfer labour and wealth to other lands under the same rule and sovereignty as the Mother Country; the Colonies were the best markets for our manufactures, and supplied us largely with the commodities we at home required. It had lately been much mooted that the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies were not what they ought to be, and that the ties which bound them together were not such as would stand either in good stead in time of need. The idea of Imperial Federation had been started by a few eminent men, and a society called the Federal League had been established with the object of having the subject of the Federation of the Empire more generally studied and understood. No practical or formal scheme of Federation had yet been propounded, but the objects of the Federation League—which was founded by a number of statesmen and M.P.’s, including Mr. Forster, the Marquis of Normanby, and Earl Rosebery—were summed up as follows:—“To secure the permanent unity of the Empire so that the Federal Council should not interfere with the rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs, and that Great Britain and her Colonies should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and for the provision of an adequate organised defence for the protection of common rights. A federal government was an association of countries, each independent of the rest in its own particular affairs, but submitting to a government common to them all for certain purposes of general interest. In 1815 the different states of Germany formed a Federation, the affairs of which were regulated by representatives from each state who met at Frankfort-on-Maine, under the presidency of Austria. In 1866 Prussia assumed the position of president, and a new Federation was formed until 1871, when the whole of the German States were united under the title of the German Empire. Switzerland was a federated country, but the greatest of all Federations were the United States of America. In considering the question of British Imperial Federation one point should not be lost sight of, and that was that Federation should not be forced upon the Colonies. It must, in fact, come from the Colonies themselves, and the Mother Country must be careful not to infringe upon their rights. It should be the object of Federation to prevent causes arising which would tend to the severance of the great Colonies from us, to establish a common citizenship in all parts of the Queen’s dominions, and to provide for mutual defence of each and every part of the Empire. The speaker went on to quote a speech by Mr. Forster, in which was emphasised the importance of the Colonies to the Mother Country in the matter of trade, and showing that the trade of England very much depended upon keeping up our connection with the Colonies; showing, also, that, while our total trade with foreign countries had diminished, that with our Colonies had increased. Questions naturally suggested themselves as to Federation being practicable. For instance, Will the Colonies always follow our lead in foreign policy? Will Great Britain continue to give the Colonies naval and military assistance if they find

themselves in difficulties with their neighbours? Have not the greater Colonies the power to make their own commercial regulations, tariffs, etc., and may not this lead them and us into divergent lines of policy which may lead to disagreement? Does not disintegration loom in the future? Is not the independence of Australia likely to result from the amount of local freedom which they possess? Is not the annexation of Canada to the United States likely to follow its separation from the British Empire? All such questions required some consideration and answer. There was a kind of Federation already in existence. There were Viceroy or Governors appointed by the Crown, who were generally received with loyalty, and who in most cases approved the laws passed by their Legislatures, but who at the same time had the power to reserve that approval, in cases which were judged likely to be detrimental to the Imperial interests, until the Crown had been applied to. There was also a power of appeal from the decisions of the Colonial courts in civil cases to the British Privy Council, and this power was greatly prized and zealously maintained by the Colonists. The case was fairly stated by Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada, in a speech made in February last year, when he said—"We want no independence except the independence we have at the present moment. We have an Imperial Government, but we may govern ourselves if we please and we may misgovern ourselves as much as we please. We may put a tax upon the industrial products of our fellow subjects in England and Scotland. If our shores are attacked, we are defended by the mighty resources of the British Empire." Another element of the existing Federation was the relationship of the Colonists to the English people, and their loyalty to the British Crown. After touching upon the peculiar position of India in the British Empire, the speaker went on to say that the plan of Federation so far suggested by the League was that there should be some Federal Council, composed of representatives from the different Colonies, empowered to deal with all matters affecting the Empire at large. Earl Grey's suggestion was that envoys from the Colonies should sit in the Council, but he would accord the Council no executive powers. He would make it a consultative body, to which the Colonial Secretary might refer for advice. But the question was one which Earl Grey thought enormously difficult of satisfactory settlement. But that it should be settled was of the highest importance to England. If England lost her Colonies she could find no more friendly markets for her commerce—the world could offer her no more "pastures new." It would seem that the Colonies would require more and more some distinct control of the foreign policy of the Empire. Australia, for instance, would before long have a good deal to say about the Suez Canal. The danger and the difficulty lay in combining such diverse interests as those which the various Colonies possessed. Such difficulties, however, as those created by the German annexation of the Samoa Islands and the annexation of New Guinea, on which Australia felt deeply, would be best settled in Imperial Council. Some strong effort should be made to bring a practicable plan of Imperial Federation about. It was becoming clearer and clearer that England could not stand alone. The tendency of the world was towards the creation of vast Empires, and the real question which confronted us was this—Shall England lose her great position among the nations, or shall she maintain it as she has done in the past? (Applause.)

There was a considerable pause before any one present rose to second the resolution, and the CHAIRMAN intimated that he might find it his duty to call upon some gentleman to keep the discussion going. Ultimately,

MR. ALFRED KAY seconded the resolution and made a humorously aggressive speech upon the Radicalism represented in the room, for the purpose of stimulating debate. In his opinion (he proceeded) there never was a time when men of all shades of thought had greater need to allow their own individual crotchets to sink into the background than the present. They should aim at one object, and one alone—the good of their country. He noted that there was not that strong Radical element present in the meeting which predominated on other occasions, and it showed that there was not the interest taken in the question introduced by Mr. Spear which it deserved. It seemed to him that there were dark spots now to be seen in the glorious sun of England's greatness. He did not mean Ireland. (Laughter.) He meant something worse—he meant that restless Radicalism which, like the dove of the Ark, had been flying about everywhere, and which was now to be seen returning with a sprig of shamrock in its mouth—(more laughter)—showing that it had discovered rest only in an Irish Home Rule. They had a specimen of this restless Radicalism which wanted Home Rule in the Local Option debate. This was what the wisecracks with large heads, who ought to know better—(laughter)—were offering for our kind consideration and for the benefit of a so-called intelligent majority—a Radical majority which was out of money, out of clothes, out of credit, and out of doors and in debt to the genius of intelligent Liberalism. That was Radicalism. (Laughter.) He was very glad to find that out of the dark cloud passing over the country a sweet voice might be heard to sing—"Not for Joe—oh, dear no—not for Joe!" (Loud laughter.) He was one of those who believed that the patience and wisdom of a good Liberal Government—not a Radical one—had much to do with maintaining the peace and prosperity not only of this country but of the whole civilised world, and it was to such a Government they must look for a scheme which would give lasting Federation and unity to the Empire on which the sun never sets and in every part of which Manxmen may be found. (Laughter and applause.)

MR. NUTTALL gave a support to the resolution, and he was of opinion that it was just to the despised Radical party that we must look to bring the Federation of the Empire about. Our Colonies were very valuable, and were our best customers. He believed the amount which Australia purchased yearly from the Mother Country came to £8 per head of the Colonists. The introducer had said that the Colonies had ceased to be children and had passed out of leading-strings. That was so, and the time had come when they should be taken into full partnership. Lord Grey's suggestion was very good so far as it went, but it would hardly work because the Colonies had such

different interests. The House of Lords would soon be abolished, Ireland was about to have Home Rule, and he looked upon these as the preliminary practical steps to an effective scheme of Imperial Federation. Leave England and Ireland, and Scotland, and Australia, and Canada, and all the other branches of the Empire each with its own local government, and let representatives be sent from all to a really Imperial Parliament in London. We were a long way from that yet, but the people should be educated to face the question and to undertake its settlement.

MR. JAMES PROCTER said he did not know what Radicalism had been doing to rouse the anger of the seconder of the resolution, but the secret of that gentleman's animosity was, perhaps, to be found in the phrase he used, "Not for Joe!" (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The seconder fancied that the personage in question was not going to have Home Rule for Ireland, but he (Mr. Procter) could assure him that Radicalism would swamp not only "Joe" but a thousand Joes if they stood in the way of the settlement of that question. (Applause.) The paper that had been read contained a large amount of valuable information, and it was to be regretted that the audience was not larger. Had the question to be discussed been a twopenny-halfpenny topic they would have had a crowded house, but on a question such as that they had—a select number. (Laughter.) Imperial Federation was a vast subject, and it could only be settled on the lines of mutual advantage to the Colonies and the Mother Country. It would be a great aid if along with British troops England could command the presence of troops from Australia and Canada, but as it stood we were bound to defend our Colonies in case of attack. There was no question that if England came to suffer defeat in Europe her Colonies would suffer. That was the case with Spain. One of the great obstacles in the way of Imperial Federation was in the disparity of the fiscal systems of the Mother Country and the Colonies. Then there was the question of the distribution of Imperial charges. Would the Colonies agree to pay a share of the National Debt or of the cost of Royalty? As it was, when a Colonist left this country he left behind him the National Debt and the Royal Family. The Colonists were no doubt loyal, but they took precious good care never to send over any of their money for the maintenance of Royalty. Perhaps the greatest advantage to be derived from Federation would be that the Colonies would, with equal responsibilities, see to it that the army and navy were placed upon a proper and efficient basis, and that the useless collection of Royal dukes and princes now entrusted with high positions of command in the army and navy was got rid of. Immense changes would have to take place before Imperial Federation was accomplished, but those changes were coming. Every Radical ought to believe in a scheme of Federation, because it would herald the day when, as Tennyson said in his *Locksley Hall*, the battle flag would be furled "in the Parliament of men, in the Federation of the world." The Federation of the British Empire would be the prelude of universal peace, and that would not come until "the man of blood and iron," the disturber of the general peace, was laid asleep and out of the way in some corner of his Fatherland. (Applause.)

MR. GEO. WRIGHT offered a few remarks in support of the resolution.

MR. JAMES HEALD expressed his dissent from any scheme of Imperial Federation. The object of Federation was to unite in closer bonds the various parts of the Empire, but to his mind it would have a tendency in the opposite direction. The first and greatest difficulty would be in the matter of funds. There would have to be an Imperial fund which would have to be contributed to by all the Colonies and by all our dependencies. But there were several dependencies which so far as he could see, could hardly be included in a scheme of Federation, because they had no representation in the Mother Country at the present time and they had not the free government of the Colonies. In the matter of raising funds they would find such a difference of opinion and such a clashing of interests that it might very well end in the entire separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country. What interest had the people of Australia in the Newfoundland Fisheries, or what interest had the people of Canada in the annexation of New Guinea, upon which question the Australians had been very emphatic with the home Government. It appeared to him that on these matters there would be strong antagonisms aroused, and the effect would be the opposite of that which was desired in Federation. They had no experience in the past of any scheme of Federation of the kind suggested being brought into practical operation. When the United States attained their independence it was sought to carry on the government of the country upon this Federation principle. The States were at the time separate States, with separate governments. The attempt to federalise was carried on for nine years, and representatives were sent to a central Parliament and the States contributed to the general expenditure. But it was at length found that the interests of the several States clashed so much that they could not get from each State its proper proportion of contributions to carry on the national government, and the plan was abandoned. He could not think that the Colonies would agree to all matters being regulated from London. There were grave objections to Imperial Federation, objections which it was not easy to overcome.

In the end the debate was adjourned.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.

At the adjourned debate on April 6th, Mr. J. TURNEY, president of the society, occupied the chair. There was a fairly good attendance.

MR. J. COCKS opened the resumed debate, and gave a general support to the first part of the resolution, "That this meeting is of opinion that Great Britain and her Colonies should be bound more indissolubly together than they are at the present time." They must all admit that it was desirable that the Colonies should in many respects be drawn closer to the Mother Country, and it was especially so desirable for the sake of Great Britain itself. The Colonies were of great value, because they increased English trade and because they acted as an outlet for our surplus population. When it was remembered that in this country there were thousands of men who were willing to work but

could not get work to do, the question of enabling them to pass over to some of our Colonies was well worth considering. Were our Colonies to demand their independence and get it, they would doubtless impose protective tariffs, and the result would be disastrous to the trade of England. On those grounds it was desirable that the tie between us and the Colonies should be indissoluble. He could not see, however, that any hard and fast scheme of Federation would be possible. The only scheme propounded was that by Lord Grey, but they had to ask—would it work? Did the Colonies desire it, or any scheme of Federation? He contended that Federation would benefit the Mother Country more than the Colonies. Therefore there should be no hurry in settling this question. It seemed to him that the demand for Federation would come best from the Colonies themselves. This country should not attempt to force any scheme which would hurt the feelings or interests of the Colonies. He came to the conclusion that although Federation may be desirable it is not practicable at the present time.

MR. J. HEALD, in moving an amendment to the resolution, took the line of argument which he adopted the previous week. He was not opposed to strengthening the bonds that existed between Great Britain and the Colonies. But he thought that any legal scheme of Federation—which would prevent each Colony or part of the Federation from exercising separate and complete control of its own affairs—would be very unwise and suicidal. Extracts from Colonial expressions of opinion had been read in the course of the debate which showed that some of our Colonists were utterly opposed to a scheme of Federation at the present time. One reason for leaving the matter alone was that we should be working entirely in the dark—we had no precedent, no previous experience of any scheme of Federation, to work upon. We should be launching out into an entirely new field. The German Confederation and the Federation of Switzerland did not afford illustrations of the kind of Federation which could be adopted in the case of the British Empire. Our Colonies had such a diversity of interests as would prevent them working together smoothly for a common purpose. The speaker quoted Mr. John Stuart Mill against the Federation idea—the Colonies were not part of the same public with Britain, did not discuss and deliberate in the same arena, had only an imperfect knowledge of one another, the conditions do not exist which are essential to Federation, etc. Mr. Childers, an authority on Colonial matters, said, "If you want a good cause of quarrel with the Colonies, this (Federation) would be the method." There was clear danger that if Federation were attempted, it would bring about a disruption of the Empire. There was no present need for drawing closer the bonds between the Colonies and the Mother Country. The Colonies expressed no wish for separation, and until we saw that there was a change going on for the worse in our intercolonial relations, there was no need to try to bring about a Federation scheme. It was for us to bind England to the Colonies by commercial and social ties, and not by any legal contract, and to show that our Colonies were appreciated and valued, and their interests carefully guarded. He moved as an amendment "that, in the opinion of this meeting, the time has not arrived for the establishment of a systematic scheme of Federation."

MR. J. T. WILKINSON seconded the amendment.

MR. BLACKBURN supported the amendment, although he said he found nothing specially objectionable in the resolution, which was of the most inoffensive character. As to Lord Lorne's book on Federation, which speakers had quoted from, it seemed to him to be like what the Liberal party was once described to be, like a jelly-fish, without back-bone. Much was to be said in favour of the general idea of Imperial Federation. Any Federation scheme would mostly, as had been said, be for the benefit of England, and he could not see that the Colonies would have anything to gain by it. The Colonies were already valuable to us commercially and as fields for our surplus population; the question was, would they be made more so by Federation? He could not see that they would. Earl Grey's scheme was a feasible one, but it did not seem to him to be altogether desirable. Under it the Colonial representatives would simply be the nominees of the Colonial Governments, and our own representatives would be of a similar character. If it were possible to have an Imperial assembly on the same lines as our own Parliament, in which representatives from the Colonies would meet to deal with Colonial and Imperial questions, there might be some advantage secured. But as far as he could see that would be impracticable because the Colonial representatives would not be in touch with their constituencies. The subject was undoubtedly an important one, but very few people seemed to know anything about it. If it ever came to be a popular question, and one that was brought home fully to the minds of the people, it would be soon found out whether a Federation scheme was practicable or not. Until then the question might be left to the academic gentlemen in whose hands it was at present.

MR. A. KAY supported the resolution. The question was one that ought to be thoroughly examined into, and if the relations of the Mother Country with the Colonies were not what they ought to be, then it was for the people to know the reason why, and to set themselves to bring about some amendment. He agreed that it would be advantageous that any scheme of Federation should come from the Colonies themselves, but if the Colonies were not prepared with such a scheme, and did not see their way to it, then it was for the Mother Country to go to the Colonies with some scheme, "Mahomet must go to the mountain." It would be well if our statesmen were to discuss questions of high Imperial concern with less of the spirit of recklessness and passion such as was exhibited by men like Lord Randolph Churchill and the Duke of Westminster. The time would come when this question of Imperial Federation would be seriously taken up by the nation, and if that time had not arrived that was no reason why the subject should not be thought about and discussed. He believed in the feasibility of Imperial Federation, and the time would come when it would be accomplished.

MR. NUTTALL, in the absence of the introducer (who was unavoidably absent) replied on the debate. He contended that Federation was practicable and that some scheme could be evolved which would benefit

both the Mother Country and the Colonies. In reply to Colonial opinion quoted against Federation he quoted Colonial opinion—that of Mr. Service, Premier of Victoria, and of Lord Lorne—in favour of it. One of the speakers, in suggesting an Imperial senate, had shadowed out what might be the centre of a practicable Federation scheme. It had been said that the first scheme of Federal government for the United States was a failure. But that scheme had been altered, and the Federation of the United States was now workable enough. Similarly, if a scheme for the Federation of the British Empire was found unworkable, English practical common-sense might be trusted to make all the alterations required to make it a good and efficient scheme. As to precedents, he attached no value to the absence of them in this case. There was a lot of things which would be done in the immediate future for which there would be no precedents. As a matter of fact some of the Colonies were already Federated in themselves—Canada, for instance—and the Australian Colonies were in process of being Federated. Extend the principle to the whole Empire. The British Empire had been great and glorious in the past. If its various parts were joined together in real unity, the future of the Empire would be still more grand and glorious.

The vote was then taken, and the amendment was declared carried.

The majority of the speakers, however, pronounced in favour of Imperial Federation, and it is easy to see that if the number of votes for the resolution had been in proportion to the weight of argument the resolution would have been carried.

BANQUET TO THE OUTGOING AGENT-GENERAL FOR VICTORIA.

A FAREWELL banquet was given at the Freemasons' Tavern, on the 7th ult., to Mr. R. Murray Smith, C.M.G., on his resigning the office of Agent-General in London for the Colony of Victoria, after he had held the same for a period of nearly four years. The chair was occupied by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who wore the Colonial Order of St. Michael and St. George, of which he is Grand Master. Speech forbids us doing more than quote such parts of the speeches as bear directly upon the subject to which this journal is specially devoted.

The guest of the evening, in the course of a speech in acknowledgment of the toast of his health, referred to the Sydney Convention of 1883, which, he said, laid down three principles. The first was the dominance of English interests in the Pacific; the second the development of a united Australian nationality; and the third was the furtherance of Imperial unity. (Cheers.) The third was, strangely enough, supposed by some to be inconsistent with the second, but he asked why Australia federated should be less loyal than Australia divided into separate Colonies? Perhaps Australian statesmen had fallen somewhat short of the high ideal they had established at the Convention. But although disappointed in some of their objects, he did not think they need be afraid of the future. Whatever foreign nations might do, the predominance of Australian interests, and, he trusted, also of British interests, was assured in the Pacific when the late Lord J. Russell, when asked what portion of the great continent of Australia Great Britain claimed, replied "All." (Cheers.) If the French and German Colonies flourished, Australia could welcome them as neighbours, and as affording a valuable sphere for Colonial competition. If, on the contrary, they declined, Australia would be their inevitable heir. To Mr. Service and Mr. Griffith the Colonies owed the establishment of the Federal Council. In a private letter to himself, Mr. Service had described the Council as a success, inasmuch as it had not been a failure. Its friends were fairly satisfied with the results achieved, while its foes were silent. South Australia had been left out by inevitable delay, but would probably soon join. The abstention of New South Wales had been a very great loss, but he (Mr. Murray Smith) could not conceive that the sensible and prudent statesmen of that great Colony would long refuse to come in. The time for complete Federation might not have arrived, and yet many important matters of public interest might be dealt with by a united Council, which left all the separate Colonies the autonomy they were so justly proud of. He could not refer to this subject without expressing the regret that every loyal and earnest Colonist must feel at the death of Mr. Forster. He regarded that event as not only a national but an Imperial misfortune. While we were discussing the problem of Imperial Federation, it was being practically solved through many channels—the Post Office, the Church—as witness the selection of a Colonial bishop for one of the most active sees in England—the cricket field and other sports, as was evidenced by the presence of four Australians in the University race of Saturday last. (Cheers.) By all these channels the tide of Imperial unity was flowing at our feet. He was reminded of some lines of Clough's which aptly described the situation:—

"What though the tired wave, vainly breaking,
Seems here no painful inch to gain?
Far back through creek and inlet making,
Comes, silent, flooding in the main."

In conclusion he said: Our loyalty, indeed, is of a good antique type, for our thoughts possibly are not so much upon the England of to-day, with her social troubles and party strifes, as on the England of story and of song. Our hearts turn to that old fortress by the river whose records for good or evil are inextricably interwoven with English history in all times; or to that great city cathedral where the saviours of the silver-coasted isle, Wellington and Nelson, sleep side by side; or, most of all, to that hallowed Abbey, where rest the bones, or are inscribed the monuments, of those great men to whose genius, to whose labour and sacrifices, we owe so much of all that makes life worth having. Who is there so dead of soul as not to be moved by these things? Who sees them, and does not thank God that Australian, Canadian, South African though he be, he is nevertheless an Englishman? This is the England we love. We love her for the dangers she has passed. And long may such associations be hallowed in our

mind; long may we find in her a just and beneficent parent; and if her evil days should come—which God forbid—may those whose infancy she has protected rise to aid her in their manhood.

EARL GRANVILLE, on rising to propose the toast of "The Empire," was received with loud cheers. His lordship said: A great toast has been committed to my charge. I am desired to propose to you to drink to the Empire. It is almost impossible when thinking of this subject not to repeat again and again the well-worn, but still fresh, proud old Castilian boast, that the sun never sets on the dominion over which our Sovereign reigns. A great statesman once said that an official man had so much manuscript to read that he could hardly be expected to look at what was printed. But an official man must be busy indeed if he cannot find time to read two such books on the Empire as have lately been published: one by an Austrian statesman, a highly-trained diplomatist, a cultivated writer, a Conservative among Conservatives in his own Conservative country, but overflowing with friendly sympathy not only for us but for our still more democratic relations across the ocean; the other by a strong Englishman, a classical historian, one who thinks for himself, and is by no means satisfied *stare super antiquas vias*. It is impossible to read the graphic descriptions which these two gentlemen give of these vast communities, which they both visited, without feeling as if a magnificent panorama in all its details was being rolled out before our eyes. Nothing can be more amusing, more interesting, and more instructive, especially for one in my position, and I trust that they will not be jealous if I profit in some respects by their lessons. Mr. Froude cannot write ten pages without showing his capacity for warm sympathy with communities, with races, and with individuals; and although he is not altogether without the power of feeling strong antipathies, his whole tone as regards our fellow-subjects in the Colonies is admirable. But there is one criticism which I will venture to make, which he will not mind, and, indeed, which he, perhaps, will be glad that I should think I have cause to make. Mr. Froude hardly loses an opportunity of stating that in England a great party in general, and the Colonial Office in particular, are indifferent, or rather hostile, to the Colonies. Mr. Froude must have been aware that, from his high position and great literary reputation, an account written with his masterly and attractive pen of a personal visit to some of our most important Colonies, was the one book which was certain to be most read in the Colonies, and by the greatest number of Colonists. I think it was Pascal who said that if the truth was the first rule, discretion was the second, and have much doubt whether, even if Mr. Froude's statement was accurate, it would be advantageous to stamp it indelibly on the minds of our fellow-subjects in the Colonies. But I entirely deny the fact. It is a preconceived notion, and not one founded on truth. When speaking of the Australian Federation, which has been with such singular eloquence advocated by our guest of this evening, Mr. Froude says that it is favoured by the Colonial Office to save themselves trouble. (Laughter.) I feel certain that it is not his deliberate opinion that when men like Lord Derby, Sir F. Stanley, and Lord Kimberley, who are present here to-night, and Lord Carnarvon, who is absent, together with the staff of the Colonial Office, some of the most hard-working members of the Civil Service, two of whom were respectively Prime Minister and Attorney-General in an Australian Colony, come to a conclusion, whether right or wrong, on one of the most important Colonial subjects, that they do so merely to save themselves trouble. Mr. Murray Smith, our honoured guest, will be at home next month. In addition to the great personal position which he held in the estimation of his fellow Colonists when he came out, his sojourn in this country must add to the weight of his opinions. He is the type of the class of men whom the great Colonies have sent out as their representatives, and who have contributed to the formation of an institution of inestimable advantage to the relations of the home country and the great dependencies of the Crown. They have brought us into nearer touch with one another. Many mistakes which have formerly arisen through misconception on either side, either as regards the feelings of the Colonies, the Imperial necessities, or international obligations, would now be unjustifiable and ought to be impossible. I speak without his authority, but I cannot help hoping that Mr. Murray Smith will be able to point out, as an indirect compliment to the Colony which he represents, the appreciation of his personal services, of which the crowning proof is shown by the meeting of to-night, presided over by an illustrious member of the Royal Family and singularly representative of all classes and of all political parties—a meeting which has only one sad void, caused by the death of the remarkable man who passed away this week, and who, if his health and strength had been spared, would have been a foremost figure here to-night. It is possible that Mr. Murray Smith, when he reaches Sydney, will be able to say for the Colonial Office that they are not exclusively hard at work to save themselves trouble. He may give useful information on some such questions as these. A subject of reasonable alarm in Australia is the burning one of foreign convicts in the Pacific. The French Government lately have made in a friendly spirit suggestions for an arrangement—on which I give no opinion at present, as I wish to be guided by the views of the Colonies most interested in the matter—but which contains the important proviso that the mission of convicts to the Pacific shall completely and immediately cease. Mr. Murray Smith may perhaps speak of our not being unmindful at home of how the New South Wales Contingent fought alongside of their brethren in arms, and of our knowledge how other Colonial contingents would have rallied to that flag which, in my opinion, should always be the same Imperial standard. He may, perhaps, state that many of us hope that a closer connexion may be formed on a permanent basis between the Colonial and Imperial forces. I venture to say in all humility, in the presence of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, that it would not be impossible to grant a certain number of commissions in the regular army above those allotted to the chartered Universities. Baron Von Hübner and Mr. Froude both gave wonderful descriptions of the erection of public buildings and institutions in our Colonies. Is it not possible that Australia may have its own military college like that so successfully initiated in Canada, and then like Canada supply

recruits to the scientific branch of its army? A proposal is being made to the Australasian Colonies for their more efficient naval defences, an incidental feature of which is the increase of naval cadetships. Perhaps such measures might afford a practical and solid contribution towards Imperial Confederation. The Australian Colonies have at their own cost provided means of defence for their ports, which are also bases of operation for Her Majesty's ships. Proposals are now under consideration for the co-operation of the Imperial Government and the whole group of Colonies for defending King George's Sound. Although it does not directly interest Mr. Murray Smith, I may mention that similar proposals, accepted in principle, are being considered by the Government of the Dominion and ourselves as to the defence of Vancouver. The Government of the Cape of Good Hope will probably agree to proposals we are about to make on the subject of Table Bay. Hong-Kong and Singapore, as probably will be the case with Mauritius and Ceylon, are bearing their share of the expense of Imperial defence. Lastly, I am not without hope that Mr. Murray Smith will take with him the conviction that while differences formerly existed, which have now almost entirely ceased, as to the freedom of self-government which should be enjoyed by Anglo-Saxon communities, and while there may be an honest difference of opinion whether there should be or should not be great extensions of our present Colonial dependencies—I believe he will report, and, indeed, I am authorised by a remarkable passage in his speech to-night to feel sure he will report—that we all unanimously and earnestly desire to strengthen the ties of sympathy and community of interests which every day more firmly bind us together, and to adopt all practical measures for this purpose which recommend themselves to the Mother Country and its vast Colonial dependencies. It is our hope and our belief that we shall transmit to our posterity, undiminished and untarnished in its power and in its glory, the Empire to which I have now the honour to ask you to drink. (Loud cheers.)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON FEDERATION.

IN his great speech in the House of Commons on the 9th ult., on the Home Rule measure proposed by the Premier, Mr. Chamberlain declared that in his opinion the difficulties with which the country is now confronted will only be met by some system of Federation. Referring to the National Councils, which some time ago he had himself proposed, he said:—

Those National Councils I for one am not likely to put forward again. I no longer regard that scheme as a solution, and I confess that after the speech of my right hon. friend, after the fact that a most important proportion of one of the great parties in the State has been willing at all events to entertain the proposal of the right hon. gentleman, it is only a very large proposal which can at any future time be accepted as a solution of this vast question. (Hear, hear.) I should look for the solution in the direction of Federation. My right hon. friend has rather looked for his model to the relations between this country and her self-governing and practically independent Colonies. I think that that is of doubtful expediency. (Cheers.) The present connexion between our Colonies and ourselves is no doubt very strong, owing to the affection which exists between members of the same nation. But it is a sentimental tie only. It is rather curious that my right hon. friend should have looked in this direction just at the moment when between the Colonies and this country there is a general desire to draw tighter the bonds which unite us, and to bring the whole Empire into one Federation. I can hardly bring myself to believe that the hon. member for Cork looks with entire satisfaction upon a proposal which will substitute such a connexion as that which exists between Canada and this country—a connexion which might be broken to-morrow if there were the slightest desire on the part of Canada to terminate it, because no one would think of employing force in order to tie any reluctant self-governing Colony in continued bonds to this country—I think the hon. member for Cork would hardly like to see a tie of that kind substituted for that which at present exists. At all events, if he would, he would differ from many distinguished Irishmen who have preceded him. Ten years ago Mr. Butt declared that he would not be willing to give up his share in the government of an Empire which had been extended by the employment of Irish treasure and Irish blood. Then the hon. member for Sligo said in Dublin only the other day that if the Irish members did not retain a voice in Imperial affairs and continue to be part and parcel of the British Parliament, the country would be degraded into the position of a Province. Well, that is what Irish members are asked to agree to under the scheme of my right hon. friend. It appears to me that the advantage of a system of Federation is that Ireland might under it really remain an integral portion of the Empire. The action of such a scheme is centripetal and not centrifugal, and it is in the direction of Federation that the democratic movement has made most advances in the present century. My right hon. friend has referred to foreign precedents, but surely they are all against him. In Italy, for example, different nations, different States, which have had independent existences for centuries, have been welded together. Even where Federation has been adopted it has always been in the case of separate States federating. It has always been intended to lessen their causes of difference and to draw them more closely into communion. (Cheers.) Germany has been united upon a system of Federation which has brought together nations long separated. Take the great case of the United States of America. Ah, Sir, there you have the greatest democracy the world has ever seen, and a democracy which has known how to fight in order to maintain its union. It has fought for, and triumphantly maintained, the Imperial union of the United States, but it has known also how to respect all local differences. (Home Rule cheers.) Yes, Sir, I remember that in the time of its greatest crisis, when it was in the most terrible moment of its fate, my right hon. friend counselled the disintegration of the United States.

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not counsel it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—My right hon. friend says he did not counsel it, but he gave the weight of his great name to the statement that they had become separate nations. Well, Sir, no one doubted at that time the sincerity of my right hon. friend, or the purity of his motives. Nobody doubts them now, but everybody will admit—I daresay my right hon. friend himself will admit—that in that view of the situation he made a mistake.

MR. GLADSTONE.—Hear, hear.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—Are you certain he is not making a mistake again? (Loud Opposition cheers.) Well, Sir, I say that in my view the solution of this question should be sought in some form of Federation, which would really maintain the Imperial unity, and which would at the same time conciliate the desire for a national local government which is felt so strongly by the constituents of hon. members opposite. I do not suppose that the circumstances of the case are the same, but I say it is on these lines, not on the lines of our relations with self-governing Colonies, that it is possible to find a solution of the difficulty. (Cheers.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

IMPERIUM ET LIBERTAS.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Before the Imperial Federation movement can possibly be sympathised with by the constituencies some sort of legislation must be proposed, if not accomplished, which will be calculated to place the inhabitants of Great Britain on an equal footing with their compatriots in a new country, like, for instance, Australia or New Zealand, relative to the cheapening of the transfer of land, and the occupation, utilisation, and fertilisation of the same. Means should be taken for the proper location on the soil of the people in the overcrowded cities of the United Kingdom, and for a diminution of those repressive forces for which we are now taxed, and which restrict the liberties of a should-be freer people.

If the Empire is to be Federated and consolidated it should be begun not with a view to making its cities a series of workshops for the benefit of a few, but with a view to its being made a progressive Empire with good all-round laws, firmly founded upon a rational and just land system. "The King himself is served by the field" (Eccles. v. 9). Such a system would offer support, health, and education, and beget hope for every human being born within the Empire, no matter what his colour, and we should have in the course of a few years such an Empire, and Empress, or Emperor (God save the Queen), as would be the envy of the best and most economically conducted republic in the known world.

With a prayerful request for the blessing of Divine Providence upon such an attempt on our part to redeem the world from its prevailing sordidness and selfishness—the ruin of it hitherto—I am, yours very truly,

J. BETTS.

30, Northumberland Street, Dereham Road, Norwich.

March 31st, 1886.

A DEBATE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Many of your readers may not be aware that a scheme of Imperial Federation was the subject of a lengthened discussion in the House of Commons so far back as 1831. As this was, so far as I know, the first occasion upon which the question was publicly debated, and as the House expressed a general approval of the scheme, it may be interesting to give the following summary of the plan proposed and of its reception.

On August 16th, 1831, on the motion to go into committee on the Reform Bill, Mr. Hume moved "That it be an instruction to the Committee to make provision for the return to this House of members to represent certain Colonies and foreign possessions of his Majesty." In moving his amendment, Mr. Hume outlined a scheme of Colonial representation, of which the most important provisions were:—

I. There were to be nineteen Colonial members distributed thus: India, four; Crown Colonies (*i.e.*, Australia, Demerara, etc.), four; British America, three; West Indian Islands, eight; and Channel Islands, one.

II. The representatives to be elected for a term of seven years, their seats not to be affected by dissolution.

III. The voting qualifications varied in the different Colonies. In India it was proposed to enfranchise all who could serve as jurors. In the Crown Colonies all save the slaves were to be enfranchised. In Upper and Lower Canada the representatives were to be elected by the local assemblies.

This scheme, though cumbersome and illogical—it gave the same representation to Gibraltar as to the whole of Australia—was received with a remarkable consensus of approval; and although, at Lord Althorp's instance, it was negatived without a division, on the ground of the difficulties it was likely to raise in the way of the Reform Bill, by introducing a new element, the desirability of some form of Colonial representation

was admitted very generally by men of all shades of opinion. Hume, I need hardly say, was a Radical. Seven members spoke in favour of the principle of the amendment, which was seconded by the Marquis of Chandos. Only one speaker seriously opposed it. This was Mr. Labouchere, who grounded his objections mainly upon the geographical difficulties, which, in 1831, were, of course, very serious.

The debate is fully reported in "Hansard," Third Series, vol. vii., pp. 111—142, and is highly interesting, as showing the practical unanimity in the unreformed House of Commons in favour of a scheme of Imperial Federation.—I am, your obedient servant,

C. LITTON FALKNER.

6, Trinity College, Dublin, April 7th, 1886.

A HINT TO OUR WRITERS OF FICTION.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Will you kindly allow me space to say a few words on the Federation question?

And in connection with it I would like to say with what real and sincere grief all Federationists must have felt the removal from us of that great man Mr. Forster, who has lately gone to his rest, and whose loss to the cause of Imperial Unity cannot well be over estimated.

Respecting Imperial Federation, there can be no question that the movement is making headway. Two things, among others, stand out attesting it. One is the existence of the Journal IMPERIAL FEDERATION, and the other is that the first Chamber of Commerce in the kingdom offers a £50 prize for the best essay on the binding together of our Empire.

It is well, perhaps, to remember that the question of Federation, being one of exceedingly great difficulty, its growth, if it is to endure for all time, must be of no mushroom kind, it must grow and mature slowly and surely, like the oak. We must work and wait patiently; our work may not all lie in the same groove, but if each one of us does what in him lies, keeping the goal of Imperial Federation steadily in view, the glorious consummation will come, and surely come at last, if not in our time, then in our children's.

It may, perhaps, be given to some man to do for England and her Colonies what Scott did for his native land. It has been said that the author of the Waverley novels has perhaps done more than any other one man for Scotland. Mr. Froude has shown by his "Oceana" how effective a single book may be in drawing closer the ties binding us to our Colonial kinsmen.

The present age is an essentially novel-reading one. Is it too much to hope that some writer, having both the will and the power, may produce a series of works that shall take a high place in the classical literature of the Empire—the object in view being the union of the Colonies with the Mother Country?

Any man attempting this has magnificent materials at his disposal. The records of Greece and Rome pale before those of Britain and her Colonial offspring. It would help, and that signally, the welding together of our Empire. When that time comes, and come it will, the part that the Commonwealth, or Federated Empire, of England will play in the affairs of the world will dwarf even our past achievements among the nations of the earth.—I am, yours faithfully,

Birmingham.

R. J. COOK.

OUR COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

DR. R. J. MANN, F.R.C.S., states:—The British Islands, the central seat of the Empire, possess an area of 121,115 square miles and a population of 36,400,000, but the colonial and foreign possessions of the Empire represent an area of land of over 7,300,000 square miles, and a population of 19,485,000. The extent of the land comprised in the colonial and foreign possessions was thus 61 times as large as the central islands of the Empire, and the population a little more than one-half that of the parent community. With the addition of India the Empire represented an area of 8,991,254 square miles, and a population of 315,885,000. With regard to revenue and public debt, while the revenue of the British Isles was £88,000,000 and the public debt £740,000,000, the entire revenue of the colonial and foreign possessions, exclusive of India, was £42,055,000, or nearly half the revenue of the British Islands. The entire debt of the Colonial possessions, exclusive of India, was £185,350,000, or something less than the fourth part of the debt of the central Kingdom. The revenue of India was only £8,000,000 less than the revenue of the Central Government, and its debt less than a fourth part of the debt of the home community. The value of the trade of the Colonial possessions, exclusive of India, was close upon £241,000,000, or more than a third part of the value of the home trade. The value of the trade of India to the value of the home trade, was as £142,000,000 to £685,000,000. Mr. Service, the Premier of Victoria, anticipated that in half a century the Australian Colonies will possess a population of 50,000,000, and in that sense will constitute a second United States in the southern hemisphere. If the present rate of increase of these Colonies were continued, that number would be exceeded. The population of Great Britain and Ireland was at the present time seven times more than it was in the Protectorate of Cromwell. But, including the inhabitants of the United States, the number of people in new lands who have descended from the old stock in the British Isles was double that of the number which remains in the Mother Country.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Chairman.

(The Italics indicate the Executive Committee.)

- W. Shepherd Allen, M.P.
W. J. Allsup.
Sir James Anderson.
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T. Archer, C.M.G. (late Agt.-Gen. for Queens-
The Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne. [land).
W. G. Aston, H.B.M. Consul-General, Corea.
L. R. Bailly, M.P. (Liverpool).
A. Baldwin (Kidderminster).
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R. Beadon (Tasmania).
Henry C. Beeton (Agent-General for British
H. R. Beeton. [Columbia).
F. Faithfull Begg (Edinburgh).
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H. M. Bompas, Q.C.
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S. B. Boulton.
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The Hon. J. W. Bray (late Premier of South
T. Lynn Bristowe, Q.C., M.P. [Australia).
Rev. G. F. Browne (Cambridge).
W. J. Browne (late South Australia).
Oscar Browning (Cambridge).
James Bryce, M.P.
Professor Montagu Burrows (Oxford).
J. J. Butcher (Newcastle-on-Tyne).
W. S. Caine, late M.P.
The Master of Caius College, Cambridge.
Hugh Carleton (New Zealand).
W. C. Cartwright, late M.P.
Lord Castletown and Ossory.
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H. B. Christian (Cape).
Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill.
Hyde Clarke.
Professor E. C. Clark (Cambridge).
A. Clayden (New Zealand).
Sir Charles Clifford (late New Zealand).
Arthur Cohen, Q.C., M.P.
L. L. Cohen, M.P.
W. B. Collyns.
Captain J. C. R. Colomb.
Sir John Coode.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G. (late New
A. Cameron Corbett, M.P. [South Wales).
Capt. Cotton, M.P. (Liverpool).
W. J. Courthope.
Joseph Cowen, M.P.
James Cropper, late M.P.
Col. Sir W. Crossman, K.C.M.G., M.P.
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Professor G. H. Darwin (Cambridge).
R. Gent-Davis, M.P.
F. Debenham.
E. W. Denison, M.P.
Baron Dimsdale, M.P.
R. R. Dobell (Quebec).
A. Akers Douglas, late M.P.
T. Douglas.
Henry Doulton.
The Earl of Dunraven, K.P.
Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G. (late
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The Right Hon. Lord Emly.
C. Washington Eves (West Indies).
W. Ewart, M.P.
Right Hon. Sir J. Fergusson, Bart., M.P.
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A. B. Forwood, M.P. (Liverpool).
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Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P.
C. F. Gahan, R.N. (Mauritius).
Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G. (late High
J. A. Game. [Commissioner for Canada).
J. T. Agg Gardner, M.P.
P. Lyttelton Gell.
J. G. Gibson, Q.C., M.P. (Liverpool).
Robert Gillespie.
William Gisborne, Esq. (late Minister in New
The Very Rev. Dean of Gloucester. [Zealand).
G. Prior Goldney.
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George W. Gordon.
Colonel E. T. Gourley, M.P.
G. Graham (late New Zealand).
W. S. Sebright Green (Liverpool).
Albert Grey, M.P.
G. B. Gregory, M.P.
The Right Hon. Sir W. H. Gregory, K.C.M.G.
The Hon. F. T. Gregory (late Minister in
W. H. Grenfell, M.P. [Queensland).
W. Greswell.
F. A. Gwynne (New South Wales).
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Lord C. J. Hamilton, M.P. (Liverpool).
The Right Hon. Viscount Hampden, G.C.B.
F. Hardcastle, M.P. (Liverpool).
G. D. Harris.
Admiral Sir J. D. Hay, Bart., late M.P.
J. Henniker Heaton, M.P. (New South Wales).
E. Heneage, M.P.
Mitchell Henry, M.P.
Lord Herries.
A. Hickman, M.P.
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Sidney Hill.
A. J. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P.
R. Hodgkinson (Newark).
Arthur Hodgson, C.M.G. (Queensland).
F. O. Hodson (New South Wales).
Quintin Hogg (West Indies).
Hon. H. Holbrook (British Columbia).
Sir H. T. Holland, Bart., K.C.M.G., M.P.
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Professor T. McK. Hughes (Cambridge).
Professor G. M. Humphry (Cambridge).
James Jackson (Colchester).
W. L. Jackson, M.P.
W. Johnston, M.P.
The Hon. S. A. Joseph (M.L.C., N.S.W.).
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H. Kimber, M.P.
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F. P. Labilliere (late Victoria).
Col. Sir W. Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G.
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Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., late M.P.
Stanley Leighton, M.P.
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N. E. Lewis (Tasmania).
The Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham, M.P.
Rev. J. J. Lias (Cambridge).
J. Stanley Little.
Sampson S. Lloyd, late M.P.
A. H. Loring.
Lieut.-General Lowry, C.B.
Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
J. M. Ludlow.
Professor J. R. Lumby (Cambridge).
R. A. Macfie.
Colin Mackenzie.
Sir W. McArthur, K.C.M.G., late M.P.
Alexander McArthur, M.P. (late New South
Colonel McCalmont, C.B. [Wales).
D'Alton McCarthy, M.P. (President of the
Imperial Federation League in Canada).
R. Douglas McLean (New Zealand).
The Right Hon. Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B.
(Premier of Canada).
F. Mackarness (late Cape).
William Mackinnon.
Sir George Macleay, K.C.M.G. (N.S.W.).
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H. N. Story Maskelyne, M.P. [R.C.I.)
Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P.
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Gisborne Molineux.
The Right Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G.
S. Montagu, M.P.
O. V. Morgan, M.P.
J. V. Morgan.
Walter V. Morgan.
Major W. V. Morgan.
J. V. Morgan (Victoria).
Samuel Morley, late M.P.
Walter Morrison.
Kenrie B. Murray (Sec., London Chamber of
Professor A. S. Napier (Oxford). [Commerce).
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W. N. Nicholson, late M.P. [South Wales).
Wilson Noble.
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Captain Cecil W. Norton.
C. M. Norwood, late M.P.
Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.
James L. Ohlson (West Indies).
Sir G. E. Paget, K.C.B. (Cambridge).
Col. E. H. Paske. [M.P.
Maj.-Gen. Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.,
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Harold A. Perry. [Melbourne).
W. Copland Perry.
The Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B., M.P.
W. Pomfret Pomfret, M.P.
The Duke of Portland.
Professor Postgate (Cambridge).
Dr. W. R. Pugh (Victoria).
P. Ralli, late M.P.
James Rankin, late M.P.
Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.
The Right Hon. Lord Reay.
Peter Redpath (Canada).
Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, K.C.B.
Sir John Rose, Bart., G.C.M.G. (late Minister
The Earl of Rosebery. [in Canada).
T. B. Royden, M.P. (Liverpool).
G. W. Rusden (Victoria).
Albert O. Rutson.
Sir Saul Samuel, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General
W. A. Sandford. [for New South Wales).
Lieut.-Col. Myles Sandys, M.P.
The Hon. J. W. Sauer (late Minister at the Cape).
Sir Thomas Scanlen, K.C.M.G. (late Premier
at the Cape).
Professor J. R. Seeley (Cambridge).
H. Seton-Karr, M.P. (Liverpool).
Walter Severn.
William Shaen.
Sir C. Farquhar Shand (late Chief Justice,
Mauritius).
The Master of Sidney College, Cambridge.
Col. H. A. Silver (Chislehurst).
S. W. Silver.
Col. Coysgarne Sim.
Alfred Simmons.
Mr. Sergeant Simon, M.P.
Philip Vernon Smith.
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Samuel Smith, M.P. [Tasmania).
The Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.
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The Hon. R. Southey, C.M.G. (Cape).
Sir E. W. Stafford, K.C.M.G.
The Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P.
Professor G. G. Stokes (Cambridge).
W. Summers, late M.P.
The Rev. S. A. Swaine.
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The Hon. Hallam Tennyson.
W. Tipping, M.P.
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Silvanus Trevail (Truro).
C. L. Tupper (Simla).
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C. J. Valentine, M.P.
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The Hon. J. B. Watt (M.L.C., N.S.W.).
Sir Richard Webster, Q.C., M.P.
Sir F. A. Weld, G.C.M.G.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

GENERAL COMMITTEE—Continued.

The Earl of Wemyss and March.
Professor Westcott (Cambridge).
William Westgarth (late Victoria).
The Very Rev. Dean of Westminster.
E. Whitley, M.P. (Liverpool).

Major-Gen. Sir Owen Williams, late M.P.
Lient.-Gen. Sir George Willis, K.C.B.
Sir Samuel Wilson (late M.L.C., Victoria).
Major G. de Winton.
Baron H. de Worms, M.P. (Liverpool).

J. Dennistoun Wood (late Attorney-General, Victoria).
H. Smith Wright.
James A. Youl, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
Frederick Young (Hon. Sec. R.C.I.).

British subjects throughout the Empire who sympathise with the cause of Imperial Federation are invited to enrol themselves as Members of the League, and to give all the assistance in their power towards ensuring its success.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Chairman.

THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON, }
J. DENNISTOUN WOOD, } *Hon. Treasurers.*

L. SERGEANT, *Secretary.*

Bankers: MESSRS. HOARE.

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W. J. BROWNE (late South Australia).
LORD CASTLETOWN AND OSSORY.
ARTHUR COHEN, Q.C., M.P.
CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB.
SIR DANIEL COOPER, Bart., K.C.M.G. (late New South Wales).
W. J. COURTHOPE.
JAMES CROPPER.
SIR DONALD CURRIE, K.C.M.G., M.P.
THE REV. CANON DALTON, C.M.G. (Cambridge).
R. R. DOBELL (Quebec).
THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P.
C. WASHINGTON EVES (West Indies).
THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON (Queensland).
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, M.P.
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THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.
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ALBERT O. RUTSON.
SIR THOMAS SCANLEN, K.C.M.G. (late Premier at the Cape).
PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY (Cambridge).
ALFRED SIMMONS.
MR. SERJEANT SIMON, M.P.
SIR FRANCIS V. SMITH (late Chief Justice of Tasmania).
ALEX. TURNBULL (West Indies).
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J. H. B. WARNER.
SIR SAMUEL WILSON (late Member of the Legislative Council, Victoria).
J. DENNISTOUN WOOD (late Attorney-General, Victoria).
JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec. Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

Imperial Federation.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1886.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

SPECIAL NUMBER OF "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

THE Committee of the League, feeling that two such unique and concurrent events as the holding of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the commencement of the fiftieth year of HER MAJESTY'S reign, ought in every way to be taken advantage of for the promulgation of the principles of Federation, resolved some time since "That a special number of the JOURNAL be issued in June, giving information as to the condition of the Empire on the QUEEN'S accession, and its progress up to the fiftieth year of HER MAJESTY'S reign." Arrangements, we are glad to state, are proceeding satisfactorily for the publication of this special number; and it is now intended that it shall appear at the commencement of the QUEEN'S Jubilee Year, that is, immediately after the anniversary (which this year falls on Sunday) of HER MAJESTY'S accession. Among the contributors will be Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Stephen Bourne, Esq., F.S.S.; Captain J. C. R. Colomb, formerly R.M.A.; Rev. Canon Dalton, M.A., C.M.G.; Sir John Gorst, Q.C., M.P.; F. P. Labilliere, Esq.; Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.; C. E. Howard Vincent, Esq., C.B., M.P.; and J. Denistoun Wood, Esq., formerly Attorney-General of Victoria.

The Special Number will contain, in addition to the articles, coloured diagrams illustrative of the various subjects treated of, which will comprise Area, Population, Trade and Commerce, Revenue, Constitutional Government, the Church and Education, Army and Navy, etc. It will contain, also, the "Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire," reduced to the size of two pages of this Journal, and printed in Red and Black. It will be published at one penny. At this low price, however, the considerable expense which will be incurred will not nearly be met by the sale. In these circumstances, various members of the General Committee have generously come forward and subscribed a guarantee fund, which already amounts to upwards of £300.

All members of the General Committee who will undertake to post the special number to their friends at home and in the Colonies (especially the latter), will be supplied with copies, gratis, for this purpose, if they apply to the Secretary before June 21.

APPOINTMENT OF ORGANISING SECRETARY.

MR. ARTHUR LORING, who was private secretary to the late RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, has been appointed organising secretary of the Imperial Federation League for three months, during the period of extra pressure of work occasioned by the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the League meetings in connection therewith. MR. LORING will receive and attend to all correspondence and other matters outside the ordinary business of the League, especially in connection with the Great Conference on July the 1st and 2nd, the Banquet on July 3rd, any special fund which may be raised, and the reception of Colonial members and other visitors from beyond sea, who may be attracted here by the Exhibition. He should be addressed at the League Offices, where also he can be seen on matters of business relating to the League.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE CONFERENCE.

A MEETING was held on Friday, the 21st May, of the special committee of the League, under the presidency of SIR THOMAS BRASSEY, M.P. The committee consists of the CHAIRMAN; VISCOUNT LEWISHAM, M.P.; CAPTAIN COLOMB; MR. H. L. W. LAWSON, M.P.; MR. C. E. HOWARD VINCENT, M.P.; MR. FREDERICK YOUNG, with MR. LORING, organising secretary, as secretary to the committee. It has been appointed, by the executive committee, to take advantage of the presence of so many of our fellow-countrymen from beyond the seas by making special efforts to further the objects of the League, and it will meet at short intervals for this purpose while arrangements for the conference and banquet are pending.

It was reported to the committee that the following gentlemen had consented to read papers at the conference to be held on July 1st and 2nd, at the Exhibition:—PROFESSOR SEELEY, author of "The Expansion of England;" MR. J. G. COLMER, Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada; CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, formerly R.M.A.

Each paper will be limited to fifteen minutes, after which discussion will be invited upon the subject treated of in it. Gentlemen proposing to take part in the discussion are requested to communicate beforehand with the organising secretary.

It is to be hoped that efforts will be made by all who are interested in this great question to ensure a full and representative gathering, as there is every prospect that most valuable expressions of opinion will be obtained by means of the discussions, in which it is expected that a prominent part will be taken by our visitors.

Delegates from all branches of the League will be present. Full particulars of the arrangements made for the Conference will be sent to Members and Branches in the course of the month.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

BEFORE leaving Australia BISHOP MOORHOUSE made a visit to Adelaide, where he was accorded a public reception in the Town Hall, BISHOP KENNION presiding. In his address the BISHOP of MANCHESTER dealt at considerable length with the question of Imperial Federation, strongly advocating it.

ON the 4th ult. MR. HOWARD VINCENT renewed his notice of motion relative to the Federation of the Government of the Empire for such purposes as defence and foreign affairs, and the extension of commerce. The resolution affirms that the time has now come for the Home Government to take steps in this direction.

AT the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall Yard, on Monday, May 31st, a lecture on "Imperial Federation: Naval and Military," was delivered by CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, formerly R.M.A. The chair was taken by Field-Marshal H.R.H. the DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G., and among those who were present was H.R.H. the PRINCE OF WALES. We hope to give a report of this lecture in our next.

THE annual meeting of the Aborigines Protection Society was held on the 19th ult. The report stated that during the past year the committee had given much attention, in concert with the late MR. W. E. FORSTER, to the affairs of Bechuanaland and Zululand. SIR CHARLES WARREN, in moving the adoption of the report, also referred to the late lamented chairman of the Imperial Federation League, and

said:—"It was impossible for anyone at home fully to realise what an immense power for good in South Africa the late MR. W. E. FORSTER exerted."

IN an important letter recently published MR. CHAMBERLAIN speaks hopefully of the Federation of world-wide Britain, towards which the minds of Britons, both at home and in the Colonies, are more and more turned as the days go by, and on which their hearts are being increasingly set. At the same time, he points out that the prospect "of drawing more closely together the dependencies of the British Crown, and of welding them into a mighty and harmonious Empire, rests on the determination to resist in their inception all separatist tendencies."

HERE is a fact relating to Imperial Postage. A parcel weighing 5 lbs. can be sent to Australia for three shillings. Letters, to the number of 160, weighing 5 lbs., cost in postage £4. Where trading firms have an extensive correspondence with Australia, letters might be sent out in bulk, unstamped, and committed to a consignee there, who would stamp them and post them, and so effect a considerable saving. There would, it is true, be a loss of time, for letters despatched *viâ* Brindisi would reach their destination earlier; but what was lost in time would be saved in money. We record the above fact in the interests of an Imperial Penny Postage, which is a great desideratum, and must come.

AT a meeting of the Executive on May 5th, the following letter was read from MRS. FORSTER, in reply to a letter enclosing the resolution passed on the death of the RIGHT HON. W. E. FORSTER, and printed in our last number:—"Sir, I beg you to convey to the Executive of the Imperial Federation League my sincerest thanks for the resolution which you have forwarded to me, expressing their deep regret for the loss of my dear husband, and their full and earnest recognition of his great services in the cause of Imperial Federation—a cause to which, as embodying the permanent unity of the British Empire, he would gladly have devoted the best labours of his remaining years. I remain, sir, yours faithfully, JANE FORSTER." The letter was ordered to be entered on the minutes, and to be printed in the monthly Journal.

A NOTIFICATION was published some time ago to the effect that the SECRETARY of STATE for WAR had offered commissions in the Royal Engineers to graduates of Australian and New Zealand Universities, one to be selected from each Colony. We note with great satisfaction that LORD CARRINGTON has recently nominated MR. GEORGE POLKING CAMPBELL, B.A., of Warnstead, Cook's River, as the representative of the Sydney University, to receive the appointment. This gentleman (says the *Melbourne Argus*) has been gazetted in England as Lieutenant, and has received orders to proceed to the School of Military Engineering at Chatham.

DR. DALE, the Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape, is arranging to commemorate the QUEEN'S Jubilee, in the Government schools, by a tree-planting ceremony, a custom well-known in America, and worthy of imitation in other countries. It appears that June is a favourable month at the Cape for tree-planting, and with hearty co-operation on the part of school managers and teachers, Nature will, throughout the Colony, hand down delightful memorials of a reign which will stand out in the world's annals as one of the most remarkable ever known. Trees, as

memorials of HER MAJESTY'S Jubilee, might be planted in other parts of the QUEEN'S dominions as well as at the Cape.

OUR attention has been called to the fact that in giving, in our last issue, the names of the gentlemen who represented the League at the funeral service at Westminster Abbey of our late President, we omitted the name of MR. FREDERICK YOUNG, Hon. Sec. of the Royal Colonial Institute. We are sorry for the omission, but it is easily explained. MR. YOUNG, in his zeal for the League and the Institute, and everything else Imperial or Colonial, tries sometimes to be in two places at once, and occasionally accomplishes this difficult feat. He was a member both of the deputation from the League and of that from the Institute on the occasion referred to; and his name appearing in the list of the representatives of the Royal Colonial Institute did not appear in ours. We repeat we are sorry for the omission, and now supply it.

ONE of the most noteworthy events of the past month was, without doubt, the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition by HER MAJESTY the QUEEN. The daily and weekly papers have given such very full descriptive accounts of the opening ceremony, that for us to give a similar account would be a work of supererogation, especially after the lapse of several weeks. To point out, however, the moral and political significance of the great movement which was publicly inaugurated, in circumstances so auspicious and with so much *éclat*, on the 4th ultimo, not only falls to us, but is absolutely demanded of us, pointing, as that significance does, to that Federal union towards which we are directing our earnest endeavours. We, therefore, refer our readers to an article which appears on this subject on another page.

MR. O. V. MORGAN, M.P., who represents Battersea in Parliament, in addressing his constituents last month, said:—"My feeling of devotion to the Colonies, which have been often visited by me, is in no degree less than to the Mother Country. I watch with intense interest the growth and prosperity of Greater Britain, and look forward hopefully to the day when Imperial Federation shall be a reality. Unless the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and our dependencies unite for purposes of defence, a time may come when this great Empire will break to pieces. Imperial Federation may possibly be followed by the union of the British Empire and the United States. If ever the two Anglo-Saxon nations reunite it will be a happy day, not only for the English-speaking people throughout the world but also for all oppressed nationalities."

MR. MORGAN represents a strongly democratic constituency, and if called a Radical would probably not deny it. Some might think he would have shown more political sagacity had he ranged himself on the side of the Radicals under MR. CHAMBERLAIN, but, of course, that is a matter of opinion. However, it certainly is a hopeful sign that not a few Radicals who endorse the PREMIER'S proposals, and not a few who condemn them, are agreed in favouring federation. They see that the country which presents the most conspicuous example of successful federation of modern times is the most democratic country of modern times, namely, the United States of America, and they conclude—for in this example they have the evidence of it—that federation is thoroughly consistent with democratic principles and institutions. Increasingly we see that Imperial Federation affords a platform upon which both Tories and Radicals can co-operate.

THE eternal Irish question has overshadowed everything else, and engrossed the mind of the nation for many weeks past; otherwise more attention would have been devoted to a Colonial question upon which our Canadian fellow-countrymen are just now feeling very strongly, as witness—the letter which appears elsewhere from a Canadian correspondent. A fishery difficulty between France and Newfoundland has been chronic; and as much may be said for the fishery difficulty between the United States of America, and the Confederated Provinces of Canada. It is high time for our statesmen to see if the eternal fishery question, as well as the eternal Irish question, cannot be satisfactorily and finally settled. The incessant irritation occasioned by it is fraught with mischief. Moreover, it is impossible to feel sure that at any moment something more serious than mere irritation will not develop out of it. It should, however, be impressed upon the authorities that a settlement which should abandon Canadian and Newfoundland rights to the United States and France would be worse than no settlement. Concession has gone well-nigh, if not quite, far enough. There are some who only regard concession as an encouragement to ask for more. If any of our readers would like to acquaint themselves more fully with this—in Canada—burning question, we would refer them to an article in the *Westminster Review* entitled, “The Fishery Question; its Imperial Importance.” The article—a very exhaustive one on the particular point with which it deals—is anonymous, but we have private information which enables us to say that the writer is a Canadian.

LORD TENNYSON has again justified his right to the Poet Laureateship in the stirring and patriotic ode which was sung by Madame Albani on the occasion of the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and which will be found elsewhere in our columns. No poet of modern times has interpreted the spirit of the age more truly than the Poet Laureate, or expressed more faithfully in poetry of exquisite beauty the thoughts and feelings which have been stirring in the minds and hearts of men in these modern times. In religion, the conceptions of the most cultivated and devout minds of our age are mirrored in his pages, and in national affairs he appears as sensitively sympathetic with the noblest aspirations of the purest patriotism. In none of his verses has he more truly, and with greater delicacy, expressed the patriotic sentiments of the sons of Britain the wide world over, than in those of the ode referred to. His “Hands all Round” is a noble song, but is open to the criticism of the fastidious as being “rollicking,” and as more worthy of the “tipsy past” than of the temperate present, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer finds the revenue from alcoholic liquors decreasing by millions, to his serious embarrassment. No such criticism can be made against his “Welcome, welcome, with one voice.” It is true that an unfavourable comparison has been made between the sentiment of “Britons never shall be slaves,” and “Britons hold your own.” But such purists as have made it are not worthy of very serious consideration, or their impracticable cosmopolitanism either. Why on earth should Britons not hold their own? In business and politics, and the more private concerns of life, that man who can hold his own, and does so, usually commands respect and commendation. Why should that which is esteemed praiseworthy in Britons as men, be other than praiseworthy in Britons as a nation? We await a reply.

It is astonishing how widely good and true men will sometimes differ in opinion, although they have common sympathies, and seek a common object. One is reminded of this by the speech of the noble earl, Her Majesty's

Foreign Secretary, at the Royal Academy banquet of the 1st ult. “The connection of the Colonies and of India with the Mother Country,” declared LORD ROSEBERY, “has been the dream of my life. I know that many here present—it would be affectation to deny it—consider that the path which the Government is pursuing does not tend to that object; but let me say this, that if I did not believe in my inmost heart and soul that the course which we are pursuing is not merely not antagonistic to that object, but is in absolute promotion of it, I should not be sitting, sir, at your right, but at your left.” There can be no question about LORD ROSEBERY's sincerity or consistency. He declared for Home Rule for Ireland long before the Prime Minister had given the slightest inkling that he had any sympathy with it. There can be no question, either, about his lordship's ardent desire for Imperial unity. When the Imperial Federation League was formed he took an active part, and became one of its first members. He is influenced by high patriotic motives, his ability is undoubted, and he is sincerely anxious to maintain the greatness, discharge the responsibilities, and promote the welfare of the British Empire. And yet there are men of equally high character, ability, and patriotism who, in opinion on the great question which has been vexing the country, are from him as the poles asunder. These believe that the action of the Government is tending to disintegrate rather than consolidate the Empire, while he believes the contrary. Both cannot be absolutely right; but it is possible that neither is absolutely wrong. There are few goals which cannot be reached by more paths than one. We do not suppose for a moment that the Federation of our Empire can only be accomplished in one way. We are, however, deeply concerned *that it should be accomplished*, and earnestly hope that events will so shape themselves that we shall be able to proceed towards it along the way which is best and safest, and which will most surely and speedily conduct us to it.

FOREIGN COMPETITION WITH BRITISH TRADE IN THE COLONIES.

As a matter of fact we have to reckon with very serious foreign competition in the Colonies. Foreign traders paid but very little attention to them while their wants were few; but their interest in them is much more keen now that they have become important markets. If we take the last three years for which we have returns, we shall find that the consumption per head of British produce and manufactures has decreased in every important British Colony, with the exception of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong. In Australia the percentage has fallen from 9·23 in 1882 to 8·67 in 1884; in British North America from 2·15 to 1·92; in the South African Colonies from 6·67 to 3·65; in the West Indies from 2·15 to 2·8. Nor is the record more cheering when we turn to India. There, too, the foreigner, notwithstanding our enormous advantages, is beginning to elbow us. Take, for instance, the exports of beer. Until recently England had a monopoly of the beer trade with India. Fifty years ago the only brand that found favour in India was Hodgson's; but success made him careless, there was a marked falling-off in the quality of his shipments, and in course of time, Bass and Allsopp, with their lighter bottled beers, took his place. But they presently began to give place in turn to the still lighter brews of Aitken and Tennant, who opened the way to the successful introduction of the Pilsener and other German beers into India. If the *Statesman* is well informed, the English brewers might have retained the monopoly of the Indian supply if they had but noted and made allowance for the growing preference for lighter and still lighter brewings. As it is, nearly as much German as British ale is now consumed in India; and whilst the importations of British for 1885 show a considerable falling-off as compared with those for 1884, the German imports have increased by nearly 50 per cent. It is the old story. The English trader relies upon past success; the German ascertains, even anticipates, the wants of the markets. Mr. Shoddy has injured us as much as want of enterprise. In times past British goods were dearer, but they were better, too, than others, and customers were willing to give the extra price; now they are often cheaper, but so bad that the buyer prefers to give the foreigner more for a better article. Take, for instance, American goods in China. We must mend our ways if we are to retain the trade that remains to us. It was not wholesale annexations of territory that made us the first industrial nation of the world, but energy, resourcefulness, probity, together with natural advantages superior to those enjoyed by other countries. These latter are not as great as they were. It is doubly necessary, therefore, that the former should be more unquestioned than they have been of late.—*Echo*.

"A PARLIAMENT OF PARLIAMENTS."

It is difficult for any one who has not travelled widely, and who has not personally become acquainted with the magnificent Colonies that own Britain as mother, to realise the vital importance and the extreme interest that centres in the question of Imperial Federation. Who that has visited Canada, made acquaintance with Australia, or wandered throughout South Africa and India, can contemplate without dismay and a sinking heart the possibility even of the severance of the British Isles from those far-away jewels whose shores are washed by every ocean known, and whose bosoms cradle the teeming thousands of British and Irish born that have made the lands rendered sacred by British protection their homes? Such an idea cannot be faced with equanimity, or endured with patience, by those especially who have grasped and taken to heart the lesson of the rolling panorama of those splendid scenes upon which the sunshine of a majestic and unrivalled Empire never sets.

We cannot, we must not, part with these jewels set deep in the cement of a nation's affection, yet the time is well nigh at hand when the dissolution of former ties *must* inevitably occur, unless we renew and rebind them by the fibre of a true union, that shall uphold and support through long ages of glory the splendid fabric that the most progressive of known people has erected.

THE NECESSITY FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION

is, I think, now practically acknowledged. There are very few who venture to oppose it, and these are persons who prefer better to dwell lovingly on the past than to look forward to the future, *that great future* whose limits no one can define, whose glories we can alone picture in our dreams. It was glimpses into the future which drew forth the predictions of Bacon, and gilded with their radiant prophetic light the pillows of Raleigh, of Christopher Columbus, and other geniuses of past ages, awakening visions in the souls of these dead heroes of the glories that were yet to come. Thus the necessity for Imperial Federation being acknowledged, the hour is surely ripe for the hatching of a definite scheme whereby that great idea can be accomplished. We look eagerly for the golden egg that shall give it to the world, that shall divulge the mystery that has hitherto lain buried in gloomy darkness, and which has held in bondage the prisoner that would be free.

A SCHEME

has often revolved itself in my mind while watching and studying the operation, as I have had an opportunity of doing in my travels, of the laws that have been laid down in various countries for the holding together of new states, offshoots of the parent stem. I was agreeably surprised on taking up the last number of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* to find an excellent article from the pen of my friend Mr. James Stanley Little, in which many of my ideas are more or less portrayed. That the conclusions I have arrived at are more or less those of Mr. Stanley Little is a matter upon which I congratulate myself, as although we have many ideas in common, Imperial Federation has never formed a subject of discussion between us, and we have never entered into the question, so far as I can recall. It is therefore very gratifying to find that my idea of an Imperial Council, if it is a dream, is the dream also of the gifted, widely-travelled, keen, observant gentleman referred to; whose conclusions have been arrived at after long and patient study not only of Colonial institutions but of humanity in general. Let me therefore join my voice to that of Mr. Stanley Little in advocating the establishment of an Imperial Council, which shall consist of the chosen representatives of the various British Colonial Legislatures throughout the world, as well as those of Great Britain and Ireland. The delegates or representatives of these various Parliaments should form an Imperial Council or Parliament, in other words become *the* Parliament of Parliaments. We have hitherto awarded the assembly at Westminster the gorgeous title of Imperial. But is it Imperial? To my mind we shall never have seen

A REAL IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

until that auspicious day dawns on which shall assemble together the Imperial M.P.'s, or delegates, or representatives—call them by what name you will—of British and Irish, Canadian, Australian, and South African Legislatures. These,

the "flower" of Parliamentary representatives, as they doubtless would be, might, I think, safely be trusted to care for the Imperial interests which would be placed in their charge. Freed from the trammels and cares of local questions, from the worry and heat of party warfare, in so far as regarded home affairs, this "Parliament of Parliaments" could not fail to administer in a loftier, broader, and more consistent spirit than does the present one, the much neglected, and often much misunderstood, Imperial question.

I am

AT ISSUE ON ONLY ONE POINT

with Mr. Stanley Little. In that part of the scheme under discussion where he advocates the election by the Imperial Council of a supreme ruler, who shall have sovereign power, subject to the veto of the Crown, in all matters of a warlike nature, he urges in support of his suggestion that we *want* a dictator or a supreme ruler. I daresay we do. But a supreme ruler and Parliamentary institutions are not possible, if the latter is to be generally representative of public opinion. Then, again, a dictator is all very well if he be a Bismarck. But Bismarcks, or master minds, are not to be had for the asking, or to be purchased even at a fancy figure. I think the "Parliament of Parliaments" might, however, be very safely trusted with the power Mr. Stanley Little would award to a dictator, and there would be this advantage, that it would combine Parliamentary institutions with a dash of absolutism.

A Central Imperial Assembly, with representatives of all parts of the Empire, this, I believe, to be a necessary accompaniment of Federation. Local and Imperial affairs should no longer be mixed up together or legislated for by a common Chamber. Divide them. I am all for extending local or home government by giving to England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland assemblies of their own, empowered to deal with domestic affairs, which assemblies should send Imperial representatives to the Central Assembly or Parliament of Parliaments.

SURELY SUCH A PLAN WOULD WORK BETTER THAN OUR PRESENT SYSTEM, WHICH HUDDLES IMPERIAL AND LOCAL QUESTIONS TOGETHER

in a hopeless and inextricable heap. No wonder Mr. Gladstone has frequently asked for a broad line to be drawn between what *are* local and what *are* Imperial questions. I do not believe that a Member of Parliament, who is generally elected on some local or home question, is the proper person, as a rule, to assist in handling and directing the vast complicated machinery which is involved in Imperial matters. He cannot serve two masters, as was so abundantly evidenced in our lately defunct Parliament. The present one has hardly had time yet to follow in its predecessor's footsteps.

Several questions arise out of this plan for discussion. It appears to me that not a few will ask,

"ON WHAT DEPENDS THE EXISTENCE OF THIS PROPOSED PARLIAMENT OF PARLIAMENTS?"

Is it subservient to ministries or ministries to it? To whom is it answerable or accountable for its deeds? All and every one of these require careful consideration, but they are not beyond the solution by the human mind. Hence they must not be scouted as impracticable. Mr. Stanley Little has told us that we are just the people for a dictator. I am inclined to agree with him, in so far as I think that we should be all the better if it was placed beyond our power to be for ever changing our minds at the instigation of any politician who, having some fad or scheme in view, hopes to attain power to carry it out by starting some tempting party cry. I do not think the Parliament of Parliaments should be subservient to the Ministry of the day or dependent thereon entirely for its existence, that is so far as the power to dissolve it went. Of course its very existence would necessitate a considerable amount of change in present-day customs, and many ancient forms would have to be buried.

The Parliament of Parliaments, as

AN ASSEMBLY OF PICKED REPRESENTATIVES OF A WORLD EMPIRE,

should be guarded against the possibility of dissolution by a Cabinet, which having been met by an adverse vote, might

desire to test public opinion thereon. I say the Imperial Parliament should be protected against intrigues or threats of constant appeals to the people. At the general election, the people should make up their minds whom they can trust, and those they should elect and none other. The elected, in turn, should make up their minds as to whom *they* can trust to handle Imperial interests, and having so made up their minds, elect them and abide by them during the period for which they are elected. No Parliament can pursue an honest, firm course if it is to be continually liable to be placed at the mercy of an ever-changing public. It is all very well to point to the past as an evidence that the old system is good. It may have been good for old days, but changing times, enlarged franchise, and many innovations, require the abolition of worn-out customs and superannuated traditions.

The Imperial Parliament should, therefore, be regarded as supreme, and the ministry who could not command its confidence should make way for one that could. Such a course means more or less dictatorship, but it would mean

THE DICTATORSHIP OF PICKED REPRESENTATIVES,

and I believe would be conducive of much good; for it would confide the destinies of the Empire, not to a scheming cabinet troubling itself chiefly how it may keep place and power, but to the *flower* of the Empire's world-wide assemblies, secure in the knowledge that nothing could interfere with their policy, and free to carry out the views of those most qualified to judge of the necessities of the moment.

This scheme is necessarily a skeleton one, as it has to be condensed into a limited space. It may be visionary. Some may scout it as impracticable. *Quien Sabe?*

I DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE IMPRACTICABLE.

I believe that what the human mind is capable of arranging in more or less detail is not impossible of accomplishment, even though it may take many years to bring it about. At any rate, the sun is rising above the clouds of hesitation, and dawns on the day that proclaims that the time has come to formulate a scheme of Federation whereby an Empire, greater than this world has ever seen, shall by its unity lay the foundation of a greater union still, that union *which must eventually come*—the union of the world.

I have travelled over many parts of that beautiful world, and my wanderings have led me amidst lands that do not own the sway of our Queen. I have noted their laws, their customs, and the physique of their peoples. Nowhere have I seen the equal of those of British and Irish blood. These are in this world the lords of creation, and if they keep united they must remain the dominant race. Go where you will you will find none equal to the English-speaking race. It controls the world. It is its unity which has made it great, and now as it ever grows in greatness it needs greater means to preserve and increase a power that, if wisely used, as only a united people can use it, will result in a benefit to mankind in general. Federation is a glorious aim, it is an aim worth living and dying for; yet those who look ahead and see its sun rising above the mountains of futurity, behold in it only the golden gates that, bursting open, shall reveal the way to the Federation of the world.

FLORENCE DIXIE.

NATIONAL COHESIVE FORCES.

At a recent meeting of the Montreal Branch of the League, a paper was read by Mr. A. G. Cross on the above subject, which we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in the following condensed form:—

MR. CROSS commenced by stating that the causes which operate towards the formation of a nation, either out of a mass of individual people or from remnants of other nations, must necessarily be of very varied character. A State may come into being in a few years, or in even a shorter time, but if it is to be a nation of any moment, its existence must extend over a period compared with which the average lifetime of an individual is altogether insignificant. Excluding from the scope of his remarks the purely mercantile and statistical aspect of the question of Imperial Federation, the writer proceeded to consider the nature and possible operation of certain other factors which might seem to justify the expectations of those whose aim it is to strengthen or, at least, maintain the bonds of British unity, and how these may be expected to operate. First, he would take account of the increased influence of progressive

civilisation. Civilisation is emphatically a force which tends to natural unity. A country has attained a comparatively advanced state of civilisation when the social instinct has supplanted the fear of superior force as the bond of union, and when its subjects are able, even at the expense of occasional miscarriages of abstract justice, to have their affairs regulated by a set of laws common to and binding upon all citizens alike. As the social instinct, fortified by civilisation, is a far stronger force than those others referred to, it follows that in proportion as we have surpassed the nations of former times in the march of civilisation and enlightenment, by just so much ought we to be able to extend the borders of our Empire further than they could. If men were keeping pace in national relations with the progress of civilisation there would be a much smaller number of separate nations on the earth than are to be found. He who lends his aid and energy towards increasing the bounds of a civilised and enlightened nation, therefore, is a greater benefactor of his race than the individual who would strive to wrench away a member of that nation. Secondly, he put the influence of tradition, probably the strongest cohesive element in the maintenance of the individuality of the older nations of Europe. This is not to operate in the direction of circumscribing national boundaries, but towards the gathering of as many people as possible into connection with the most equitable and best nation. Thirdly, he considered community of language; this must ever be regarded as one of the strongest bonds of national unity. That a people, common as to language, united in their appreciation of constitutional government and personal liberty and inheriting and sharing in a long and brilliant national record, should be disunited into separate nations is always in every way an evil. Modern disquisition has brought to the front the phenomenon known as land hunger, with manifold arguments and suggestions as to the government, control, state limit of ownership, and other aspects of a complicated and dangerous question, the solution of which the future has in store. A reasonable importance attached to ownership in land makes it a national cohesive force of great importance, and a country in which land tenure is secure and has a recognised political weight is to be preferred to one in which the landholder's influence is no greater than that of the individual whose worldly possessions might be stowed in a carpet bag.

The essayist then spoke of the comparatively small part of any national movement which can ever be credited to legislative enactment. Buckle was quoted as pointing out the small share of national progress which can be attributed to political action.

Coming to the application, he said:—The main motive actuating those who at present seem to seriously entertain the idea of Canadian national individuality or independence, resolves itself into a vague feeling of unrest characteristic of our nineteenth-century life. We have, in Britain, a country whose people and laws are distinguished for fairness, truth, and honesty, standing in the front rank of civilisation, whose language is every day tending to supplant other languages, whose people have shown themselves able to use their resources with a freedom from interference on the part of the Government not to be met with in the history of any other country, and we ought not to lightly think of breaking our connection with it to enter upon a career which may prove disastrous, and in respect to which it is so difficult to show in what respect we would be gainers. Against the objection that a closer British connection would involve us in distant wars about matters with which we have no concern, he urged the fact, that, in times past, the English people had been able to effect without open strife reforms which no other nation has been able to secure without bloodshed, and thought it should be no mean incentive to British unity to contemplate a substantial bond of union between Britain and her Colonies, whose influence, exerted on the side of peace, must be well-nigh irresistible. As to annexation, he had never heard it demonstrated that an individual was better off living in the United States than in Canada. He did not think that the Constitution of that country stands anything like the same chance of successfully weathering social convulsions, such as may be created by newspaper despotism, by Socialism, by the tyranny of labour over capital, or by one or other of many causes, as our own long-tried system.

As to Imperial Federation, our duty as British Canadians is not that we should formulate any cut-and-dried scheme of extended innovation in the nature of Charter or Constitution, but to so act as to promote community of interest between Britain and her Colonies, removing obstacles to the civil and commercial relations and intercourse of persons in different parts of the realm, letting legislative enactment find its true sphere in obliterating restraints of trade, in making Her Majesty's writs run current throughout her dominions, and the judgments of her courts final and executory everywhere in the British possessions; in providing that where English statutes are put in force in the Colonies they be not re-enacted, but simply declared by the Legislature to be in force in the Colony; in identifying the Colonies with the Mother Country in hundreds of ways that would suggest themselves, and (what would seem to be our most radical scheme) by providing at common cost a common navy for the protection of the whole realm.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

All who are interested in the movement can become members by sending in their names and One Shilling, as Registration Fee, which must be renewed year by year.

The annual subscription of members is One Guinea, and upwards, which entitles those who subscribe it to receive all the publications of the LEAGUE free.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1886.

"ONE IMPERIAL WHOLE."

To contemplate the growth of the British Empire during the present century is more than interesting—it is fascinating. To go no further back than 1837, when the young Princess Victoria was called from her bed by Ministers of State in the solemn night, to be told that her royal relative had passed away into the spirit world, and that she had succeeded to the dignity as well as the cares and toils of the throne of these realms, and to think what the Empire was whose sovereignty she in that year assumed, as compared with what it is now, is almost startling, and certainly is most instructive and encouraging. The comparison we in no way attempt now. The Special Number of this journal, which will be published towards the close of the month, will be devoted exclusively to it. All we do now is to make such a reference to it as seems inevitable when one begins to speak or write of that Exhibition at South Kensington which so strikingly suggests it.

The total area of the British possessions is estimated at about nine million square miles, and the population at about two hundred and seventy millions. Stating the same facts in another form, it may be said that the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain embrace one-seventh of the land surface of the globe, and about a sixth of its population. These statements, however, do not appeal to the imagination with the vividness and power which those concrete facts do which are gathered together in the south-west of London. The Colonial and Indian Exhibition presents the magnitude and resources of the British to us with distinctness and a fascination which no figures can supply. It is not simply that the Exhibition is so much in itself as that it suggests so much. From St. Helena to Cyprus, from Queensland to Canada, from Bombay to the Bermudas, the British possessions, great and small, have sent of their rarest and best to the Mother-land. The contemplation of these trophies cannot fail to instruct and enlarge the mind. As a book like "Hakluyt's Voyages" is said to have widened the process of English thought at the time of its publication, so a spectacle like that which

the Colonies and India have given to us cannot fail to supply to us fresh knowledge of the world, and of the place which the British occupy in it.

Large numbers of Colonists, doubtless, will be attracted this year to England by the Exhibition who otherwise would not have come. Many who left the Old Country long years ago will be induced to revisit the land of their birth, and others who know England only as "the land of story and song," from which their parents came, but who regard and love it as the Old Home, will visit it for the first time. The contact between the Englishman at Home and the Englishman from the Colonies cannot fail to do good. The sense of brotherhood will be deepened, the interest which both feel in their common country will be strengthened, and become the better informed, while the links of connection which bind all together will be riveted afresh.

The visitor who makes a thorough study of the Exhibition, opening up as it does so vast and varied a field of subjects, will find it the means of a liberal education. The fauna and flora of the different parts of the Empire, their art, science, history, social life, and politics, as well as their food products and limitless resources, he will find all brought before him in one way or another. One fact will be infallibly impressed upon him, and that is the completeness of the Empire in itself, and its absolute independence of foreign countries. The British people have everything to meet all the multiform needs of civilised life within their own boundaries, furnished by lands in their own possession, and under their own control. In this fact lies much of the charm and suggestiveness of what, probably for telegraphic purposes, has been abbreviated into "Colind."

But the lesson of lessons which the monster show teaches is writ large in letters which he who runs may read, that lesson is contained in the one word FEDERATION. However natural it may have seemed to Englishmen that they should have Colonies, how much a matter of course that great dependencies should be theirs, ninety-nine out of a hundred of observant and thinking men must now perceive that, if the great and growing communities beyond sea are to remain parts of the Empire, it must be on a different footing from that on which they hitherto have been. The time must come when we shall have a different congress from that at South Kensington—a congress of Colonial and Indian representatives, charged not simply to make stay-at-home Englishmen understand what the resources of their different countries are, but to make their voices heard in the Imperial councils. The Mother Country must take her grown-up children into partnership on a footing of perfect equality. By such means the strength and solidarity of the whole will be increased, the welfare of each component part promoted, and the safety of all secured. Only thus will that Empire, built up by the enterprise and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race, which is the envy of other nations, and the pride of our own, be in its integrity secured.

Our Poet Laureate has caught the meaning of what our eyes see at South Kensington, and with his usual felicity has voiced it thus:—

"Sons be welded, each and all
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!"

AUSTRALIA AND THE NEW HEBRIDES.

PREVISION and provision, as we understand it, are absolutely necessary to statesmanship; indeed, without these a man may be a peddling politician, but he cannot be a statesman. Perhaps never in the history of England was foresight as to the future of Great Britain and her Colonies and Dependencies more needed on the part of our public men than now, and perhaps never has it been so apparently lacking. We say *apparently*, for those who direct the destinies of the Empire may have recondite reasons for their action, or lack of action, which baffle the perception of ordinary minds.

In the *Croker Papers* there is an anecdote of the great Duke of Wellington, which conveys a lesson of the most important kind. Mr. Croker relates how twelve days before the death of the Duke he reminded him how some thirty years before they had amused themselves in a drive by guessing what was on the other side of the hill,

and how, when he had expressed his surprise at the Duke's guesses being so generally right, he had said: "Why, I have spent all my life in trying to guess what was at the other side of the hill." Turning to Mrs. Croker, he said: "All the business of war, and, indeed, all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do; that is what I call guessing what was the other side of the hill." One cannot help wishing that Ministers—and we do not mean simply those who are now in power, but Ministers in general—would give themselves more palpably to the cultivation of the faculty which would enable them to guess accurately what was on the other side of the hill.

It certainly does not require the cultivation of this faculty to any very large degree to be able to guess, that without clear foresight as to what should be done, and the doing of that right thing in time, troubles are in store for us in connection with some of the South Pacific Isles, and for our Australian fellow-countrymen too. It appears that the Government contemplate agreeing to the annexation of the New Hebrides by France, on condition that no French convicts are deported thither by the French Government. Naturally Australians are a little excited by this news, and more than a little apprehensive. They regard the islands lying under the Southern Cross as falling naturally to them, and no one can be surprised at this. There are excellent reasons—reasons which concern their future peace and prosperity—why they should not wish to see the isles of the Southern Ocean parcelled out among the Great Powers of Europe. Speaking of this—and Australians regard it as having already begun, in that France and Germany have already a footing there—the *Melbourne Age* says: "We could not resist it successfully single-handed, supposing that we were in a position to offer resistance; our sole dependence is upon the Imperial Government, and if the Imperial Government fail us there is nothing for it but submission to our loss, at any rate for a time. For no Australian believes that any European Power, or any combination of European Powers, will be able to keep our patrimony from us a moment after we have grown strong enough to recover it for ourselves. Even if Germany annexes Holland and becomes mistress of the Dutch Colonies in the East, and if Russia succeeded in driving our fellow-countrymen out of India, they would still be unequal to the task of subjugating or coercing the inhabitants of the Greater Britain that is taking root under the Southern Cross. The recovery of the Islands would be the dominant purpose of our national life, and we should not be satisfied till the flag of Australia floated over the entire Southern Polynese and we had made our sovereignty felt in New Caledonia itself. These are brave words, but we shall some day have the verification of them in our hands; and when the day comes neither the apathy of an English Ministry nor the threats of a foreign foe will stay our hand. For the present we admit we can do nothing."

It is true that one or two of the Colonies seemed inclined to give up the controversy, and cease their opposition to the annexation of New Hebrides by France on condition that France assented to the acquisition of Rapa by Great Britain, and that she not only guaranteed general freedom of trade with the New Hebrides, but also abandoned the idea of sending convicts to the Pacific. But one of these has veered round again, and the other Colonies continue strenuously to oppose the proposal that French annexation should be acquiesced in. Although the Premier of New South Wales has intimated that his Government was disposed to abstain from interfering with the negotiations, the New South Wales people do not seem disposed to abstain. A public meeting has been held in Sydney, and resolutions passed protesting against the proposal on the conditions specified in the published telegram, and appointing a deputation to wait on Sir Patrick Jennings on the subject. The people of South Australia, whose Government it was thought would maintain a neutral attitude, are making similar protests. The *South Australian Register*, in one of its issues just to hand, says:—"England should not have recognised French pretensions so far as to consult the Colonies upon the question of yielding to them, and Australia when appealed to should have administered a dignified rebuke to Lord Granville by steadily refusing to be

a party to any bargain whereby the New Hebrides should be given up to any other Power. We hope to hear that Mr. Downer has sent, or is on the point of forwarding, definite instructions to Sir Arthur Blyth as to the side he is to take."

Is it difficult, when one remembers that the foregoing sentiments are the sentiments of the majority of Australians, to guess what is on the other side of the hill? Would it not be a calamity to find ourselves embroiled in the future in war with France or Germany on account of the New Hebrides, or New Guinea; or, worse still, to have Australia breaking away from us to throw herself into deadly conflict with either or both of these Powers alone? Yet that this is in the future, unless our statesmen are wise in time, is "as sure as eggs is eggs." The endeavours of British statesmanship should, in our opinion, taking into account all the circumstances of the case, be directed to the securing of the South Pacific Isles for South Pacific Britons, and so to the British Empire. Even if an English Minister believes, as Mr. Mundella appears to believe, that Australasia will one day be a strong Power standing alone in the South Pacific, able by force of arms to wrest the New Hebrides from France, and New Guinea from Germany, what right has he by his action to impose this huge task, involving, as it would, tremendous loss of treasure and life, upon Australasia? By supineness and a policy of *laissez faire*, to involve either Australasia or the Federated British Empire of the future in such wars would be not simply a blunder, but a crime. The acquisition by peaceful means, now that there is perhaps time, of such rights as France and Germany now have in the South Pacific Isles, should be one of the deliberate objects of English diplomacy, and then the conservation of those isles, which are clearly marked out as designed by Nature and Providence to belong to each other, as the heritage of Antipodean Britons, and so to the British Empire of the future.

NATIVE AUSTRALIANS AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

It having been stated at the great meeting in Melbourne, at which the League was introduced into Victoria, that doubts respecting the policy of Imperial Federation were entertained by some of the native-born Australians, I should like, as one of them, to point out that the federal union of our common Empire is

THE WISEST AND GRANDEST POLICY FOR BRITONS BEYOND THE SEAS,

as well as for those of the Old Country. Born and brought up in Australia, I yield to none of my Colonial countrymen in pride and affection for the land of my birth, and which I regret that circumstances have prevented from being the land of my abode.

As one of the earliest advocates of Imperial Federation, I have long viewed that policy from the three standpoints from which it must be regarded—the Imperial, the exclusively Mother Country, and the exclusively Colonial—be the latter Australian, Canadian, or South African; and from each point of view there is

ONLY ONE CLEAR, BRIGHT PROSPECT

standing out in unmistakable prominence, namely, permanent organised unity, whereby alone the safety, strength, and peace of the Empire as a whole, or of its strongest as well as of its weakest portions, can be effectively ensured.

As a purely practical, business, unsentimental, selfish arrangement, without thinking of our brethren beyond our shores as of the same nation with us, should we not as Australians, or Canadians, or people of the British Isles, make

THE BEST BARGAIN FOR OURSELVES

by agreeing with them to stand together for mutual defence, so that all should come to the aid of whoever might be attacked, whether the attack be made upon Old England, Canada, Australia, or South Africa, or upon any of those great interests which are common to them all, such as the security of the Suez Canal, and other important trade routes? The possible advance of Russia upon India concerns our whole Empire. One hundred thousand

covite troops would probably be kept in that country if it were added to the dominions of the Czar; and that would be a more

SERIOUS DANGER FOR THE AUSTRALIANS

than for the people of the British Isles. England single-handed is not so likely to be able permanently to hold India, and then the Colonies would lose the benefits they must derive from that country being under British rule. The strength of a federated Empire will be required in the future to hold India with a sure grasp.

Could Canada single-handed defend her Pacific shores, or Australia the whole of her vast coast line, against

THE GREAT EXPANDING MUSCOVITE DESPOTISM,

or against certain other European powers? Mr. Justice Holroyd, at the Imperial Federation meeting in Melbourne, declared that Australians would fight bravely to prevent a foreign power from establishing itself anywhere on their shores; but unfortunately they are not yet numerous enough, and they would fight in vain, except as to giving the world additional feats of fruitless prowess. To make serious evils impossible, Australians should desire the federal unity of the Empire for years to come; and if so, why not in perpetuity? But there are, doubtless, in all parts of the Empire, romantically heroic spirits who would have us act like a man who would rather run serious risk of being knocked down, than, by accepting aid from a friend, prevent the attack of an assailant, or lose the chance of having the credit of felling him single-handed. Great dangers would doubtless beset the early years of

AN ISOLATED AUSTRALIA,

whether she were separated from the Empire by amicable agreement, or by the power and Empire of Great Britain being shattered by collision with any great nation, or combination of powers. Russia, France, or Germany, as Bishop Moorhouse pointed out in his eloquent speech, might appropriate the remote and thinly-inhabited territories of the island-continent, and in the years before the Anglo-Australians would be able to reconquer them,

A LARGE FOREIGN POPULATION WOULD BE INTRODUCED,

which would never assimilate with our Australian people. Thus would be lost the advantage possessed by Australia over the rest of the Colonial Empire, in having a homogeneous population, purely sprung from the British Isles.

Is there anything in Imperial Federation to clash with Australian sentiment or interest? The narrowness which would confine all our sympathies within even her wide borders would not be creditable to Australia. Am I less of an Australian because I can never regard as other than a countryman, in our extended Imperial nationality, every man born in the British Isles, Canada, and South Africa?

To those who have watched the growth of the question of Imperial Federation, it is amusing to hear the

MOST OPPOSITE MOTIVES

assigned to its advocates. They have been said to want to further, and to impede, Intercolonial Federation, and to have deep fiscal designs in the interest of Free Trade, Protection, and Imperial reciprocity—all of which they have repeatedly declared should be left open questions, to be dealt with by the Provincial legislatures as they think fit. In my very first paper, advocating Imperial Federation, at the Conference on Colonial questions, at Westminster, in July, 1871, I took care to lay stress upon

THE CARDINAL PRINCIPLE

of "the complete control of the Provincial Legislatures," over "all local questions," and I did the same in my subsequent papers read before the Royal Colonial Institute, in 1875 and 1881. In the last, Taxation and Tariffs, Land Laws, Intercolonial Federation, and Irish Home Rule, are placed under the classification of "Provincial Questions." The two last named are clearly for the decision of the people of Australia, and for the people of the British Isles, respectively, and for them alone. Imperial Federation is equally practicable, either with or without Australian Intercolonial Federation, or Irish Home Rule.

It has been said in Australia that Imperial Federation is a "red herring drawn across the path" of Intercolonial

Federation. But in common with, I believe, a great many others, I was

AN AUSTRALIAN FEDERALIST

before the Colonies were mature enough for Imperial Federation to be thought of. It was the contemplation of federation as an intercolonial policy which led me to the conviction that in it alone is to be found

THE COMPLETE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE,

whereby all its dominions shall take their fair share in its defence, and have their rightful voice in the control of its common affairs.

THE DECLARATION OF THE LEAGUE

"that no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local parliaments as regards local affairs," will be recognised as expressing the true spirit of federalism; and, as has been often pointed out, the oceans dividing the territories of our Empire more clearly distinguish between provincial and general interests, than these could be defined if all our territories were contiguous. It could also be easily arranged that Imperial taxation should not interfere with Provincial fiscal systems; and its burden would be much lighter than that which would have to be borne by the different Provinces of the Empire if they had separately to provide for their defences and all their requirements.

I hope I may be pardoned for referring to what I have written in my "Early History of the Colony of Victoria," but I venture to do so for two reasons—first, in order to prove that the holding of the largest and strongest Imperial sentiments is not incompatible with a man's taking a deep and minute interest in the concerns of the Province of the Empire to which he belongs. The other reason excusing me for quoting from my book is that in writing, in 1878, when this question was not nearly so much matured as at present, I was taking a decidedly Colonial view of it. Summing up the

REASONS FOR UNITY AS AGAINST ISOLATION,

I said that in "the strength and security of a grand future federation of Great Britain . . . Victoria, as well as every other Colony in or out of Australia, and even the Mother Country herself, may pursue her own individual career with a safety and confidence, as regards external relations and Foreign Powers, which alone can be enjoyed in the light but most effective hand of Imperial Confederacy," and that "the highest perfection, the most complete greatness, strength, and fame," for England and the Colonies, "are not to be found in the isolation of single communities, or even of great groups of states, but in the unity of a common Empire."

The cause of the permanent unity and federation of the Empire is based upon the

STRONGEST SELF INTERESTS

of the people of the British Isles, Australasia, Canada, South Africa, and of the smaller Colonies. It stands also firmly upon the

NOBLEST SENTIMENTS OF ENLIGHTENED PATRIOTISM AND NATIONALITY.

The feeling that he is "a son and heir of the British Empire," will never weaken any true man's attachment to the province, town, or village of his birth. It will only enlarge the bounds of his affections, so that they shall embrace his British fellow-countrymen of every quarter of the globe. Let us be Australians by all means! But we shall not do our country the less honour, nor have for her the less love, because we cherish a deep affection for, and are proud of being citizens of, the greatest Empire the world has yet seen, or can possibly produce. FRANCIS P. LABILLIERE.

"MEN'S minds to-day are not receptive of the doctrine that England should prepare to fall to the position of another Holland. On the contrary, Englishmen to-day, of both political parties, are considering how to draw closer the bonds which unite us to our kinsmen beyond the seas. Time itself is fighting now with us, the Party of Imperial Unity, the advocates of world-wide Federation of English States, and the Time-Spirit is absolutely opposed to the narrow and timorous views of those parochial politicians who plead for dismemberment."—*Evening News*.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

At a meeting of the Executive on May 5th, it was resolved that a sum not exceeding £50 be applied from the funds of the League towards the cost of the special number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION to be issued in June, the remainder of the cost to be provided by special subscriptions. It was further resolved that the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B., Premier of the Dominion of Canada, be invited to preside at the banquet, to be held under the auspices of the League on July 3rd.

At a meeting of the Executive held on May 14th, Mr. Frederick Young in the chair, there were present:—Mr. W. J. Browne, Captain Colomb, Messrs. J. Cropper, C. P. Davis, C. Washington Eves, Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone, M.P., Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Sir John Gorst, Q.C., M.P., Hon. H. Finch Hatton, Right Hon. Sir H. T. Holland, Bart., M.P., Messrs. S. V. Morgan, Kenric, B. Murray, F. P. Labilliere, H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham, M.P., Messrs. Ohlson, H. A. Perry, P. Ralli, Sir R. W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., and J. D. Wood.

A COMMUNICATION was received from Sir John Macdonald, in which he stated that, if the claims of public business in Canada would permit of it, he would have pleasure in accepting the invitation of the League and presiding at the banquet. An office sub-committee was appointed, and other business transacted.

THE following gentlemen have been added to the General Committee:—R. Murray Smith, C.M.G., late Agent-General for Victoria, Melbourne; Sir Arthur Blyth, K.C.M.G., Agent-General, South Australia; Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G., Governor of Hong-Kong; C. Bill (Cheadle); F. A. Hankey, M.P.; Arthur Somerset; Alfred Ewen (Luton Branch); Lieut.-Colonel Francis Newdigate; John Rolleston (Leicester); Richard Eve (Aldershot); George Addie (Edinburgh); Rev. Canon Brown (Stalybridge); R. N. Rogers (Falmouth); Rev. S. Barnett; A. L. Cohen; D. Gurteen, J.P.; T. B. Moxon (Manchester); Colonel A. Moncrieff, C.B., and Charles Percy Davis. The last-named was added to the Executive Committee.

GLASGOW.—A correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, who signs himself "Greater Britain," writes a letter to the editor, which he commences thus:—"I do not know whether there is in Glasgow at the present time a branch of the Imperial Federation League. If not, I beg to suggest that a branch should be immediately formed, and that some of our influential citizens should undertake the work of getting it organised." As yet Glasgow has no branch of the League. Is it not high time that the "second city in the Empire" began to move in this matter? The organising secretary of the League would be pleased to correspond with any gentleman in Glasgow willing to take initiative.

GLOUCESTER.—At a recent meeting of the Tyndale Literary Society a short paper was read by Mr. Ralph Lees, advocating "Imperial Federation." The paper was received with great attention, and the sentiments of the essayist were unanimously endorsed by the meeting. A very cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Lees for his interesting paper on such an important subject. On April 12th the members of the Gloucester Junior Liberal Association discussed a scheme for "Imperial Federation," an account of which was sent to us, but not in sufficient time to appear in our last issue, owing to the Easter Holidays. It appears, however, this month, and will be found in another column.

HASLEMERE.—Mr. Stanley Little lectured at Haslemere on May 19th on the subject of Federation. A report of his lecture, which he entitled "The United States of Britain," will be found in another column. From this report it will be seen that Haslemere is ripe for the establishment of a branch of the League. Could not Mr. Little take the initiative and proceed to the formation of a branch?

MR. STANLEY LITTLE, in a letter received from him just as we go to press, says:—"I have formed, or rather I am forming, a healthy branch of the League here, and I hope to spread the movement from this centre all over the three counties, Hants, Sussex, and Surrey."

LONDON, CAMDEN TOWN.—A lecture has been delivered in Marchmont Hall, Marchmont Street, by Mr. H. Gordon Scott, of the Constitutional Union, upon the subject of "Imperial Federation." Mr. G. B. Cook, vice-chairman of the South St. Pancras Conservative Association presided, and, in introducing the lecturer, said that what it was sought to bring about was a league between all English-speaking people. After pointing out what the Empire consisted of, and giving statistics as to population, trade, &c., the lecturer said:—"It was seen to be of immense importance to the future welfare of the Empire that it should be welded together as a whole, and various persons had

tried to invent ways for doing this. An interesting book had been written on this question by the Marquis of Lorne (which the lecturer quoted from), as showing the deep necessity there was of federating together the whole Empire. The Colonies had themselves offered to assist them in bringing about the desired end, and it now only remained for the people to consider how it could best be accomplished. One idea was to have a confederate senate like that of America; another to have assemblies of representatives from all the Colonies, who would meet at Westminster; and yet another to have a number of delegates from all parts of the Empire. Lord Grey's suggestion was, however, he thought, the best one that had been made, and that was to establish a small council of delegates from the Colonies, who would act in concert with the Home Government, under the direct authority of the Queen. At no time, concluded the lecturer, in the world's history had there been so little war in the world, or so little trouble all over our vast Empire. Wherever the flag of England was placed, peace followed as a rule, and the reign of England over a Colony or a conquered country was generally one of peace and quiet. With the whole British Empire closely welded together in one compact body, they would be stronger and more able to maintain peace all over the world, and the way made clear for the union of mankind and the Federation of the whole earth." The chairman moved a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was seconded by Serjeant Robinson, and carried unanimously.

OTTAWA.—A meeting of the General Committee of the "Imperial Federation League in Canada," was held on the 1st ult. in the Tower Room, Parliament Buildings, for the purpose of appointing delegates to take part in the Conference in London at the beginning of July, the appointment of a date, the drafting of resolutions, and the selection of speakers for the annual meeting of the League in Canada to be held in Toronto, answering a communication from the Secretary of the League in England relative to the "Defence of Sea Commerce," and the transaction of other business.

OXFORD.—An Oxford correspondent writes:—"I am glad to inform you that we are pretty well unanimous on the question of Federation," and adds in reference to a discussion which had just taken place at Merton College in connection with the College Debating Society, "My motion was carried with but three dissentients in a house of over forty."

HERE AND THERE.

THE first week of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was one of complete success. The total number of visitors at the close of the week was officially returned at 128,077. The numbers on Wednesday were 12,137, and on Friday, 21,076. The first Wednesday at the Inventions Exhibition last year was only 8,243, and the largest previous first Wednesday was in the Fisheries Exhibition—9,198. The first week of the Fisheries had the benefit of Whitsun Monday, and the total ran up to 132,949. The first Friday last year recorded 12,391. The attendance all through the month has been equally satisfactory. Colonials from all points of the compass are daily landing on our shores, and swelling the numbers of those who pass the turnstiles.

I OBSERVE that the London correspondent of the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* gives the following satisfactory testimony:—"A friend who was moving very much among the Colonial visitors at the opening of the South Kensington Show yesterday, and who has special means of knowing some of the leading Colonials, writes to me that he was 'very much struck by the eagerness displayed by our fellow-subjects, alike from the far East and the far West, on the question of Imperial Federation. It was in this connection that Lord Rosebery was the statesman in the procession most persistently inquired for, and most universally applauded by Canadians and Australians especially.' "The same correspondent notes that Mr. Gladstone's absence from the ceremony was made the subject of adverse comments by various leading Colonists, who attributed it to indifference on the Premier's part to the Colonial Empire. "There is no doubt," he adds, "about the impetus which yesterday's proceedings have given to the cause of Imperial Unity, and to that other scheme more generally referred to as Imperial Federation."

THE number of *Punch* for the week in which the Exhibition was opened contained a cartoon by Mr. Tenniel which was one of his larger and more serious designs. It represented Britannia standing in a chariot, to which a lion and a tiger are yoked, and surrounded by the bearers of liberal gifts from India and the Colonies. "Hail, Britannia" is the title of the accompanying verses, from which I cull the following:—

Britannia and her brood
Meet here in May-Day mood,
From every belt of the earth's climes they come.
Like scattered children, they
Turn on this festal day

Back to the Mother Isle as to a home,
Unforced save by affection's flowery chain,
Bearing their sheaves, laden with gold and grain.

From far Canadian snows,
From where the Orient glows
With tints more radiant, and with ruddier heat,
From sheep-thronged Austral plains,
And Afric's parched campaigns,
They march. Is there not music in their feet
To move to pride the pulses of the free,
More than in all the blasts of Victory?

THE first experiment in washing and manipulating the "blue ground," imported from the Griqualand West Diamond Mines, took place at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, under the direction of Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., acting Executive Commissioner for the Cape of Good Hope, in the Cape Court of the Exhibition, on Saturday afternoon, May 15th, in the presence of a number of visitors, amongst whom were the Duke of Manchester, the Right Hon. Osborne Morgan, M.P., Sir John Swinburne, M.P., and others. Several diamonds were found in the course of the operation, which attracted a considerable crowd and excited an unusual amount of interest. The process will be repeated at stated times during the period of the Exhibition.

AN interesting feature in connection with the Hongkong Court is the Hongkong Bazaar, which is located in two rooms overlooking the Conservatory at the Royal Albert Hall, and which illustrates the principal commodities which constitute the stock-in-trade of a Chinese retail vendor of assorted goods in Hongkong. Silks, blackwood, ivory carvings, fans, screens, crockery, and other commodities, find a place in this collection, and the Bazaar is presided over by some Chinese traders, arrived expressly from Hongkong for the purpose. The Bazaar is open during the hours of the Exhibition, and articles purchased can be delivered at once to the addresses of the purchasers. In matters of difficulty a reference can be made to Mr. H. E. Wodehouse, the Special Commissioner from Hongkong.

THE Band of the 1st West Indian Regiment, which arrived in London about the middle of May performed for the first time in public at the Exhibition, on the afternoon of Monday, May 24th. On Wednesday, May 19, the Mohammedan Artisans were granted by the Royal Commission a holiday, in order that they might observe their great festival—the Bakra-Id.

OTHER poets beside the Laureate have been at work on "odes" suggested by the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. An ode written in Arabic by Habib Anthony Salmoné has been literally translated into English by Mr. Edwin Arnold; from it I quote the following:—

Is it Paradise I gaze on? Do "the Garden's" gates unfold?
Brothers! tell me, am I dreaming? are these visions I behold!
All the lands of one Dominion into one rejoicing brought
In this Palace of their pleasure. Such a marvel what hath wrought?

* * * * *

East and West with one love blended bless thee, Queen! in
unity;
Allah, Lord of Lords! vouchsafe us long such brotherhood to
see!
Then, what enemy shall daunt us? who shall do Britannia
wrong?
In such majesty united, in such mighty kinship strong.
Lo! thine Empire clusters round thee, all its richest and its best!
Peace and Happiness be with thee; this thine East prays, as thy
West.

ANOTHER poem which has come under my notice, and from which I should like to quote, is contained in a lately-published volume entitled "The Judgment of Prometheus and other Poems," by Ernest Myers. The following, on the proposed Channel tunnel, is quite expressive of my sentiments:—

"Let there be sea," God said, and there was sea;
And in the midst thereof an Island set,
Wherein the roving strength of nations met,
And reared a rugged fortress of the free.
"Take back thy sea," men say, if men they be,
Who thus their fathers' perilous years forget,
Nor reck the gathering thunder-cloud, which yet
Looms large from many an envious tyranny.
Gropers for gold come forth! Let be awhile
The stifling dark of your disloyal mine;
Here where no feverish fumes the sense beguile,
Where reinless waves race by in endless line,
Here stand! Behind you lies the guarded Isle,
And on your brow beats free the guardian brine.

A LETTER has been addressed to the editor of the *St. Pancras Gazette*, by a writer who signs himself "T. W. P.," from which I gather that the question of Imperial Federation is coming to the front among the politicians of St. Pancras. It is to be hoped that those who have been mooted the subject will proceed to something practical. Why should not St. Pancras have a branch of the League? I commend this question to the active politicians there who favour the object the League has in view.

IN the letter referred to, "T. W. P." says—"I believe that the British nation deplore too deeply the madness of those who, invested with a brief season of power, lost to Great Britain the vast continent now occupied by fifty million Americans, to be led away by any appeal to that fanaticism and narrow-minded cant which is one of the chief features of a certain school of political economists, and which constitutes the stumbling-block in the way of our wise and far-seeing statesmen. They will realise that had it not been for that black spot on the shield of history, that great confederacy of the Anglo-Saxon race which forms the day-dream of the humanitarian philosopher would long since have been an accomplished fact."

A COPY of an address, delivered by Sir Donald Currie, M.P., to the West Perthshire Liberal Association, has been put into my hands. The following struck me as being an utterance which the readers of IMPERIAL FEDERATION would like to have brought under their notice:—"I may appear too sanguine in my anticipations, but it seems to me that we are approaching a time when we shall have representatives from the Colonies, as well as from England, Ireland, and Scotland, assembled in one Imperial Parliament at Westminster. We are bound, in considering the changes that are to take place in our Constitution, to have regard not merely to the population of the British Isles, but to those loyal communities beyond the seas who have a strong attachment to the Mother Country and a pride in its history and progress. The people of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Cape, and the other portions of the Queen's dominions will, before long, be acknowledged to be entitled to a share in the deliberations of the Imperial Parliament, as they have ever shown a readiness to share in the difficulties and dangers of the Empire."

"IMPOSSIBLE" is what some people say when you talk to them about Federation. I confess I like better the mettle of such as "laugh at impossibilities, and cry 'It shall be done.'" Speaking in his lately published, and most fascinating, work of the future "Commonwealth of Oceana," which should be held together by "common blood, common interest, and a common pride in the great position which unity can secure," Mr. Froude says—"Impossible! the politicians said; yet it was not impossible for the United States to refuse to be divided. The United States tore their veins open and spilt their blood in torrents that they might remain one people. There was no need for any blood to be shed to keep us one people, yet we talked placidly of impossibilities. The United States, it was said, were parts of a single continent. No ocean ran between south and north, or east and west. Our Colonies were dispersed over the globe. What Nature had divided, man could not bind together; without continuity of soil there could be no single empire. Excuses are not wanting when the will is wanting. The ocean which divides, combines also; and had the problem been theirs and not ours, the Americans would perhaps have found that the sea is the easiest of highways, which telegraph wires underlie and steamers traverse with the ease and certainty of railway cars. 'Impossibility' is a word of politicians who are without the wish or without the capacity to comprehend new conditions."

THE *Belfast News-Letter*, the genial editor of which is an old acquaintance of mine, and well fitted to sit in the editorial chair of the paper he with so much vigour conducts, in a leader which he had lately on Imperial Unity refers sympathetically to the work of the League, and says:—"This is the prime aim of the Imperial Federation League; and in IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the monthly newspaper devoted to the service of the organisation, there is abundant proof of energy certain to be rewarded with success. We ought to have the Dominion of Canada and the forty other Colonies, with India, bound to the United Kingdom by ties which aliens could not sunder. The British Empire is self-sustaining; and if complete unity were secured, it might defy the fleets and armies of enemies. Unity does not necessarily involve thorough uniformity. As a writer in the organ of the League observes, we require an Imperial Federation, so as to gain by united action with united resources ends unattainable by individual effort. . . . So far as Imperial action is concerned, there must be one diplomatic system, all the federated States occupying the same position towards foreigners, and binding them in perpetual offensive and defensive alliance."

FEDERALIST.

ODE ON THE OPENING OF THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

BY LORD TENNYSON, POET LAUREATE.

I.

WELCOME welcome with one voice !
In your welfare we rejoice,
Sons and brothers, that have sent,
From isle and cape and continent,
Produce of your field and flood,
Mount, and mine, and primal wood,
Work of subtle brain and hand,
And splendours of the Morning Land,
Gifts from every British zone !
Britons, hold your own !

II.

May we find, as ages run,
The mother featured in the son,
And may yours for ever be
That old strength and constancy,
Which has made your Fathers great,
In our ancient island-state !
And,—where'er her flag may fly
Glorying between sea and sky—
Makes the might of Britain known !
Britons, hold your own !

III.

Britain fought her sons of yore,
Britain fail'd ; and never more,
Careless of our growing kin,
Shall we sin our fathers' sin,
Men that in a narrower day—
Unprophetic rulers they—
Drove from out the Mother's nest
That young eagle of the West,
To forage for herself alone !
Britons, hold your own !

IV.

Sharers of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last ?
Shall not we thro' good and ill
Cleave to one another still ?
Britain's myriad voices call,
" Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain heart and soul !
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne ! "
Britons, hold your own !
And God guard all !

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM.

TRANSLATED INTO SANSKRIT BY PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER,
AND SUNG (THE SECOND VERSE) BY THE ALBERT HALL
CHOIR ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE
COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION BY THE QUEEN.

Rāgūm prasādinīm
Loka-prasādinīm
Pāhīvara
Lakshmi-prabhāsinīm
Satrūpāhāsinīm
Tām dīrgharāsinīm
Pāhīvara

The Queen, the gracious,
World-renowned,
Save, O Lord !
In victory brilliant,
At enemies smiling,
Her, long-ruling,
Save, O Lord !

Ehy asmadīvara
Satrūn pratiskira
Ukkhīndī tām
Takṣhadma nāsaya
Māyāśka pāsaya
Pāhy asmadāśraya
Sarvāṇa gāṇān

Approach, O our Lord !
Enemies scatter,
Annihilate them !
Their fraud confound,
Tricks restrain,
Protect, O thou, our refuge,
All people !

Tuadratna-bhūshitām
Rāgye kīroshitām
Pāhīvara
Rāgya-prasālinīm
Saddharma-solinīm
Tām stotra-mālinīm
Pāhīvara.

With thy choice gifts adorned
In the kingdom long-dwelling,
Save, O Lord !
Her, the realm-protecting,
By good laws abiding,
Her, with praises wreathed,
Save, O Lord !

PRAYER.

BY HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
AT THE OPENING OF THE COLONIAL AND INDIAN
EXHIBITION.

ALMIGHTY GOD AND HEAVENLY FATHER, we beseech Thee to send down Thy gracious Blessing upon the manifold treasures and precious works which from amongst our kindred peoples and our fellow nations, from sunrise round to sunrise, are gathered here for glory and for beauty, unto the increase of knowledge, use, and wisdom.

Bless our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and enrich her days with abundance of peace, that all the daughterlands of her Realms and Empire may be knit together in perfect unity and prosperous strength. And grant, that as her people inherit and fill peacefully all countries of her Dominion, so not material concerns only, but the enduring riches of mind and spirit and the righteousness of Thine eternal Kingdom may be sacred and dear to them ; so that, in Thy bounteous gifts, and in man's wise labours learnt of Thee, Thy Name may evermore be greatly magnified ; Through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE IN CANADA.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE IN CANADA—THE NEW ROUTE TO THE EAST.

A MEETING of the General Committee of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was held in Ottawa in the early part of last month. Mr. McCarthy was in the chair, and there were present, among others, the Hon. Senator Nelson, Lt.-Col. Tyrwhitt, M.P., Benjamin Allen, M.P., Alex. McNeill, M.P., D. McMillan, M.P. (Middlesex), E. Crowe Baker, M.P., W. E. O'Brien, M.P., Chas. J. Townsend, M.P., Thomas Macfarlane, F.R.S.C., and John G. Bourinot, the clerk of the House, who acted as secretary.

A resolution of regret at the death of Mr. Forster was submitted, approved, and directed to be brought before the first general meeting of the League, which was held on the 27th in Toronto, an account of which we hope to be able to give in our next.

The following resolutions, reported by a committee of the executive, were also adopted :—

Moved by Alex. McNeill, M.P., seconded by E. Crowe Baker, M.P. :—

That this meeting commends the idea of an Imperial penny post for letters and of the extension of the English parcel post system into an Imperial parcel post between the different countries of the Empire, and believes that any temporary loss of revenue would be amply compensated for by a speedy increase in correspondence, and particularly by the great impetus that would be given to transient trade and ultimately to all trade between the Mother Country and the Colonies and between the Colonies themselves, and further believes that such a policy is justified as between countries united for purposes of foreign policy under one Government.

Moved by Lieut.-Col. W. E. O'Brien, M.P., seconded by Hon. Hugh Nelson, senator :—

That the London conference be invited to consider whether any scheme of Imperial Federation should not include a system of trade interchange between the several component parts of the Empire upon terms more favourable than those extended to foreign countries.

Moved by Benjamin Allen, M.P., seconded by R. Tyrwhitt, M.P. :—

That as the North-West passage by land is now an accomplished fact through the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway ; that as this line affords not only the best means of communication with the countries it traverses, but also, if supplemented by fast steamship lines across the Pacific, the means of saving several days' travel in reaching countries in the East : this meeting would suggest to the League to urge upon the Imperial Government the expediency of despatching the English mails for Canada, Australia, China, and Japan across the Atlantic to Halifax, thence sending those for all parts of Canada to their several destinations by the quickest means of communication available, and those for Australia and further Asia on the Canadian Pacific Railway to British Columbia, there to be shipped by lines of fast steamers to their termini, by which policy cheapness, expedition, and security would be gained in the transmission of mails to nearly all parts of the Empire and to about one-third part of the world over a road running almost entirely through British territory.

Moved by John G. Bourinot, Ottawa, seconded by Mr. McNeill :—

That the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the Imperial Federation League in England, and to the Journal of the League, and that the delegates appointed by this committee to represent the League in Canada be instructed to bring them to the attention of the Conference to be held in London on the 1st and 2nd July, 1886.

The following gentlemen were appointed delegates to the London Conference : Sir Alex. T. Galt ; Messrs. George R. Parkin, M.A., Frederickton, N.B. ; Lieut.-Col. R. Tyrwhitt, M.P., Bradford, Ont. ; E. Crowe Baker, M.P., Victoria, B.C. ; Alex.

** IN consequence of the SPECIAL NUMBER, which we are now actively engaged in preparing, the present number is reduced to sixteen pages. These sixteen pages, however, as readers will find, are very pregnant with valuable matter ; but, even if it were otherwise, much more than compensation would be made by the exceedingly valuable contents of the Special Number.

Johnson, LL.D., F.R.S.C.; Arch. McGoun, jr., Montreal; H. H. Lyman, Montreal; George R. R. Cockburn, Toronto.

The committee also named as the representatives of the League in Canada on the general committee of the League in England, Sir A. T. Galt, Mr. R. R. Dobell, and Mr. Peter Redpath.

A committee was appointed to make full arrangements for the annual meeting of the League in Canada to be held in Toronto. The President, Mr. McCarthy, and Sir A. T. Galt were chosen as speakers.

HURRAH FOR CANADA!

A PATRIOTIC PART-SONG.

MR. THOMAS MACFARLANE, Chief Analyst of the Inland Revenue Department, Canada, writes to us from Ottawa, under date April 19th, 1886, as follows:—

"I observe from your last issue that your columns are open to new patriotic songs. I send enclosed an adaptation of the Swedish Dalecarlia song to this Colony, which I hope you will find worthy of publication. I also enclose the music as well, which has already been sung by several of the choral clubs of Montreal."

The music we are unable to reproduce, but we give the verses with pleasure:—

I know a land far up into the north,
Not warm or rich like southern regions;
But hearts beat there for altar and for hearth,
And proudly yield their British Queen allegiance.
And there the mighty forest rears its head,
And there do rivers foam in torrents dread;
Hurrah! hurrah! for Canada,
The home of loyal men;
And who has seen that land, I ween,
He longs for it again.

O cold yet kindly is our native earth,
A mother proud, yet wise and tender;
Her loving sons prize manliness and worth,
And ready stand to succour and defend her.
The greatest of earth's empires deigns to own
Our land as brightest jewel in its crown.
Hurrah! hurrah! for Canada,
The home of women pure;
While maples grow and rapids flow,
That land shall aye endure.

CANADA AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

(FROM A CANADIAN CORRESPONDENT.)

CANADIANS have naturally been very much exercised over the utterances of the London *Times* on the subject of the Yankee encroachments upon our fisheries.

Of course very few of us were surprised at the tone of the articles, as the *Times* has always treated Canada with contempt; but we were none the less indignant that an influential journal should disgrace the Empire by assuming such a position.

Those among us who have studied the question of Federation most thoroughly contend that this is an additional argument why we should be adequately represented in an Imperial chamber, charged with the control of Imperial affairs, in order that we should be able to maintain our position before the representatives of the other portions of the Empire on all such questions as this, which intimately affect our interests; but the Secessionists contend that it is no use attempting it, that our interests have always been sacrificed by Great Britain, and always will be. They point to the undeniable fact that the whole history of the diplomatic relations between the Empire and the United States has been a series of capitulations, in which the most vital interests of Canada have been bartered for a song of good-fellowship, sung by the American plenipotentiaries; with the single exception of the fishery arbitration at Halifax, in which the Empire was represented by a Canadian statesman.

The tone of a large part of our press has been that, if the *Times* expresses the views of the people of Great Britain, we had better cut adrift from the Empire and enter the American Union with dignity, rather than be sold piecemeal by England, in order that she may keep on the most friendly relations with the Yankees.

Imperial Federation can never be accomplished until Great Britain is prepared to regard the interests of the Colonies as her own, and to be as quick to resent an insult to, and resist an encroachment upon, any Colony, as we all know the Government at Washington would be in the case of any of the States of the Union.

Canadians also look with great interest upon the Irish question, the feeling of the majority being that the Irish should be permitted to manage their own internal affairs so long as the supremacy of the Crown and the Imperial Parliament is assured, and they wonder that the statesmen of England, who are so

keen-sighted in many ways, should be so slow to perceive that the introduction of the Federal system is the only means by which these ends can be attained.

The Imperial statesmen admit that the Federal form of government is a success in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, United States, and Canada, and are anxious to have it introduced into Australia; but think it quite unsuitable for Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen as long as they stay at home.

Comparisons are proverbially odious, but still it will probably be admitted that Prince Bismarck is as shrewd a statesman as anyone in England, not excepting the G.O.M. himself, and yet he adopted the Federal system for the unification of Germany. If it was necessary for Germany, whose territory was not scattered, how much more necessary must it be for the British Empire! In Canada, the Federal Government can alone maintain military or naval forces, and the Governor-General in Council has the power, and frequently exercises it, of vetoing any act of the Provincial Legislatures. Similar provisions in a Home Rule measure would probably be sufficient safeguards for the maintenance of the Union, and of the rights of the Protestant minority.

I cannot close this letter without expressing the grief which we all felt at the death of Mr. Forster. He was a man whom we all trusted, and whose name we could invoke whenever anyone attempted to cast ridicule upon the idea of Imperial Federation. Had he done nothing more than inaugurate this movement, he would have deserved well of his country; as it is, this was the crowning work of a noble life, and his name will be cherished by all loyal men throughout the Empire.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

VICE-CONSULAR TESTIMONY.

ONE of Her Majesty's Acting Vice-Consuls writes:—

"To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

"SIR,—Permit me to congratulate you on the issue of your first number, which is of the greater interest to me in that the sentiments therein contained are, as a whole, those which I have entertained for some years past, and which regulate my action as a public servant—as far, at least, as a public servant is at liberty to regulate his own acts.

"It has been my privilege to visit every country in Europe; to run through the United States and India; and to have intimate relations with the two Empires of the East; and the more lands and men I have seen, the more I have been impressed with the conviction that British rule is (apart from all national bias) the giver of the greatest moral freedom and physical contentment to the greatest number; and it is on this broad basis that I heartily subscribe myself an active sympathiser with the principle of "Imperial Federation," coupled with equality of public and legal rights for all British citizens, subject, however, to modifications in the cases of those of Asiatic origin."

A WEST-END IMPERIAL BALL.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Every day women are playing a more and more active part in political matters. They are ardent partisans, and the influence they can bring to bear on politics is enormous; witness the Primrose League. With scarcely an exception, British women are Imperialists. While we are organising dinners, conversations, and conferences in the interests of our great cause, let us not despise another tremendous motive power which is open to us. I suggest that we follow the Lord Mayor's example, and profit by the presence here of so many fair visitors from the Colonies by giving a *Unity Ball*, and let it be in the largest and most central hall to be found in the western part of London. The good likely to accrue from this step is simply incalculable, and it is so self-apparent I need not further trespass upon your space.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES STANLEY LITTLE.

Lytham House, Kensington, W., May 22nd, 1886.

SCHOOL TEACHING AND THE COLONIES.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—At present, as far as I am aware, no attempt is made in Board and other schools systematically to teach children the importance of the Colonies. The result is that thousands of young English men and women are growing up practically ignorant of their great inheritance. If a quarter of an hour's time, taken from the geography lesson, were regularly devoted to the study of *Her Majesty's Colonies*, the admirable handbook issued by the Commissioners for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition—especially should a chapter on India be added to the

volume—all this would be changed; and, I doubt not, with very beneficial result to the future of the Empire.—I am, etc.,

H. T. MACKENZIE BELL.

A BOARD-SCHOOL teacher also writes:—"May I ask if your League has considered the advisability of—

(1). Pressing upon the attention of the Education Department, the Royal Commission, etc., the value of geographical teaching about the Colonies in the lower standards of elementary schools. A good reading-book taken in a standard not higher than the IVth (which all children must attend), would have a great influence.

(2). Introducing geographical teaching about the Colonies under the new evening class system in elementary schools designed for older children. The magic-lantern would be an aid here.

(3). Hanging attractive maps of the Colonies, and pictures of Colonial life about the school-rooms.

By attacking the children, it seems to me that the greatest progress can be made."

THE UNITED STATES OF BRITAIN.

AN address on "Imperial Federation" was given by J. Stanley-Little, Esq., F.R.C.I., in the Assembly Room, Haslemere, on Wednesday evening, May 19th. The chair was taken by the Rev. Sanders Etheridge, the rector. In the room were Dr. Frederick Pearse, G. B. Buckton, Esq., F.R.S., Colonel Mason, Clement Wallace, Esq., Dr. William Ardagh, W. Winstanley, Esq., Rev. B. P. Pratten, C. G. Roberts, Esq., R. Storr, Esq., W. H. Thomas, Esq. There was a large attendance; the ladies being numerous. Not only were all the seats in the room occupied, but many gladly stood up at the end of the room. The address was listened to with great interest and rapt attention, only interrupted by frequent bursts of applause.

The REV. S. ETHERIDGE, in opening the proceedings, said no apology was needed from him for the subject of Mr. Little's address, for it was most interesting to all. We needed instruction in it. Imperial Federation had not been associated with any political thought or opinion; and no doubt all would be delighted with the views and observations coming from Mr. Little.

Letters expressing sympathy with the objects of the meeting, and regretting their inability to attend, were received from Lord Winterton, Lord Egmont, Mr. St. John Brodrick, M.P., Professor Tyndall, etc.—Sir Henry Holland, M.P., wrote: "I heartily sympathise with your views, but I have been long ago engaged for the 19th of May."—Mr. Ellis D. Gosling wrote: "I much regret that my absence from home will prevent my attendance to hear your address on Wednesday. I need hardly add that I heartily endorse the principles which you are endeavouring to inculcate and spread, viz., Union or Federation on some basis with our Colonies; and I venture to think that both parties in the State have the same object at heart, though they may differ in their means of obtaining it."

MR. STANLEY-LITTLE commenced his address by pointing out to the audience that the question of Imperial Federation "in its importance and vastness was like Aaron's rod, which swallowed up all other rods." "There was a time," said the lecturer, "when the kind of Imperialism which I shall endeavour to commend to you to-night was considered to be the shibboleth of one political party; but now that which was at one time little more than a whispered pious prayer, is proclaimed on the housetops by Tory and Liberal, Socialist and Conservative alike." Having dwelt upon the importance of the subject for all classes, Mr. Stanley-Little went on to give a sketch of the origin of nations, in which he showed that the Aryan race, springing from its *habitat* in the Himalayas, had colonised almost the whole of Europe; "thus you see," said the speaker, "we have a very ancient and respectable, albeit oriental, ancestry." In dealing with the Greeks and their colonies the lecturer said that they neither gave support to, nor received support from, the parent state. They were created to relieve over-pressure at home, and they ended by becoming independent in name as in fact; while the Roman colonies were entirely under the direction and control of the metropolis, they were created for military purposes, and were made to strengthen and support the central authority. That the Colonies had become a drain on the resources of the Home Country was held to be a great fallacy, which was clearly proved by the figures which Mr. Stanley-Little quoted. He also said that although we may have acted in the past like a father who had treated his children with great severity, and who had carried the paternal prerogative to its utmost limit, inducing these children to break away from the irksome control: yet there is every hope of a more liberal and enlightened manner of dealing with our offspring in the future. The lecturer thought that the English law of primogeniture, which had driven younger sons away from their homes, had had much to do with the growth of our Colonies. In dealing with Imperial Federation and its Parliament, Mr. Stanley-Little said that the first duty of this assembly would be, as we have seen, to provide for efficient defence of the Empire. Then, a common field of future action having been arrived at in the matter of Imperial defence, the real work of the Council would begin, which he took to be as follows: (1) The re-adjustment of taxation and tariff; in other words, the initiation of a scheme of Imperial reciprocity. (2) The proper and efficient administration of the Colonial estates. The extension of the Empire where needful or expedient, and where it can be done without trenching on the rights of other powers. (3) The removal of the population from those states of the Empire where it is congested and placing it where more people are required.—The lecturer went on to say that at present we were making ducks and drakes of our Colonial estates, and why? Because our Members of Parliament are responsible to electors who have not the slightest knowledge of their value. He proceeded thus:

At the present moment the Colonies are bound to us by the strongest cords of affection. Let us see that we turn not their love into hatred, by slighting their just aspirations, repressing their impetuous young life by vexations, dalliance, and temporising at moments when we hold their dearest interests in our keeping, and by persistently callous indifference to their Imperial yearnings and national desires. Let us cease to speak of them and to treat them as foreigners. Let us treat them as our brothers and our sisters. Let them feel that our hearts pulsate with theirs, our loves and our hates are theirs, and that with them we are working for that brighter dawn of which e'en now we see the grey prophetic streak in the far-off horizon, telling of a happier world in store for poor storm-tossed humanity.

MR. BUCKTON, at the conclusion, proposed a vote of thanks to MR. LITTLE, which was carried with acclamation.

A vote of thanks to the CHAIRMAN, moved by MR. LITTLE, concluded the meeting.

LITERATURE.

Her Majesty's Colonies; a Series of Original Papers, issued under the Authority of the Royal Commission. London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 13, Charing Cross, and at the Exhibition.

THE pressure on our space this month prevents our giving an extended review of this valuable work. It is a handsomely got-up volume of 560 pages, and contains an enormous mass of information about the Colonies in—notwithstanding its bulkiness—a very compact form. The Introduction by Professor Seeley is worthy of attention, as indeed everything is which comes from the Professor's pen.

COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.

THE arrangements of the Conference Committee, of which the Duke of Manchester is Chairman, are now fairly complete, and the following meetings are announced for dates previous to Whitsuntide. In some cases, it will be seen that the conferences are under the care of independent Societies and Associations, in others the arrangements have been made direct by the Conference Committee. The meetings are open to all visitors to the Exhibition.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1.—Conference of the Anthropological Institute. 4.0 p.m. "Native Races in British Possessions in Africa."

F. W. Pennefather. *Lecture*. "A Tour through New Zealand" (with Limelight Illustrations). 8.30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2.—S. B. L. Druce. *Paper*. "Importation of Grain and Bread-stuffs from the Colonies and India." 4.0 p.m.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3.—Arnold White. *Paper*. "South Africa as a Field for the Emigration of the Industrial Classes." 4.0 p.m.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4.—Conference of the Royal Colonial Institute. *Paper*. J. D. Wood. "The System of Land Transfer adopted by the Colonies." 3.0 p.m.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5.—Conference of the Geologists' Association. *Paper*. Professor Valentine Ball, F.R.S. "The Mineral Resources of India." 3.0 p.m.

MONDAY, JUNE 7.—Conference of the Anthropological Institute. "Native Races in British Possessions in America and the West Indies." 4.0 p.m.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8.—Conference of the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Colonisation. 2.0 p.m.

Alexander Begg. *Lecture*. "The Canadian North-West." 8.30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9.—L. J. Shand. *Paper*. "British-Grown Teas." 4.0 p.m.

THURSDAY, JUNE 10.—Vincent Robinson. *Paper*. "Indian Carpets." 4.0 p.m.

F. W. Pennefather. *Lecture*. "The Industries of New Zealand." 8.30 p.m.

FRIDAY, JUNE 11.—Conference of the Royal Colonial Institute. *Paper* by F. Young. "Emigration to the Colonies." 3.0 p.m.

The papers will be followed by discussion. There will be no discussion after the lectures. Further information as to the arrangements can be obtained by applying to the offices of the Reception Committee in the Exhibition.

EMIGRATION.—The statistics to the end of April have just been issued by the Board of Trade and the figures continue very satisfactory as regards the relation in which the Australasian Colonies stand to the rest of the countries that receive the surplus population of Great Britain and Ireland. For the first four months of 1886, *i.e.*, to 30th April last, the figures stand thus (we exclude foreigners):—

	1886.	1885.
To United States	38,225	40,100
To Canada	5,121	4,640
To Australasia	12,817	10,687
	56,163	55,427

These figures shew that of British subjects 1,875 less have gone this year than last to the United States of America, 481 more have gone to Canada, and 2,130 persons have emigrated to Australasia in excess of the number that left last year; this state of things must be very satisfactory to the Southern Colonies.

A GRAND BANQUET

OF THE MEMBERS OF THE

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE

WILL TAKE PLACE AT

THE FREEMASONS' TAVERN,

On Saturday, July 3rd, 1886.

The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, K.C.M.G., Premier of Canada, will preside.

The following Gentleman have consented, among others, to act as Stewards on this occasion:—

The Duke of Manchester, K.P.
 The Right Hon. Lord Brabazon.
 The Right Hon. Lord Brabourne.
 Lord Castletown and Ossory.
 The Right Hon. Earl of Dunraven, K.P.
 The Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone.
 The Right Hon. Viscount Hampden, G.C.B.
 Lord Claud J. Hamilton, M.P.
 The Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham.
 The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery.
 The Earl of Wemyss and March.
 Right Hon. Sir H. Holland, Bart., K.C.M.G.,
 M.P.
 Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B.
 Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.
 Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P.
 Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart.
 Sir James Anderson.
 Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
 Sir Thomas Brassey, Bart., M.P.
 Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G.
 Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P.
 Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G.
 Sir William Crossman, Bart., K.C.M.G.,
 M.P.
 Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., M.P.
 Sir Charles Clifford.
 Sir John Coode.
 Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G.
 Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P.
 Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P.
 Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G.
 Sir Roper Lethbridge, M.P.
 Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
 Sir George Mackay, K.C.M.G.
 Sir F. A. Milner, Bart.
 Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.
 Sir C. Nicholson, Bart.
 Sir G. E. Paget, K.C.B.
 Major-General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B.,
 K.C.S.I., M.P.
 Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G. (High
 Commissioner for Canada).
 Sir Samuel Wilson.
 W. Shepherd Allen, M.P.
 L. R. Baily, M.P.
 T. Syms Bristowe, Q.C., M.P.
 P. Van der Byl, M.P.
 A. Baldwin.
 T. H. Baylis, Q.C.
 H. T. Mackenzie Bell, Esq.
 S. Barker Booth, Esq.
 Oscar Browning, Esq.
 J. J. Butcher, Esq.
 Professor E. C. Clark.
 Captain J. C. R. Colomb.
 W. J. Courthorpe, Esq.
 L. L. Cohen, M.P.
 Joseph Cowen, M.P.
 Professor G. H. Darwin.
 R. R. Dobell, Esq.
 T. Douglas, Esq.
 David Duncan, Esq.
 Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G.
 Edward Easton, C.E.
 C. Washington Eves, Esq.
 H. O. Arnold-Forster, Esq.
 J. T. Agg Gardner, M.F.
 Col. E. T. Gourley, M.P.
 W. H. Grenfell, M.P.
 Robert Gillespie, Esq.
 G. Graham, Esq.
 W. S. Sebright Green, Esq.
 Albert Grey, M.P.
 W. Greswell, Esq.
 F. Hardcastle, M.P.
 J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.
 E. Heneage, M.P.
 Mitchell Henry, M.P.
 A. Hickman, M.P.
 E. W. Howson, Esq.
 Professor T. McK. Hughes.
 Hon. M. E. Finch-Hatton, M.P.

Hon. H. Holbrook.
 Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.
 James Jackson, Esq.
 H. Seton Karr, M.P.
 Col. King-Harman, M.P.
 H. L. W. Lawson, M.P.
 Stanley Leighton, M.P.
 F. P. Labilliere, Esq.
 Lieut.-Gen. Lowry, C.B.
 J. Stanley Little, Esq.
 J. M. Ludlow, Esq.
 Alexander McArthur, M.P.
 O. V. Morgan, M.P.
 Gisborne Molineux, Esq.
 Major W. V. Morgan.
 Samuel Morley, Esq.
 Kenric B. Murray (Sec., London
 Chamber of Commerce).
 Professor A. S. Napier.
 Colonel McCalmont, C.B.
 Wilson Noble, Esq.
 James L. Ohlson.
 W. Pomfret Pomfret, M.P.
 P. Ralli, Esq.
 James Rankin, Esq.
 Peter Redpath.
 G. W. Rusden, Esq.
 William Shaen, Esq.
 Col. H. A. Silver.
 S. W. Silver, Esq.
 Col. Coysgarne Sim.
 Professor G. G. Stokes.
 Lieut.-Col. Myles Sandys, M.P.
 Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P.
 W. Tipping, M.P.
 Alex. Turnbull, Esq.
 C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.
 Lieut.-Col. Campbell Walker.
 William Westgarth, Esq.
 Major G. de Winton.
 Frederick Young (Hon. Sec. R.C.I.),
 Esq.

APPLICATIONS FOR TICKETS, which will be issued after the 15th inst., should be made at once to THE ORGANISING SECRETARY, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street. The number required should be distinctly stated.

Members of the League, who wish to invite their friends to the Banquet, should apply to the Organising Secretary, stating names. Invitations will then be issued to them on the tickets, and sent to the member applying.

TICKETS PRICE 25s. EACH.

Fifty Years' Progress.

JUNE, 1886.

INTRODUCTORY.

"By all means," says a great English writer, "build your castles in the air, then put the foundations under them." Sir John Harrington, as Mr. Froude tells us, built his castle in the air some 300 years ago, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and called it "Oceana"—the Great Commonwealth of English-speaking nations, united under one law, by one instinct and purpose, and established throughout the world. It is now our business, in the year of grace 1886, in the reign of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, to bring down the castle from the clouds, and to put the foundations under it.

Already there are many busy workers engaged upon the task, and from day to day the number grows. A few there are who, like the evil genii of the Eastern story, are engaged in pulling down and destroying the rising fabric. But, fortunately, evil influences are being exorcised, and their mischievous activity diminished, by the growing power of a healthy public opinion. In addition to those who are working for good, and those who are working for evil, there is the vast mass of those who are still indifferent, doubting, unconvinced, or uninformed, most of all, and above all, uninformed. It is the hope and aim of the Imperial Federation League to add to the number of workers, to diminish the number of idlers, and to blot out of political existence the cavillers and enemies. But, however much the England of Queen Victoria may differ from the England of Queen Elizabeth, in one matter its people remain the same. Now, as then, they will insist upon knowing what is the cause they are fighting for, and what is the end which their efforts, if successful, will accomplish. In our case, happily, this knowledge is open to all; the aim and object of the Imperial Federation League is as certain and definite as the keenest lover of definitions could require. We know **WHAT WE WANT**; we know **WHY WE WANT IT**; and every day we see more clearly **HOW WE ARE GOING TO GET IT**.

What do we want? Let us look at the materials with which we have to deal, and the question answers itself. At this moment there are throughout the world more than fifty million men, women, and children speaking the English tongue, possessing, and proud of, the traditions of English history, reading the same books, pursuing the same ideals, acknowledging the same law. In another half century this fifty million will have grown to a hundred million. It may be a matter of regret—some of our friends would have us think so—but it is nevertheless a fact, as certain as the process of the sun, that the future of the world is with the English-speaking people. The time is within measurable distance, when French, German, and Italian will be either provincial dialects or forgotten languages. The thing is certain, inevitable. One great division of the English-speaking world has already framed a wise and well considered scheme of union among its parts. It has learnt the value of that union, it has fought to maintain it, and has now placed it beyond the reach of danger. We who belong to the other portion, not less intimately connected by interest, far more closely bound together by the ties of kindred race, desire in like manner to obtain a practical organisation, by which the whole commonwealth may **WORK TOGETHER WITH ITS UNITED RESOURCES FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF ITS COMMON ENDS**.

This is what we want. Next comes the question, *Why do we want it?* We want it, in the first place, on account of the benefits which it will confer. And, in the second place, on account of the evils which it will enable us to avoid.

The whole underlying principle of modern political thought is that which assumes the practical identity of human interests, and which only seeks for the best way in which the resources of every class and every locality may be best utilised for the mutual advantage of every other class and locality. There is not a man throughout the Empire, whether he works with his head or his hands, who does not know perfectly well the value of system and organisation in his trade and calling. The statesman knows it, the lawyer knows it, the commercial man, the medical man, the tradesman, the artisan, and the labourer, are all aware of it, and are all endeavouring, in one way or another, to give effect to their knowledge. We, therefore, desire federation because we believe that thereby we can best secure the fullest development of the moral and material resources of the great undivided community of English-speaking people to which we belong.

For one other great end we also desire it. We live in a world in which passion and prejudice are not extinct. We know, as a matter of fact, that between communities which have no means of adjusting their differences save by diplomatic negotiations, never undertaken till the cause of difference has become acute, and always conducted under the pressure of popular feeling,

war is a possibility and, alas, as history tells us, a probability. At the present moment there is—and, as long as our imperfect administrative arrangements continue, there will be—the danger of war between Great Britain and those Colonies which she persists in treating half as inferiors and half as foreigners. As the result of misunderstanding and want of proper organisation, two members of an English-speaking family may any day become at war with each other. If so, it is possible that, when that war ends, they may become friends again, allies again, but one people never again.

We desire Imperial Federation, therefore, because through it we see a certainty of **PEACE**, and the avoidance of the possibility of **WAR**.

We have spoken of what we hope for, and have given a reason for the hope that is in us; and now, lastly, we come to the third great question, *How do we mean to get it?* Our readers will, doubtless, many of them, feel that we have now arrived at a stage beyond which we cannot go. But we can assure them that, here at least, there is no doubt in our minds, no want of clearness in our views. There is no question as to what means we wish to adopt to help us to our end. Which we should select of the hundred roads which open before us whereby we can most rapidly reach the goal can only be a momentary matter of difference of opinion. We said that there were many willing workers engaged in building up the foundations of the great structure of Imperial Unity. It is not to-day that they have begun their labours. In the following pages we have attempted to show how, in every department of religion, politics, administration, legislation, justice, and finance, we have been moving forward by slow and almost imperceptible degrees towards one end. In spite of every difficulty which the indifference of politicians, the neglect and opposition of officials, and the carelessness of the public have placed in the way, the Empire has been federating itself on the line of least resistance, and, wherever official discouragement was not too great, and wherever community of interest was sufficiently strong, an incomplete but real federation has begun, and has continued, till we now see how near we have approached to the final goal, even while we have been working without set purpose, and almost in the dark. For the future, as in the past, we desire to commit five-sixths of the work of federation to the great body of the people, to the merchants, the shipowners, to the artisans with their great Trades Unions, to the labourers, to all those, indeed, whom love or duty compels to carry on correspondence between one distant part of our country and another; and last, but not least, to those great federationists—the writers of books and newspapers, the makers of songs, and the creators of works of art. Working almost without a common purpose and without union, these classes have already done more than all the official blunders of twenty administrations could undo. Their work we desire to supplement only by creating the common purpose and the common end, which have so long been wanting. For the remaining portion of the work we also have our plan. We hope by pressure, by persuasion, by instruction, and, above all, by steady persistence in all three, to induce the officials in every department of administration throughout the Empire to use, and not any longer to abuse or to neglect, the opportunities which are daily given them. There is not an office, nor a department, in which a little good-will, a little thought, a little effort, might not help to knit together, to assimilate, and to harmonise the routine duties of the common life of one people. How far a little intelligence, a little good-will, a little looking ahead, a little pressure from facts too strong to be resisted, have carried us, the following pages will show. How much further these good qualities, if granted in more ample measure, might not lead us, the most sanguine imagination can hardly discover. The great fact remains, that by properly using the existing means at their disposal in a right spirit, our legislators and administrators might imperceptibly draw closer and multiply the bonds which hold the community together until when, if ever, the idea of separation should be raised, we should find that a step which involved a dislocation of every arrangement to which we were accustomed, which could only be brought about by destroying every convenience which had become the accepted fact of our every-day life, was but the suggestion of a madman or a traitor.

It is well known to students of chemistry that there are solutions, clear and liquid as the purest water, which, if we add but a single drop to them, change almost in a moment to a wonderful series of perfect and beautiful crystalline forms; and so it may be that, ere many years have gone by, some single fact may happen, some danger from outside may press, some strong, clear-headed man may arise, and, like the transforming drop, may change in one moment the formless and fluid mass of our Imperial system into a clearly-defined, truly fitted, and well-organised commonwealth. That result it is not in the power of the Imperial Federation League, or of any other body, to bring about or to hasten; but it is in our power to ensure that, when the opportunity comes, the whole of the materials, which are ultimately to form and shape themselves, shall be truly in solution in the minds and in the practice of the great people for whom the beneficent change will, in the fulness of time, be accomplished.

THE AREA OF THE EMPIRE.

WHO can see without emotion the gigantic extent of the possessions of the British people upon the surface of the map? They contain nearly nine millions of square miles. What does that represent? Nothing short of

A FIFTH PART OF THE HABITABLE GLOBE.

Is not that a marvellous territory to have been acquired by the inhabitants of so small a country as is the United Kingdom, compared to France, to Germany, to Spain, to Italy, and to Russia? The Mother Country is but one-seventieth portion of the whole Empire. What relation has the Empire—or, if that term be inapplicable to the immense region in which all men of education and any status bear a share in the government, let it be called the Realm, the Commonwealth—to the great empires of former days? We talk of the Empire under Darius the Great. The British Empire is five times as large. Men marvelled at the great Empire of Rome. It was but a fourth the size of that owned by our readers. Look at all the Russias on the map. See what a wide tract of territory. From the German border, hundreds of miles in Europe, thousands of miles in Asia, comprise the dominions of which the Tsar is lord and autocrat. The British Empire is an eighth larger, and on its surface dwell two hundred and thirty additional millions of people. France is a great country. The British Empire is sixteen times its size. United Germany is vast and powerful. The British people have an empire forty times as extensive. The United States of America stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific; from the St. Lawrence to Mexico. Travel for seven days and seven nights, at thirty miles an hour, and you can just cross the continent. The British Empire is three times larger than America. How much is there for reflection in these figures and facts! Weld together into one substantial, unbreakable, solid whole, all the

SIXTY-FIVE TERRITORIES AND ISLANDS

of which the Empire is composed. That is Imperial Federation. To do this is the work of The Imperial Federation League. What an influence for good in the world! What an unassailable front against the foe of any part! For the enemy of any portion is the enemy of the whole. Men and women of Great and Greater Britain, the forging of this chain of love, of interest, is your work. Behold your possessions. Canada has an area of nearly four million square miles. Australasia stretches over 3,173,000 square miles. India has nearly a million and a quarter square miles. British South Africa has nearly half a million. Nor are they square miles of arid waste, of tenantless prairie, of snow-clad mountain. No! Within the area of the British Empire, under the most favoured climatic conditions, are produced all that is needed for the sustenance of life, for clothing, for the refined enjoyment of the most profligate luxury—everything used by the world of to-day in peace and war, in commerce and art, in science and manufacture. Let us enumerate the names and areas of the principal possessions. For them, one and all, Imperial Union is future life, future strength.

These are now the possessions of the British people, and the area of each in round numbers:—

THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

"OUR HOME."

England Wales		Scotland Ireland	} 121,000 square miles.		
SQUARE MILES.			SQUARE MILES.		
1	Aden ...	65	23	Leeward Islands ...	694
2	Ascension...	34	24	Malta and Goza ...	117
3	Bahamas ...	5,500	25	Mauritius ...	708
4	Basuto Land ...	10,000	26	Natal ...	21,000
5	Bermudas...	41	27	Newfoundland ...	40,000
6	Canada ...	3,500,000	28	New Guinea ...	100,000
7	Cape Colony ...	242,000	29	New South Wales ...	325,000
8	Ceylon ...	25,000	30	New Zealand ...	105,000
9	Cyprus ...	4,000	31	North Borneo ...	26,000
10	Falkland Islands ...	5,000	32	Perim (Naval and Military Station)	7
11	Fiji Islands ...	8,000	33	Queensland ...	668,000
12	Gambia ...	20	34	Rotumah ...	14
13	Gibraltar ...	12 ³ / ₈	35	St. Helena ...	47
14	Gold Coast ...	15,000	36	Sierra Leone ...	468
15	Guiana ...	85,000	37	South Australia ...	903,000
16	Heligoland ...	3 ¹ / ₈	38	Straits Settlements ...	1,000
17	Honduras ...	8,000	39	Tasmania ...	26,000
18	Hong Kong ...	32	40	Trinidad ...	2,000
19	India and Burmah ...	1,452,375	41	Victoria ...	88,000
20	Jamaica and Turks Islands ...	4,000	42	West Australia ...	1,059,000
21	Labuan ...	30	43	Windward Islands ...	800
22	Lagos ...	73	Twenty-two other possessions.		

To bring all these members into one harmonious whole for the Imperial purposes of mutual defence, commerce, and foreign relations, is the task of the century. In the days to come our children will arise, and say: "What part did my kindred bear in extending and consolidating the British Empire?" Make your own answer each one of you. The time is now, and it waits for no man.

C. E. HOWARD VINCENT.

THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND OF THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES IN 1837 AND 1885.

THE tables show the population of the United Kingdom and of the self-governing Colonies in the year in which the Queen ascended the throne and last year. As far as the question of Imperial Federation is concerned, it seems unnecessary to take into consideration the population of India and the Crown Colonies. It is for the self-governing Colonies to decide whether or not they will enter into a closer union with the Mother Country than that which at present exists. If a Federation is one day to be formed, unquestionably the management of the affairs of India and the Crown Colonies—so far as the Home Government takes part in it—will be transferred from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Government of the Federated Empire. Again, although there are a few tens of thousands of men of non-European race in the North American and Australasian Colonies, yet the proportion which they bear to men of European origin is so small that the existence of the native population presents no difficulties in dealing with the question of Imperial Federation. As regards the Cape Colony, indeed, no doubt the case is different, for there we find a large coloured population. Where the population of a Colony is mainly of European origin, its share of representation in an Imperial Council or Assembly might well be allotted on the basis of population alone. Where the bulk of the population is coloured, it is probable that revenue would have to be taken as the basis of representation.

It would, moreover, be extremely difficult to compare

THE POPULATION OF INDIA,

at all events, at the beginning of the Queen's reign and at the present time, for vast regions have been annexed in the interval. It would be impossible to state with any approximation to accuracy what was the population of the annexed States while they were under their native rulers, and, even if it were possible, to give the population in 1837 would involve a fallacy, for the comparison would not be between the number of the Queen's subjects in 1837 and in 1855. A glance at the statement of the population of the Cape Colony, with the notes as to annexation, will illustrate this point. Again, it is only in the self-governing Colonies (with, perhaps, the exception of Natal) that there is a very rapid increase of population.

THE OBJECT OF THE TABLES

showing the respective populations of the United Kingdom and of the Colonies at the two dates is to draw attention to the fact that the rate of increase is much greater in the Colonies than in the Mother Country, and to enforce the argument that, inasmuch as population—if the population is civilized, industrious, and orderly, and placed in a country whose resources are capable of indefinite expansion—is the basis of wealth, the self-governing Colonies are, compared with the Mother Country, of much greater importance in every way now than they were in 1837, and that there is every reason to suppose that forty or fifty years hence the relative importance of the Colonies will have greatly increased; whence it follows that there is no validity in the assertion, which we sometimes hear made, that as the existing relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies have been satisfactory in the past, there is no reason to anticipate that any change in them will ever become necessary.

It is desirable to state that

THE POPULATION IN 1885

is arrived at merely by calculating the rate of increase (or, in the case of Ireland, of decrease) from 1871 to 1881, and assuming that it went on increasing (or decreasing) at the same rate up to the end of last year. It is probable that by this mode of calculation the population of the Colonies is underestimated. Thus the population of New South Wales in 1885 is estimated as under 900,000, but it is believed by the Colonial authorities that it was close upon a million. In some instances it would have been possible to arrive at a nearer approximation to the population of a Colony by taking the Registrar-General's estimate, but this was not practicable in all cases, and it has been thought better to adopt a uniform principle. For our purposes, minute accuracy is not necessary, and the fact that there may be a few tens of thousands more or less does not affect the validity of the argument to be drawn from the tables.

As there is so large a native population in the Cape Colony, and as the area of that Colony is so much greater now than it was in 1837, it is not referred to in the following remarks.

It will be observed that in 1837 the population of the United Kingdom was 25,648,008, of the North American Colonies 1,472,122, of the Australasian Colonies 134,059; while in 1885 the population of the United Kingdom was 36,331,300, of the North American Colonies 4,708,646, and of the Australasian Colonies 3,278,934. Disregarding fractions, we may say that the population of the North American and Australasian Colonies (added

together) was to that of the United Kingdom, in 1837, as only 6 to 100, while in 1885 it was as 21 to 100; that between 1837 and 1885 the population of the United Kingdom had increased by 41 per cent., of the North American Colonies by 219, and of the Australasian Colonies by 2,345 per cent.

Of course, such a

RATE OF INCREASE

in the Colonies will never occur again. In 1837 Manitoba and British Columbia had no European settlers, or, if any, a mere handful. New Zealand was then not a British Colony; the occupation of Victoria had then just begun; and in 1852, and the immediately following years, the discovery of gold drew myriads of immigrants to Australia. A fairer comparison of the rate of increase is to take the period from 1871 to 1881. The rate of increase during that period was in the United Kingdom 10 per cent., in the North American Colonies 19 per cent., and in the Australasian Colonies 42 per cent.

A final remark has to be made. During the period between 1837 and 1885,

THE POPULATION OF IRELAND

had decreased from 8,024,915 to 5,165,420, or at the rate of 35 per cent. If the population of the self-governing Colonies 40 or 50 years hence will bear a much larger proportion to that of Great Britain than it does at present, it is probable that that of Ireland will bear a much smaller proportion than it does at present. Statesmen, whose imperfect mental vision cannot see objects through the haze of the dim and distant future, are often apt to form an exaggerated opinion of the magnitude of the objects which are near at hand. To them the population of the Colonies may seem so small and of such insignificant importance that it is not worth their while to do anything to bind it to the population of the Mother Country in a closer than the present union, while the population of Ireland may seem so great and terrible that if it demands separation, separation must be conceded to it.

	1837	1885 (end of.)
England and Wales	15,102,937	27,280,087
Scotland	2,520,156	3,885,793
Ireland	8,024,915	5,165,420
Total of United Kingdom	25,648,008	36,331,300
Quebec (formerly Lower Canada)	617,816	1,426,031
Ontario (formerly Upper Canada)	393,712	2,044,176
Manitoba ... ..	...	72,182
British Columbia ... ..	...	55,807
Prince Edward Island	40,282	110,839
Nova Scotia	199,906	462,017
New Brunswick	145,896	334,085
Total of the Dominion of Canada	1,397,612	4,505,137
Newfoundland	74,510	203,509
Total of the North American Colonies	1,472,122	4,708,646
Victoria	1,264	1,046,840
New South Wales	85,267	886,097
Queensland* ... ..	...	267,696
South Australia	3,000	326,600
Western Australia	1,830	31,448
Tasmania	42,698	125,775
New Zealand ... ..	...	594,478
Total of the Australasian Colonies	134,059	3,278,934

* Was a Part of New South Wales until 1852.

	1837	1855	1885
Colony of the Cape of Good Hope	142,865	267,973	919,513 332,834*
			1,252,347†
			* Population of Transkei.
			† Populations of the Cape Colony and its Dependencies.

J DENNISTOUN WOOD.

THE LAWS OF THE EMPIRE.

THE British Empire exhibits in its several parts great diversity of laws, but the subordination of all tribunals to the House of Lords or Privy Council as a Supreme Court of Appeal prevents the different laws from coming into actual conflict. The three kingdoms, by the union of which the Mother Country is formed, are themselves governed by different laws. Each has its own legal history, its own courts, its own procedure, its own unwritten and written code.

THE DIVERSITY WHICH EXISTS

is not a matter of mere names or technicalities; it extends to substance and principle. In England, for example, an accused person is considered as innocent till he is proved to be guilty; in Scotland there is an intermediate state—"not proven"—where evidence is sufficient to excite suspicion, but not to establish guilt. The Parliament of the United Kingdom continually adds to the distinctions by passing Acts confined in their operation to one or other of its three component parts. Even in subjects in which it is universally admitted that uniformity is desirable, such as the law of marriage, it is found impracticable to put an end to singularities which nobody attempts to defend. Amidst this apparent chaos, ultimate conflict or uncertainty is rendered impossible, because there is a final Court of Appeal which can determine the particular law applicable to every transaction and the judgment which every court ought to pronounce.

In the colonies and dependencies of the Empire there is the same rich variety of law and the same strict subordination to one common authority. In the seas which wash the British shores, the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey, enjoy their separate systems, which are as ancient as that of England herself. Territories which became British by conquest or cession have as the foundation of their jurisprudence the laws by which they were governed before they were incorporated in the Empire, so far as the same are not repugnant to the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. For example, in Ceylon, the Cape Colony, and British Guiana, the Roman-Dutch law, which prevailed at the time of their acquisition, is the basis upon which the existing law is founded. In Lower Canada the civil courts administer the old French law; the criminal courts, the English law as it was in 1763. In Mauritius the French Code Civile and Code de Commerce obtain. In new and uninhabited countries like Australia, which were discovered and planted by British settlers, the foundation of law was the law of England at the time when such plantations were formed. It does not follow that every provision of English law became at once operative in such places, but only those which were applicable to the situation of the infant colony.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom has

SUPREME LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY,

of which it cannot divest itself, over every part of the Empire, and could make laws for every colony and dependency which would be pronounced valid by the Supreme Court of Appeal. The exercise, however, of this universal power is limited by considerations of convenience and justice. In territories acquired by conquest or cession, the Crown had originally, by its prerogative, legislative authority concurrent with that of Parliament. This power is usually exercised by means of Orders in Council, as in Ceylon, Mauritius, and other so-called Crown Colonies. In some cases the Crown has parted with its power by creating, as in the Cape Colony, an independent legislature. Such a voluntary grant the Crown cannot revoke, and it would be obviously as unjust for the Imperial Parliament to interfere with an independent legislature thus created, as with those of Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, which are established by their own statutes. In territories acquired by conquest or cession, until the Crown has by some act of its own limited its prerogative, laws may be enacted or amended, not only by Order in Council, but by charters under the Great Seal, or even by instructions under the Sign Manual.

In settlements, as distinguished from territories acquired by conquest or cession, the Crown has not, by virtue of its prerogative, any legislative power. In South Africa and the Falkland Islands, a power of legislation by Order in Council was, in 1843, conferred on the Crown by statute, and this power was found so convenient that it was extended, in 1860, to all other settlements not within the jurisdiction of any Colonial Legislature. Otherwise, laws could only be made in settlements either by Acts of Parliament expressly applied thereto, or by legislative bodies created by statute of the Imperial Parliament.

The Dominion of Canada, the Australian Colonies, New Zealand, and the Cape Colony have now practically acquired legislative independence, the former under Constitution Acts passed in recent years by the Imperial Parliament, and the last under an irrevocable Order in Council of 1853. Put even in the case of self-governing Colonies the intervention of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is sometimes invoked,

though, of course, only in the interest of the Colonies themselves and with their consent. The jurisdiction of

COLONIAL LEGISLATURES IS STRICTLY TERRITORIAL.

Their sea-going ships become subject to the laws of distant England the moment they pass outside the limits of their territorial waters. Questions of boundary between one colony and another are only to be settled by Imperial statutes. Merchant Shipping Acts, Extradition Acts, Fugitive Offenders' Acts, Coinage Acts, Post Office Acts, Acts for the Removal of Prisoners from one colony to another, are still passed by the Imperial Parliament for the whole Empire, where these would otherwise limit the authority of the Colonial Legislatures. The right of the latter to alter them within its jurisdiction is carefully preserved.

There is no special provision for securing

UNIFORMITY OF LAW IN THE EMPIRE

even upon those subjects in which it is desirable. It is left absolutely to the discretion of each Legislature. General laws passed by the Imperial Parliament for the United Kingdom are very commonly enacted in the Colonies, either in identical terms or with slight necessary variations. But there are subjects, such as marriage, upon which great diversity of law still exists, and in which no attempt is made, even by mutual counsel, to procure uniformity.

In the self-governing Colonies the judges by whom the law is declared and administered are appointed by the Governor on the advice of his Ministers, and are generally irremovable, except on an address from the several branches of the Legislature. In Crown Colonies they are directly responsible to the British Government, by whom they are appointed to their office. The Sovereign has by prerogative the right to review the judgments of all courts within her dominions beyond the seas, and it is by means of this prerogative right, moderately and judicially exercised, that the possibility of any conflict of laws in any part of the Empire is rendered impossible. All appeals are made by petition to the Crown, and are referred for advice to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This is a body appointed by statute, and composed of the highest legal functionaries, English, Scotch, Irish, Indian, and Colonial, who, after hearing the petitioners and respondents, advise the Crown as to the answer which should be given to the petition. This advice is always followed, but the decision is in form that of the Sovereign in person.

JOHN E. GORST, Q.C., M.P.

GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE EMPIRE.

THAT grand old oak, the British Constitution, has within the last half-century been exhibiting a remarkable fecundity in producing a number of healthy off-shoots, which bear a striking family likeness to each other, as well as to their illustrious parent. No doubt the Colonial Constitutions were but a few years ago only paper Constitutions. Now, however, like the Colonies themselves, they seem to be as firmly established as if they had been the growth of ages. The rapid speed of development attained by the Empire within recent years will not admit of the institutions required for it in the future being, like those which have served it so well in the past, gradually produced during many generations. This article places side by side the Constitutions of all the Colonies which have self-government and ministerial responsibility, with the different franchises by which the members of the legislatures are elected.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

Representative institutions were first introduced into Canada, in New Brunswick, in 1785, and were conferred on Newfoundland in 1832. After Canada was taken from the French by General Wolfe, in 1759, its government was, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1774, vested in a Council appointed by the Crown, and in 1794, by Act of Parliament, two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, were established, each with a Governor, Executive Council, Legislative Council of life members appointed by the Crown, and a Representative Assembly elected for four years. In Lower Canada the long-standing contentions between the two Houses culminated in a rebellion in 1838, followed by the substitution by the Imperial Parliament of a Provisional Government in place of the Constitution of the Province; and subsequently, in 1840, Upper and Lower Canada were made into one Colony under a Governor-General, with a Legislative Council of not less than twenty members nominated by the Crown, and an Assembly of eighty-four members elected upon a moderate franchise. This Constitution was modified in 1859 by the Provincial Legislature, acting upon powers conferred on it by the Imperial Parliament in 1854. Provision was made for the election of members to the Upper House, and for the increase of the numbers of those of the Lower. Such was the state of growth

of Constitutional Government in Canada up to the time of the establishment of

THE DOMINION GOVERNMENT.

The 30 Vict. c. 3, the British North America Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1867, created "one Parliament for Canada, consisting of the Queen, an Upper House, styled the Senate, and the House of Commons." The members of the former House are nominated for life by the Governor-General, and are not to exceed 78 in number. It was provided that the House of Commons should consist of 181 members; but by Dominion Acts additions have been made to the number, which was raised in 1882 to 211. The members of the Federal Parliament are thus distributed among the provinces:—

		Dominion Senators.		Members of House of Commons.
Ontario	...	24	...	92
Quebec	...	24	...	65
Nova Scotia	...	10	...	21
New Brunswick	...	10	...	16
Prince Edward Island	...	4	...	6
British Columbia	...	3	...	6
Manitoba	...	3	...	5
		78		211

In accordance with the Dominion Act, the three last-named Provinces were admitted into the Dominion after its formation; the first in 1873, the second in 1871, and the last, as well as the North-Western Territories and Rupert's Land, in 1870. The only portion of British America still remaining outside the Dominion Federation is Newfoundland.

The Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces are appointed by the Governor-General for a term of five years.

The franchise for the election of members to the Dominion House of Commons is not the same throughout Canada, but is that under which the Provincial Legislatures are elected.

The Provincial Governments are as follows:—

Ontario has a Lieutenant-Governor, Executive Council, and Legislative Assembly of eighty-two members, elected by the same number of electoral districts. The franchise depends upon the possession of landed property of a certain value or income of a certain amount, or upon being entered on an assessment-roll.

Quebec only differs from Ontario in having a Legislative Council of twenty-four members, each being appointed for life by the Lieutenant-Governor as member for a district. The Legislative Assembly consists of sixty-five members elected by as many constituencies. Voters must have real property of a certain absolute or annual value, or pay a certain rent.

Nova Scotia possesses the same Provincial Constitution as existed at the Union—namely, a Legislative Council of from eighteen to twenty-two members, and an Elective Assembly. A certain amount of real or personal property or income is required to entitle to the franchise.

New Brunswick also has the same Provincial Constitution as at the time when the Province entered the Union. The Legislative Council consists of eighteen members, and the Legislative Assembly of forty-one elected members. Real or personal property or income of certain amount is required to entitle to the franchise.

Prince Edward Island first became possessed of responsible government in 1857. The Province has now a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Council of nine members which is the Cabinet, a Legislative Council of thirteen, and a Legislative Assembly of thirty members. Both Houses are elected. Residence of twelve months by one who has performed or paid for statute labour entitles to the franchise, also the possession of a certain property qualification in a district in which the voter does not reside.

British Columbia.—The first Legislative Council of this Province, established in 1863, consisted of five official members, five magistrates, and only five representatives of the people. In 1866 Vancouver's Island was united to British Columbia, and four magistrates and four elected members added to the Legislative Council. In 1870, its members were reduced to fifteen—nine elective and six nominated by the Governor. On entering the Union provision was made for constituting the Council—an elective body of twenty-five, with a responsible Ministry. Residence for twelve months in the Province and two in the electoral district gives a vote.

Manitoba was created a Province in 1870, by Act of the Dominion Parliament, which provided a Constitution, consisting of a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Council, and an elective Legislative Assembly. Real estate of a certain value or payment of a certain amount of rent gives the right to vote.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

This island, which still remains outside the Dominion of Canada, first obtained responsible government in 1855. There is an Executive Council or responsible Ministry of seven members, a Legislative Council of fifteen, and a Legislative Assembly

of thirty-three, elected by household suffrage and with a property qualification for members.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENTS IN AUSTRALASIA.

New South Wales, which at the time had under its control all the settled portions of Australia, first became possessed of a Legislative Council in 1824; but its members were only the Governor and "five principal officers." It was not until 1842 that an Imperial Statute provided for the introduction of a representative element into the Government of the Colony, by creating a Legislative Council of thirty-six members, twenty-four of whom were to be elected, and twelve nominated by the Governor. On August 1, 1843, this Legislature met for the first time. It is an interesting fact that the first vacancy, which immediately occurred among its nominee members, was filled by the appointment of Mr. Robert Lowe—now Lord Sherbrooke—who soon after resigned, and returned to the House as an elected member. The form of representative government thus introduced continued until the passing by the Imperial Parliament, in 1855, of the Constitution Act of New South Wales, which established Ministerial responsibility, a Legislative Council of not less than twenty-one life members nominated by the Governor, and a Legislative Assembly of fifty-four members elected by voters having a moderate franchise qualification. The Council now consists of fifty-eight members, and the Assembly of 122 returned by seventy-two electoral districts. The electoral qualification now existing is six months' residence in a district before entry of any person's name on the list of voters, or the possession of certain property within the constituency.

Victoria.—This Colony was, till 1851, the Port Philip District of New South Wales; and, as such, returned six of the twenty-four representative members of the first Australian partly-elective Legislature which met in Sydney in 1843, Melbourne, the chief town of the district, having one of the six representatives. About this time the movement for making a separate colony of Port Philip began, and continued for some years. In 1848 the electors of Melbourne, to show how little they valued representation in the Council at Sydney, returned, by 295 votes to 102 over a candidate who would have taken his seat, the present Earl Grey, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. At a subsequent election for the Port Philip District, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Palmerston, Lord Brougham, Lord John Russell, and Sir Robert Peel were nominated against Colonial candidates, who were prepared to act as members. The latter were, however, returned, the highest on the poll by 239 votes; fifty-eight votes were recorded for each of the English statesmen. In July, 1851, just as the first gold was being discovered in her soil, Victoria was constituted a distinct Colony, with a Governor and Legislative Council of five official, five non-official, and twenty elected members. The number of members was subsequently increased; but, in 1856, the Constitution Act, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1854, was put in force. It provided for Ministerial responsibility, and for the establishment of a Legislative Council of thirty members to be elected for ten years by six districts, and a Legislative Assembly of sixty members, but now increased to eighty-six. There was a high qualification both for members and electors of the Upper House, and a very moderate electoral qualification for voters of the Lower. For the latter both were abolished by the first Colonial Parliament, which established registered manhood suffrage for the Lower House; but non-residents in electoral districts have votes in respect of certain property qualifications. The Legislative Council now numbers forty-two members returned by fourteen electoral provinces, from which one of the three members retire every two years. The property qualification provided by the original Constitution Act, both for members and electors of the Upper House, has been considerably reduced. Graduates of Universities, members of learned professions, retired British naval and military officers, &c., are entitled to vote.

South Australia, from the establishment of the first settlement on its territory at Adelaide in 1836, was a distinct Colony from New South Wales, but it had no elective element in its Legislature till 1851, when, by the same Imperial Act of 1850, which constituted Victoria a separate colony, the "Act for the Better Government of the Australian Colonies," the same composite legislature of nominee and elective members was given to the Colony. By the Constitution Act of 1856 Ministerial responsibility and two Chambers were established. It was provided that the Legislative Council should number eighteen members, and that the whole Colony should form one constituency. The members were elected for twelve years, one-third retiring every four years. A property qualification for electors was provided. The number of members has been increased to twenty-four, six to be elected for each of four districts. One-third of the members retire every three years. The Council may be dissolved if it reject a Bill which has twice passed the Assembly. The Legislative Assembly, under the Constitution Act, consisted of thirty-six members, chosen by manhood suffrage, every elector having been registered on the roll of his district six

months prior to the election. There are now fifty-two members of the Assembly, returned by twenty-six electoral districts.

Queensland, like Victoria, was originally a part of New South Wales, known as the Moreton Bay District, but it was separated in 1859 and at once established as a self-governing Colony, with Governor, responsible Ministry, and two Houses of Legislature, upon the model of the Constitution of the Parent Colony, namely, a Legislative Council of members nominated for life by the Governor, and a Legislative Assembly elected upon the same moderate franchise as that of New South Wales under the Constitution Act of 1855. The Legislative Council now consists of thirty-four members, and the Assembly of fifty-five, sitting for forty-two constituencies, elected by voters who are twenty-one years of age, and have been resident in the electoral districts for which they are registered six months before being put on the rolls, or who have certain property qualifications in districts of which they are not residents.

Tasmania was originally settled by a colonising expedition sent from Sydney to Hobart in 1803, but almost from the first the Colony had a distinct Governor. The "Act for the Better Government of the Australian Colonies" of 1850, first authorised the introduction of an elective element into its Crown Colony Legislative Council. In 1856 a responsible Ministry and two Houses of Legislature were established. The Legislative Council at first numbered fifteen members; it now has sixteen, chosen by thirteen constituencies for six years. Every elector must possess a property qualification, belong to a learned profession, or have a university degree, or be a retired British naval or military officer. The Assembly, originally of thirty members, now numbers thirty-two. Every man who is on the assessment roll, or who receives a salary or wages amounting to £60 a-year, is entitled to vote.

New Zealand was governed on the strictest Crown Colony system till 1853. The Governor at Auckland, with three officials, formed the Executive Council, which, with the addition of three members nominated by the Governor, constituted a Legislative Council. The different settlements were ruled by officials appointed by the Governor. Subsequently, in addition to the general Government by the Governor-in-Chief and his nominated Legislature, two provinces were formed each with a Lieutenant-Governor and a nominated Provincial Council. In 1853 a new Constitution, passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1852, was established, composed of a Legislative Council of members appointed by the Governor for life, and a House of Representatives elected for five years on a wide franchise amounting to household suffrage. The number of members of the Council is not limited, but is at present forty-seven. Two Maoris sit in it and four in the House of Representatives. The franchise is possessed by every man twenty-one years of age, who has resided six months in an electoral district and been registered as an elector; also by electors non-resident but possessed of certain property qualifications in electoral districts. Maoris require property qualifications in other than native districts. Between 1852 and 1875 there were nine Provincial Governments in New Zealand—Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, Hawke's Bay, Westland, and Marlborough. Each had a Superintendent and a Provincial Council elected on the same franchise as that for the House of Representatives—household suffrage. It being felt that all this machinery of government was too much, the central or federal Parliament, called the General Assembly, passed an Act in 1875 which abolished the Provincial Governments in the following year.

AUSTRALASIAN FEDERAL COUNCIL.

By an Imperial Act of 1885, 48 & 49 Vict. c. 60, provision was made for the formation of a Federal Council for dealing with matters of common Australasian interest. It was provided that each Colony whose Legislature should pass an Act or Ordinance adopting the Federal Act should be represented in the Council, each self-governing Colony by two and each Crown Colony by one member. The mode of appointing their representatives and the fixing of their tenure of office are left to the Colonial Legislature. The Act was not to come into force unless adopted by four of the Colonies, one of them being either New South Wales, Victoria, or South Australia. The Act was adopted by Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, Western Australia and Fiji. Hobart was fixed by the Act as the place of meeting of the first session of the Council, and it was accordingly summoned by the Governor of Tasmania by a proclamation dated 12th December, 1885. Its first meeting was held on 25th January of the present year. The following subjects are mentioned in the Act as those over which the Federal Council has complete control:—Relations with Islands of Pacific; influx of criminals; fisheries; service of civil process and enforcement of judgments of courts, also of criminal process beyond Colony where issued; custody of offenders on ships belonging to Colonial Governments; matters which, at the request of the Colonial Legislatures, Her Majesty, by Order in Council, may refer to the Federal Council; and such of a number of matters specified as may be referred to the Council by the Legislatures of any two or more Colonies.

New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia still

stand aloof from the Federal Council, but at the recent opening of the Parliament of the latter Colony, it was announced that a Bill was to be introduced to bring the Colony within the Act. A Federation is never complete at first: some States are always sure to delay coming in.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Beyond the limits of the Cape Colony all British Government in South Africa is of the Crown Colony type; and in that Colony this system prevailed in its strictest form until 1853, when Representative Government was for the first time introduced. In 1872 Ministerial responsibility was established. Both the Legislative Council of twenty-two members and the Assembly of seventy-four are elected—the former by seven electoral Provinces, which return three members each for seven years. Griqualand West has one member. There is a property qualification for members of the Upper but not of the Lower House. The franchise is the same for both, namely, the possession of property, salary or wages of not less than £50 a year, or of £25 with board and lodging.

Ministerial responsibility does not exist in the West Indies, the Crown Colony system prevailing in most of the islands. In the larger of them there are composite legislative bodies, containing a certain proportion of elective members as well as official and non-official nominees.

There is no doubt that the machinery of Provincial Government throughout the Empire is very extensive and complete. It is least so in the United Kingdom, where the same Parliament and Executive, with decreasing efficiency, endeavours to discharge the double functions of an Imperial Government and also of a Provincial Government. By a wise division of labour, the domestic affairs of these islands might be handed over to a Provincial Parliament, and the present Imperial Parliament, with a due proportion of the members of the House of Commons allotted to the Colonies, might become a Federal Legislature, devoted exclusively to the common interests of the whole Empire.

FRANCIS P. LABILLIERE.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITY.

UPWARDS of thirty years have elapsed since Responsible Government was conceded to our principal North American and Australasian Colonies; and as one of the few survivors of the generation connected with the introduction of the new system, I cannot refuse to avail myself of an invitation to set forth briefly in these columns my views as to its effect on the Administration of the Empire.

For a time that effect was so slight as to be imperceptible by the British Public.

IN THEORY, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY REMAINED UNALTERED,

the Colonists continuing to be ruled in the Queen's name through Governors furnished with specific Royal instructions on most points, and liable on *all* to be called on to obey the orders of a Secretary of State directly responsible to the Imperial Parliament. In practice, vital as was the change involved in the proviso now added—that, subject to these limitations, Governors were henceforth to be guided by the advice of certain officials possessing the confidence of the local Legislature—the full results of that change were, owing to circumstances, more or less gradually developed in each Colony. In some the former heads of departments became, in the first instance, the new Ministry; in others, they retired on pension and were replaced by the Opposition leaders. Since, however, the plan of removing subordinate officers on a change of Administration, as in the United States, was fortunately nowhere adopted, the chief clerks of the several branches became the permanent heads of the Civil Service under the new *régime*, and, being for the most part imbued with the traditions of the Treasury, Customs, or other offices in which they had been trained in England, no sudden departure from the existing regulations for conducting business followed their promotion. *Uniformity of Administration*, therefore, remained unbroken throughout the Empire.

Unity of Administration, in the sense of a general organisation, at the common expense for matters of mutual interest, had not, it must be borne in mind, then been dreamt of. The influences in favour of the established order of things must in process of time have ceased to operate, but others arose which have hitherto served to counteract centrifugal tendencies. On the one hand may be cited the conservatism of the masses consequent on the wide diffusion of property in the Colonies, and the loyal attachment of all classes to the Queen and the Country of their origin; on the other, the anxious endeavours of British Statesmen of all parties to retain and conciliate the affections of the Colonists by every practicable means.

It is to be regretted that none of these Statesmen have yet found time, amid the excitement of home politics, to devote themselves seriously to the grander task of

SIMPLIFYING AND IMPROVING THE MACHINERY

by which the movements of the Empire are regulated. The nearest approach to such an attempt has been made in respect to its defence against foreign aggression. A Royal Commission to consider in what proportion the cost of such defence should be divided between the Imperial Government and the Colonies was appointed under the presidency of the Earl of Carnarvon in 1879, and many distinguished Colonists were examined before it. It is no secret that an opinion was expressed in its report, that the Colonies, besides incurring the entire expense of rendering their commercial ports secure against a *coup de main*, ought to contribute, in proportion to their wealth and population, towards the naval protection on which the safety of their territories and of their trade is so largely dependent. The principles thus laid down seem to have been recognized as equitable, and have been acted on to a considerable extent, so far at least as land defence is concerned, in most Colonies.

The relief to the British taxpayer may be judged from the fact that, whereas in 1854 the military estimates provided, after deducting repayments, close upon £250,000 for the Australasian Colonies, in 1884, not one penny was voted; while, again, the provision for those Colonies comprised within the Dominion of Canada, which at the former date exceeded £400,000, was at the latter confined to about £100,000 for the maintenance of the Imperial Fortress of Halifax. I do not quote the figures as to the Cape of Good Hope (which, however, show a further reduction of £200,000) because, although responsible government was introduced there in 1872, its working has been so much complicated by the proximity of warlike Kafir tribes and Boer republics, that the intervention of British troops has on several occasions been deemed essential.

With regard to the naval defence of the Colonies, the progress towards an arrangement has been less rapid. Communications, however, are at this moment passing between some of the Australasian Governments and the Admiral commanding on that Station, which indicate that, on receiving an invitation from the Secretary of State to this effect, the former would be prepared to propose to their respective Legislatures to defray a fair proportion of the cost of the Squadron; so that it may be anticipated that ere long this question too will be satisfactorily settled.

The space at my command does not admit of my entering into details on such subjects as postal contracts, subsidies to submarine cable companies, &c., with regard to which various arrangements have of late years been made on the equitable basis of proportionate contributions from the Mother Country and those Colonies directly interested.

There is one point, however, to which it is impossible to omit allusion, though it is of an extremely grave and delicate character. I mean the relations between Great Britain and Foreign Powers, which equally concern

THE WHOLE EMPIRE IN SO FAR AS ISSUES OF PEACE OR WAR ARE INVOLVED,

and, moreover, in numerous instances deeply affect the interests of particular Colonies or groups of Colonies. The stereotyped objection, that the Colonies can have no right to be represented in such matters because they are exempt from Imperial taxation, has lost much of its force, since they have not merely assumed the cost of their own military defence, but undertaken to provide fortified harbours and coaling stations for the mercantile marine of the Mother Country in the event of war. It will vanish altogether so soon as they assess themselves fairly towards the support of the Imperial navy! While justice requires that Colonial Governments should have a voice in controversies in which they are directly interested, it might perhaps exercise a moderating influence and strengthen the hands of the Foreign Secretary, if some recognized mode existed for ascertaining the views of other Colonies possessing but a contingent interest in the decision.

Fortunately, with respect to all such questions, the presence in London of the Agents-General of the self-governing Colonies is calculated to exercise most salutary influence. Appointed originally to superintend the shipment of railway plant and other commercial transactions, these gentlemen have, by degrees, become invested with diplomatic functions, and as they now enjoy the advantage of instantaneous communication by telegraph with the Cabinets they respectively represent, as well as of confidential intercourse with the Colonial Secretary in this country, they already constitute a most important link in the administration of the Empire.

On the whole, it will be seen that, as a matter of fact, considerable progress is step by step being made towards the desired consolidation of interests; whilst, as a matter of sentiment, I firmly believe that the feeling in favour of Imperial unity was never so strong as at the present moment. The advantages of the connection are more justly appreciated on both sides than they formerly were. On the part of the Mother Country, that connection is beginning to be regarded as of a permanent character. Whereas there can be little doubt that, when the opportunity was first afforded to the Colonists of managing their own affairs, it was generally supposed that

separation would soon inevitably follow. Thirty years ago, indeed, when I was about to start for Victoria, officials of high standing in Downing-street made no secret of their expectation that I should probably prove the last Imperial Governor of that Colony! No one now thinks Sir Henry Loch likely to be so.

Then, again, instead of being regarded as a source of weakness in a military point of view, it is now recognised by the leading authorities on the subject, that, inasmuch as the very existence of the population of Great Britain depends on the continuance of her import and export trade, the possession of fortified harbours and coaling stations all over the globe is an essential adjunct to her safety in case of war with any great naval power; whilst the moral effect produced throughout the civilized world by the spectacle of a vast empire united for mutual defence cannot fail to tell largely in favour of the preservation of peace.

Lastly, notwithstanding that some of the Colonies, influenced by the uncertain utterances of eminent political economists as to the expediency of fostering native industries in young countries, or, it may be, misled by the example of the United States and the principal nations of Europe, have shown a tendency towards protective duties in their tariffs, the truth of the axiom that "Trade follows the Flag" has been so clearly demonstrated by the rapid increase of exports to British possessions, compared with an absolute decrease of late years in those to foreign States, as to convince the most sceptical of the importance of colonial commerce.

On the other hand, putting out of view the unselfish loyalty the Colonists have always shown, and their natural pride in participating in the past glories and present prestige of the British race, they cannot fail to perceive the

BENEFIT OF REMAINING ATTACHED TO A POWERFUL EMPIRE at a time when the ambition of acquiring distant territories appears more rife among the great European Powers than at any antecedent period in history. Nor can they be insensible to the liberality which not only throws open the civil, military, and naval service of the Mother Country on equal terms to every citizen of the Empire whatever his birthplace, but has of late years offered special facilities to young Colonists desirous of entering on these careers, by recognising, for instance, degrees conferred by colonial universities; by allocating a certain number of cadetships annually at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, to students who can pass the requisite qualifying examinations at such institutions; and by permitting other colonial candidates for commissions in the army, not members of any university, as well as those for naval cadetships, instead of coming to England for the preliminary examinations, to undergo an equivalent one in their respective Colonies.

I am not unmindful that progress, hitherto, has been somewhat slow, and that much still remains to be done to render the union between the various portions of the Empire theoretically perfect; but I am nevertheless sanguine that, with prudence and moderation on both sides,

A COMPLETE FEDERAL SYSTEM MAY BE ESTABLISHED AT NO DISTANT DATE.

The great thing seems to me to be to avoid the mistake of prematurely pressing forward any "cut-and-dry" scheme. Whatever legislation is requisite had far better be deferred until the details have been deliberately and thoroughly discussed, and as far as possible agreed on by all concerned. An unprecedented opportunity for such discussion is presented at this moment, by the fact of the large number of leading Colonial statesmen assembled in the Metropolis in consequence of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington. True, they are not specially delegated to attend the Conferences which have been arranged, and still less are they authorised to express, in an official capacity, the views of their respective Governments; but I am confident, notwithstanding this, that, without committing themselves on any particular points, they will give full consideration to the arguments advanced by the advocates of every plan proposed, and will favour us, in return, with a frank exposition of their own opinions on all questions of doubt and difficulty. In this way alone can a speedy and satisfactory solution be arrived at of the great problem of the future Confederation of the British Empire.

HENRY BARKLY.

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REVIEWS.

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RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

AS might naturally be expected, the material growth of the realm during Her Majesty's fifty years' reign has been accompanied by a not wholly unproportionate development on its religious side. Although it is not easy to gauge this exactly, yet the following considerations may give some notion of what such development means.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In Great Britain there were, in 1836, about 143,000 Roman Catholics. The number is now computed 2,000,000. In Ireland there were, in 1837, about 6,000,000; now there are about 3,500,000. In the Colonies everywhere Roman Catholics have increased. Statistics, however, are not obtainable for a comparison.

AS REGARDS THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

When the Queen came to the throne, the Ecclesiastical Commission were just beginning their work. The Cathedral Commission Act was passed in 1840, and since then upwards of 5,000 poorer benefices have been augmented in value out of the overplus of Episcopal and Capital revenues. The total value of the annual grants now made is £692,000, which represents a capital of over 20 millions sterling thus dealt with. These grants are always made to meet voluntary efforts. Such benefactions now amount

to £138,000 per annum; that is to say, a capital sum of over 4 millions has been subscribed during the last 40 years for the augmentation of poor benefices. Church extension has been supplemented by further local efforts in the various dioceses. In that of Winchester alone 2 millions sterling have been thus spent since 1838. Similarly the Bishop of London's Fund, since its institution in 1863, has expended £627,836. Other church building societies in each of the 26 English and Welsh dioceses are now collecting and expending annually from £200 to £2,000 each. According to the Parliamentary return moved for by Lord Hampton, no less a sum than £25,548,703 was subscribed between 1840 and 1874 for church building and restoration alone.

The increasing activity of the Church of England is further exemplified when we consider that the following, amongst other institutions, have all sprung into life during the last half-century:—Church congress, and diocesan conferences, theological colleges and retreats, middle-class Church schools, lay-readers, guilds for special and parochial objects, sisterhoods for parochial and hospital work (of these there are now 21 large houses with 100 branch establishments), deaconesses' and nursing institutions, and cottage hospitals. When the Queen began to reign not one of these things existed. On foreign missions the Church of England now spends £1,216,000 annually; of the two great missionary societies, that for the Propagation of the Gospel collects £100,000 per annum, and the Church Missionary Society £200,000—more than three times the amount subscribed in 1837.

Though the Episcopate has grown in England (where 8 new dioceses have been founded), yet it has still more grown in the Colonies. In the West Indies there were 2 bishoprics; there are now 9. In British North America there were 2; there are now 19. In Africa there were none; there are now 13. In Asia there were 3; there are now 11. In Australasia there was 1; there are now 20—each of which is a centre of spiritual activity and influence.

The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804; it is therefore nearly twice as old as the Queen's reign. Its annual income has more than doubled itself during the last 50 years. In 1837 it was £108,740 19s.; in 1886 it is £240,728 15s. 5d. In 1837 the cheapest Bible cost 2s. a copy; in 1866, 6d. A New Testament cost 10d. in 1837; in 1866, 1d. In this work all denominations of Christians co-operate; its subscribers are by no means confined to Episcopalians.

THE OFFICIAL RETURNS OF THE BAPTIST UNION

give the total number of full members in Great Britain and Ireland in 1885 as 315,939; of these there are in England 229,311, in Wales 73,828, in Scotland 10,905, and in Ireland 1,639. The number of chapel seats in the same area is now over one million. The increase in these latter during each year, taken on an average of ten years, appears to be about 24,000, and that of full members about 5,000 a year. In 1836 the number of Baptist members was 125,000, and hearers 356,000.

In the Canadian Dominion there are 64,483 full members and 720 churches; in the West Indies, 31,504 full members and 162 churches; in Asia, 36,504 members and 683 churches. In Australasia, at the beginning of the Queen's reign, there was but one church, that at Sydney, now there are 157 churches and nearly 15,000 members.

In the Metropolitan area there were before 1837 only 50 Baptist churches, there are now 276; and a similar rate of increase appears to have taken place all over the country. But the vigour of the evangelistic work carried on by this community is perhaps best tested by the amount expended by them in Foreign Missions. On these the gross expenditure in 1885 was over £75,000; in 1837 it was £15,700.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

of England, in 1837, numbered 89 congregations; in 1885 it numbers 294. The total money raised in the first of those years was £40,000, and in the latter £216,106. The number of the members in the same period has risen from 19,755 to 61,021.

In Scotland the aggregate population is 3,734,441; of these 1,063,000 are estimated to belong to the Established Kirk, and 1,079,000 to the Free Kirk. (The Disruption took place in 1843.) United Presbyterians number 474,000, other Evangelical Christians 202,000, and the Roman Catholics 290,000.

In 1836 there were in Scotland 900,000 who belonged to the Established Kirk; 940,000 Scottish Dissenters of various names; 60,000 Episcopalians, and 60,000 Roman Catholics.

THE WESLEYAN CONNEXION

have expended in Great Britain during 1885 in chapel building over £7,000. The total sum spent since the foundation of the fund is over £64,000. There is a special fund for Metropolitan chapel building; to this £35,000 has been promised. On home missions in 1885 over £11,000 was spent. The number of Wesleyan ministers in Great Britain is now 1,589. During the last few years the average number of ministers to members has considerably increased. The total number of full members in Great Britain in 1885 was 413,163 (besides over 70,000 on trial and in junior

classes). There is a gross increase of nearly 50,000 a year; but, deducting the loss from deaths and wasting, the net increase is about 3,000 a year. The total number of full members in Ireland is 24,971. In foreign missions there are 29,133 (in South Africa 22,816, a net increase of 823 a year; in the West Indies 43,317, a net increase of 182 a year). A sum of £50,000 is being raised to carry the Gospel to such regions of London as are most spiritually destitute and degraded.

CONGREGATIONISTS.

In 1836 there were, in membership in the Congregational churches in Great Britain and Ireland, 170,000, and about 500,000 hearers. There are now about 360,000 members, and about 1,250,000 hearers.

The Congregational Union held their Jubilee four years ago. They signalled this by raising a Jubilee Fund to which £400,000 has already been promised. Last year alone £50,000 was received, and of this nearly half was subscribed from the Welsh Congregational churches.

The total number of Congregational churches in Great Britain and Ireland is 4,528, in which there are over 1,500,000 sittings. These have been increased at the rate of 20,000 a year. In the Metropolitan area there were 118 churches before 1837, there are now 260; and about the same increase has apparently taken place throughout the country. In the Dominion of Canada there were 16 churches before the former date, at the latter there are 168 churches and mission stations; in Australasia there are 360; in South Africa 40; and in the West Indies 77.

The London Missionary Society, supported largely by Congregationalists, has an income of over £100,000 a year.

However different may be the various tenets of these various bodies, probably each and all of them, on looking back on the last fifty years, would confess, in spite of their individual growth, that more faith, more prayer, more thought, more personal endeavour, more willing offerings, are required. As British Christians it is their duty to take a leading part in the world-wide campaign against evil, and to win greater triumphs for the Cross of Christ in the future than any which have been known in the past. With the growth of the British Realm their responsibility and their hope for achieving this grows also. The expansion of the one of necessity implies a more than corresponding expansion of the other.

JOHN DALTON.

PROGRESS OF POPULAR EDUCATION.

At the commencement of the reign of Queen Victoria England had no national system of education. The different religious bodies and private enterprise were relied upon by the State to supply the country with primary schools. When the Government did step in and aid—and this may be said to date from 1839, when the Committee of Council on Education was formed—it was only as an auxiliary, or for the purpose of supplying a stimulus to the agencies already employed, and not to supply new and superior ones under its own direction and immediate control. Parliament voted an annual sum for educational purposes, the disposal of which was vested in the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. The Committee never took the initiative, but only made grants to those who did, and who could show certain satisfactory results as tested by Government inspectors. These grants in aid were (1) for building; (2) for maintaining schools; (3) capitation grants of so much per head for each scholar whose proficiency satisfied the school inspectors.

The result of this system, if system it can be called, was that the education of the country was very inadequately provided for, and gross ignorance and illiteracy prevailed. In 1834 a member of the Committee of the National Society, in giving evidence before a Select Committee appointed by Parliament to inquire into the condition of education, stated that there were about 1,000,000 children then under education in England and Wales, and that more than half of these were in schools connected with the National Society. As a matter of fact, the number was, approximately, 1,300,000. At that time the population of England and Wales was 15,000,000, and, as it is computed that from a sixth to a fifth part of the population should be at school, it can be seen at a glance how large a proportion must have been comprised of illiterates. A return issued in 1841 showed that of the persons who were married the year before, 33 per cent. of the males, and 49 per cent. of the females, were unable to write their names in the register.

Scotland, doubtless, was in a better condition. In her parochial school system Scotland had, from as far back as 1696, a legalised system of national elementary education. At one time this system was not only national, but thoroughly efficient; but the country outgrew it. Under it the "heritors" in every parish were bound to provide a schoolhouse and to contribute the schoolmaster's salary, half of which, however, was legally chargeable on tenants. It should be stated that, before the system was superseded by that which at present prevails, public

elementary schools in Scotland were subsidised, as in England and Wales, by Parliamentary grants from the Committee of Council on Education. Parliamentary grants were also made to other schools, voluntary and denominational, which arose in considerable numbers to supply educational needs when and where the parochial system proved inadequate to meet them. Still, in 1837 it cannot be said that Scotland was far in advance of the two southern countries; for while the population was about 2,500,000, the number of scholars was only about 200,000.

It is difficult to get absolutely reliable educational statistics relating to the United Kingdom at a period when public education in these realms was in a very chaotic condition. This remark applies with special force to Ireland. According to the Very Rev. Richard Murray, Dean of Ardagh, who gave evidence in 1837 before the "Select Committee on the New Plan of Education in Ireland," there were, in 1824, as many as 12,000 schools in Ireland and upwards of 560,000 scholars. At the time of his giving evidence he declared there were some 760,000 scholars. There is reason, however, for receiving this statement *cum grano salis*, as the evidence of another witness went to show that the scholars of night-schools and Sunday-schools were included in the estimate. Moreover, the Dean's evidence is somewhat discredited by the fact that he seems to have been exceedingly anxious to prove to the Committee that the educational needs of Ireland were fully provided for, and that the country wanted no "new plans" of education whatsoever. According to one estimate, the number of children under education in Ireland in 1837 was no greater than about 167,000; but obviously this was as much below the mark as the Dean's was above it. Making allowance for those who were simply night and Sunday scholars, who cannot be regarded as under education in the sense in which the term is now being used, it may be said that there were probably about 400,000 children in the day-schools in Ireland in 1837, the population of the country being 8,000,000.

Not until the year 1870 can England be said to have possessed a really national system of education. It was in that year that that enlightened and far-seeing statesman, the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, brought in his Education Bill, which in due time became the Elementary Education Act. How sorely it was needed may be judged from the speech which Mr. Forster made on February 17th, 1870, when moving in the House of Commons for leave to bring in his Bill. He stated that in England and Wales there were about 11,000 day-schools and 2,000 night-schools to which grants were made, and the number of scholars on the register in these schools was 1,450,000, the average attendance being about 1,000,000. In Liverpool the number of children between five and thirteen, who ought to have been receiving an elementary education, was 80,000; but, as far as could be ascertained, 20,000 attended no school whatsoever, while at least another 20,000 attended schools "where they got an education not worth having." In Manchester, not including Salford, there were about 65,000 children who ought to have been at school, and of that number 16,000 went to no school at all. In other large towns the condition of things was equally bad.

Under the Education Act of 1870, while the old system of grants in aid of private schools is not superseded, means are taken to insure the existence in every school district of "a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools." Wherever a deficiency exists, and the deficiency is not supplied as required by the Act, it is provided that a school board should be formed to supply it. The school board is elected by the burgesses in a borough and by the ratepayers in a parish. Its duty is to supply school accommodation and education where such are required. The expenses are met by a fund called "the school fund, constituted primarily by the fees of the children, moneys provided by Parliament, or raised by loan, or received in other way, and supplemented by the rates, to be levied by the rating authority." It is empowered to compel the parents of all children between the age of five and thirteen to send such children to school.

The system established by the Education Act must be pronounced a success. In 1884, with a population of 27,000,000, there were in England and Wales some 18,000 day schools, and over 4,800,000 day scholars. In speaking of the object he had in view in bringing forward his Bill, Mr. Forster said:—"What is our purpose? Briefly this, to bring elementary education within the reach of every English home—aye, and within the reach of those children who have no homes. . . . I believe that it will do it eventually, and not only eventually, but speedily." His belief has been fulfilled. The average attendance per 100 of the scholars, which in 1879 was only 69·5, rose last year to 76·4, a higher average than in the State of Massachusetts, so justly celebrated for its educational system. In New York State only 59 children in every 100 of school age are regularly attending school. Another most interesting calculation, given recently by Sir Lyon Playfair in the House of Commons, is that, while in 1869—the year before the passing of the Education Act—only seven children out of every 100 of the population were in school, last year there were nearly 17, and the increased growth was largest in the infant schools.

In 1872 the Education (Scotland) Act was passed—an Act which remodelled the entire Scottish educational system. It swept away clerical ascendancy in the parish schools and in the denominational schools, by making provision for these being transferred to the management of school boards elected by the ratepayers. It enacted compulsory education, and enforced the election of a school board in every parish, with powers similar to those possessed by the English school boards. In 1884, with a population of 3,800,000, there were in Scotland 3,100 schools with accommodation for 655,000 scholars, and an average attendance of 448,000.

In the matter of primary education Ireland cannot be said to be in as good a position as the sister countries. There is there, certainly, a national system of elementary education, but the people do not avail themselves sufficiently of it. The schools are under the superintendence of a mixed national board, composed of both Catholics and Protestants. One of the main features of the system is an arrangement by which children of different sects are taught religion at separate times by their respective pastors, the expenses being borne by the Government. In 1884 the number of schools was about 7,800, and the average attendance about 500,000, the population of the country being just over 5,000,000.

In connection with higher education much interesting and important information might be given, showing the changes and the advance which in many respects have been made; but the scope of this article will not allow it, concerned as it is simply with popular education.

In the British Colonies the provision as to education is various; but this certainly must be said, that all the self-governing Colonies have in this matter displayed enlightened views and much liberality. In Canada, in the Province of Quebec, not many years before the Queen ascended the throne, a report stated that "not above one-fourth of the population could read, and not above one-tenth of them could write, even imperfectly." But now in the same Province there are nearly 4,000 primary schools with 200,000 scholars, besides 300 secondary schools having 40,000 pupils. In Ontario, the Provincial Legislature provided public schools, and voted money for their support as far back as 1816, but the present school system dates from 1846; it is very efficient, providing for compulsory attendance, local assessment, Government aid, inspection, &c. In Nova Scotia elementary education was, until the last twenty-five years, left to local effort, and although this was encouraged by Legislative grants, as in Ontario, not much was done until 1864, when the present system was organised. There are nearly 1,600 public schools within the Province, with nearly 100,000 scholars in daily attendance. In New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, also, there are efficient educational systems, which space will not permit to be more fully described; while in Manitoba, the North-West Provinces, and British Columbia, it must suffice to say that education keeps pace with colonisation.

When one looks to the Australasian Colonies striking results are seen. At the time Queen Victoria came to the throne, New South Wales, the Mother Colony at the Antipodes, had not been provided with a constitution. This single fact speaks volumes. Then provision for the education of the scanty population was small; now the provision for the educational needs of the people is, at least, as good and as complete as in England. In 1880 an Education Act was passed by the New South Wales Legislature upon the lines of the English Act of 1870. It differs, however, in one or two respects, and provides for intermediate and higher as well as elementary education. The system of elementary education in Victoria is very similar to that of New South Wales. The results shown are good. According to the returns of the census of 1881, of every 10,000 children at the school age 9,481 could read, 8,535 of them could also write, and only 519 were unable to read. In the other self-governing Colonies, also, educational arrangements and enactments are upon very similar lines, being essentially liberal, compulsory, State-aided, and secular.

Wonderful as may be, and is, the material advancement which has taken place in the British Empire during the past fifty years, equally wonderful has been the educational and moral progress of the people. This progress may be expected to be even greater, or, at least, its evidences to be still more marked and manifest, during the next few years; for the present enlightened and liberal measures for effecting popular education have not yet, either at Home or in the Colonies, had time to achieve their best results.

STEPHEN A. SWAINE.

"SHARERS of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last?
Shall not we thro' good and ill
Cleave to one another still?
Britain's myriad voices call,
'Sons, be welded, each and all,
Into one Imperial whole—
One with Britain heart and soul!
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!'"

TENNYSON.

THE TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE NOW AND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

VARIED and vast as have been the changes in the condition and circumstances of the British Empire which have marked the reign of our Gracious Sovereign, it is probable that in no one respect has there been a greater contrast than between its trade as it was in the year of her accession and is now at the opening of her jubilee. Three special causes stand prominently out in the records of her sovereignty as having originated and promoted this

MARVELLOUS PROGRESS,

both within the limits of the British Isles and in the commerce of the whole Empire; as well that which has grown up between the Mother Country and its numerous dependencies as that which those at home and abroad carry on with the various countries owing allegiance to other governors. It is of this rather than of the internal traffic we have now to speak, and to illustrate which the diagrams which this JOURNAL contains have been prepared; and much as it would be easy to write on this trade in its several branches, there is little space to do more than briefly explain the teaching of these diagrams, and to supplement it by figures showing some of the subdivisions which the diagrammatic method will scarcely indicate with sufficient clearness. The three special sources of this extended traffic to which we allude are: first, the development of steam power, whereby locomotion of both men and the products of their industry over land and across the ocean has been so wonderfully expedited and cheapened; secondly, the discovery of the precious metals, especially that of gold, in the southern and the western hemispheres, whereby an impetus was given to colonisation and a stimulus given to trade which have not yet lost their influence; thirdly, the destruction of those barriers to the free exchange of wealth created by man's labour which hostile tariffs and jealous restrictions frequently erected and carefully maintained. Minor and subservient discoveries and changes have had their share in producing great results; but it is to the far-reaching power of steam, gold, and free trade that we must attribute the enormous differences we proceed to chronicle.

DIAGRAM I.

On the page of diagrams bearing my signature, the irregular figures which occupy the left and the right sides of the page show the extent of our trade as comprised in the imports and exports of the United Kingdom and the British Possessions together, as they then were and now are; the former covering '9 of a square inch, the other 5'4 inches, a multiplication six times in the half-century. If each figure be divided laterally through the centre, we have the imports in the upper portion covering '46 and 2'95 square inches respectively; and the exports in the lower '44 and 2'45. Again, dividing each of these figures by lines parallel to the former, we see how much of the imports and exports belong to the Mother Country, and how much to the children, at the earlier period as contrasted with the latter. The figures printed upon each of these divisions express in pounds sterling the same proportions as would be arrived at by measuring the respective areas. They relate exclusively to the interchange of commodities between the different parts of the Empire—not to that carried on within any one possession; and, excepting the few cases in which the boundaries are on the land, not separations by water, to the traffic which is over sea. Differences in the mode of taking accounts in several places, and the changes which time has introduced in the methods adopted at the beginning and close of the half-century, prevent absolute reliance on the accuracy of the several component parts of the whole sums; but there is little reason to doubt the soundness of the comparison between the one period and the other, or to call in question the representation they afford of the wonderful progress made within the span of one happily unfinished reign, which happens to coincide with the years of active service enjoyed by the writer of this paper.

DIAGRAM VII.,

at the bottom of the same page, on which the population of the United Kingdom and the over-sea portion of the Empire are drawn to the same scale, will serve to illustrate the increased trading activity of the individuals by whom it is carried on. Here also it is difficult to say accurately what were, or now are, the real numbers of the subjects of the Crown, especially in the vast eastern territories. The home census is known to be correct now, but the absence of earlier numberings of the people leaves room for varying estimates elsewhere. So far, however, as is known, the population of the British Isles has increased by 40 per cent. in the interval, notwithstanding the continual departure of its inhabitants to other countries, which far outnumber those who have come into it from abroad. The British Possessions now include a larger area than before, and have received additions by immigration as well as natural increase. They, therefore, now number 120 per cent. more than those of 1837, thus raising the whole to rather more than double what it was then. Hence it follows that, on the average, each person has three times more to do

with outward trade than at the earlier date; whilst the home population, taken alone, shows an increase of nearly fourfold per head.

Taking the trade of the United Kingdom alone—which practically means that of England, for the decay in Ireland about counterbalances the gain in Scotland, and neither from their geographical position and other circumstances are so great in trading with countries abroad as their southern brethren—is shown in

DIAGRAM II.

Here the space covered for the earlier year is '62, and in the later 3'22 square inches, showing that it is now about five times as large as before. The dividing line gives '33 and 1'87 as the share for imports, with '29 and 1'35 for exports; the one having been multiplied 5½, and the latter 4½ times. Cutting off the portions for the British Possessions by similar lines, we get spaces of '16 and '84 square inches for these, with '46 and 2'38 for the trade with foreign countries, the relative gains on the whole being about equal. As before, the printed figures present the same results in another form.

There are, however, other particulars than those above given, which are necessary for forming a correct estimate of the progress of this country's trade. The amount credited in both diagrams are for the gross imports and exports, including certain quantities of goods first brought here and then taken away, thus failing to distinguish the value of imports consumed in the country either for home use, or as manufactured into goods for export. To give an idea of these, the re-exports must be deducted from both sides of the account. To do this in the drawing would be confusing, but it may be clearly shown in FIGURES FOR BOTH PERIODS, thus:—

	THEN.	NOW.
Total Imports... ..	£66,000,000	£374,000,000
Re-exported	16,000,000	58,000,000
Leaving for Home Consumption	£50,000,000	£316,000,000
Total Exports... ..	£58,000,000	£271,000,000
Included Foreign Goods ...	16,000,000	58,000,000
British and Irish Produce and Manufactures ...	£42,000,000	£213,000,000

Thus the excess of imports which have to be paid for over the exports for which value has to be received is shown to have increased from £8,000,000 to £103,000,000. Or, if we allow 11 per cent. for freight mostly earned by British vessels, which is included in the valuation of imports but not in exports, we shall have excesses of imports then, some £2,500,000, and now, £68,000,000.

It would be difficult to correctly sub-divide the trade of the earlier year into the several quarters from whence it came or whither it went, and thus to compare it with the present condition; but in marking the relative importance to us, for this purpose, of our own possessions and foreign countries, the following grouping into geographical divisions will show how our trading, both inwards and outwards, stands at this time. The values of all imports and of the exports of home produce and manufacture are given in round numbers only:—

COLONIAL.		IMPORTS FROM.		EXPORTS TO	
East Indies ... ..	...	£39,000,000	£32,000,000		
Australasia ... ..	...	26,000,000	25,000,000		
North America ... ..	...	10,500,000	7,000,000		
South Africa ... ..	...	5,000,000	4,000,000		
West Indies ... ..	...	4,000,000	2,500,000		
Hong Kong ... ..	...	1,000,000	4,000,000		
Other places ... ..	...	2,500,000	3,500,000		
		£88,000,000	£78,000,000		
FOREIGN.					
Russia and North Europe ...	...	33,000,000	10,000,000		
Germany, Holland, and Belgium	...	63,000,000	33,000,000		
France ... ..	...	36,000,000	15,000,000		
Southern Europe... ..	...	23,000,000	14,000,000		
Turkey and Egypt ... ..	...	14,000,000	10,000,000		
China and Japan... ..	...	9,000,000	7,000,000		
Other (Asia and Africa)... ..	...	7,000,000	5,000,000		
United States ... ..	...	86,000,000	22,000,000		
Other parts (America) ... ..	...	15,000,000	19,000,000		
		£286,000,000	£135,000,000		
Totals ... ..	...	£374,000,000	£213,000,000		

DIAGRAM III.,

which, together with II., are comprised in I., shows the trade of the British Possessions separated both as regards imports and exports, according to whether they be commerce with the Mother Country or with other places. The relative spaces and figures need no further explanation for the present purposes.

DIAGRAM IV.

displays in a similar manner the tonnage of shipping employed in carrying on the trade of the two periods, distinguishing that entering and clearing in the United Kingdom from that so doing in the Possessions.

DIAGRAM V.

gives the Public Revenue for the two divisions of the Empire at the two periods. This, of course, ought not and does not grow like the trade, for taxation is regulated by expenditure. So many different methods of stating what is and what is not revenue may be used, that the figures must only be deemed an approximation to truth.

The remaining

DIAGRAM VI.

deals with a matter of purely internal traffic, but this is so intimately connected with feeding the over-sea interchange of persons and goods that it could not well be omitted. The enormous development of railway transport is, perhaps, the most striking instance of advancement during Her Majesty's reign which can well be supplied.

As a concluding remark, it may truly be said that, as no previously existing Empire has ever manifested such constant, beneficent, and enduring growth, so there ought to be no reason why the progress of the next fifty years should not as much outstrip those years which have preceded it, as these in their turn have surpassed those which went before them.

STE. BOURNE.

NAVAL AND MILITARY PROGRESS.

THE marvellous progress of the Victorian Epoch is as marked in all that pertains to Military as to Civil matters. Has civil life benefited by the results of scientific research? To, at least, an equal extent MILITARY LIFE HAS BENEFITED. If sanitation has led to material improvement in the food, the clothing, and the dwellings of all classes, but especially of the middle and lower classes, the military have had fully their share of such improvement; the quality of the food provided for them, of the clothing supplied to them, of the dwellings they inhabit, whether on the land or on the water, leaves little to be desired. The staple food of our sailors is no longer *salt junk*, which may, like famous Madeira, have made two or three voyages round the world, though, unlike famous Madeira, it does not mature by age and travel—or *weevily biscuit*, which has to be caught before it is eaten; the staple drink is no longer the sewage of seaport towns, undrinkable until fermentation has disposed of the solid and foreign matter in it. No; both sailors and soldiers have now a sufficient provision of wholesome meat and fresh vegetables, with a practically unlimited supply of water, pure and of a quality which at no very remote period was a stranger to the table of their officers.

Looking back to the time of the Armada, when the fighting leaven of the nation was perhaps higher in quality and greater in quantity than at any subsequent period, but when munitions of the body and munitions of war were seldom much above starvation point, one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the results achieved were far beyond the means available, if gauged by modern standards, and the actual military value of individual man-power may well be matter for curious speculation.

Again, in the

WONDERFUL EXTENSION OF THE MEANS OF LOCOMOTION, and in the marvellous facility for rapid communication which *steam and electricity* have conferred upon our generation, the soldier is a substantial gainer. He is now placed upon the theatre of war, even though that theatre be at the other extremity of the earth, in a condition for campaigning for which, in older times, weeks of comparative inaction after landing were necessary.

Nor are the advantages conferred by steam and electricity limited to locomotion and communication merely, but enter largely into the active operations of war; new and distinct branches of military science have sprung into being under their influence, and have a considerable part in the composition and operations of all civilised armies.

Iron, if not unknown, was at any rate little used in

MILITARY CONSTRUCTIONS

at the commencement of this Epoch; now, in the form of steel, it is the material of which our most powerful ships and batteries are constructed, and it offers facilities for making guns of a size and power undreamt of previously by the most sanguine gun-makers. Improvements, too, in gunpowder, and the introduction of powerful explosives, mainly of the nitro-glycerine class, contribute to enhance the value of these productions, while novel and ingenious applications of electricity afford means by which guns and mines—subterranean and submarine—may be fired automatically and with absolute freedom from risk.

Possibly in the Epochs preceding the Victorian

MILITARY SCIENCE

may have lagged behind; if so, it has, in this latter Epoch, made ample amends for previous shortcomings; indeed, when, as I write, I call to mind quick-firing guns, the nice and delicate arrangements for manipulating and firing mines, the materials of which balloons are constructed, and submarine boats, it seems to me that we may almost claim for the science of destroying life the invidious distinction of being in advance of its more peaceful rivals.

It might with reason have been expected that, with the progress in science, and the spread of intercommunication, men's minds would have been gradually turned from military affairs, and that the burden of these—and they must always be a grievous burden—would have lessened as peaceful enterprise found wider field, and material well-being followed in its track. If philanthropists there were who pinned their faith on this, how must they have been disappointed! What grievous wars have devastated Europe! How often in Asia and Africa have we been engaged in deadly strife in the generation since the first of these industrial exhibitions, "The World's Fair!" And what of the military burdens? Do they lessen? I trow not.

WHEN HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY CAME TO THE THRONE THIS WAS OUR FIGHTING STRENGTH:—

Regular Forces ...	101,000	
John Company's Army ...	26,500 and 269,300	Native Troops.
Militia (disembodied) ...	7,600	
		134,000
Total Europeans ...		403,300

NOW OUR FIGHTING STRENGTH IS:—

Regular Forces ...	141,000 and 146,000	Native Troops, and 190,000 Native Police.
		336,000
Reserve ...	56,900	
Militia and Yeomanry ...	156,000	
Volunteers ...	254,000	
		607,900
Total Europeans ...		943,900

Then, provision was made for seventeen Military Stations abroad. Now, excluding Egypt, which should be a temporary Station, provision is made for eleven Military Stations. Canada, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, New South Wales, New Zealand, and the Ionian Islands have dropped out of the list; and not only so, but are able and willing to aid us with fully-equipped troops when the necessity arises.

THEN OUR NAVAL FIGHTING STRENGTH WAS:—

Seamen and Marines ...	26,500
------------------------	--------

NOW IT IS:—

Seamen and Marines ...	56,800
Coastguard ...	3,890
Royal Naval Reserve ...	18,200
Reserves (other) and Volunteers	3,500
Total ...	82,390

THEN STEAM HAD NO PLACE IN OUR FIGHTING NAVY.

In the Navy List of 1837 are but five vessels with steam power carrying guns, and they between them carried but twenty guns, and were evidently tenders to the flag ships of various Stations. Excluding these, our Navy consisted of 127 vessels, carrying 3,108 guns; then our most effective gun was a smooth-bore piece (we had no rifled guns), weighing 3¼ tons, with an energy of 217 foot-tons, and a very limited range. Then the largest of these vessels carried 120 such guns, was of 4,600 tons' displacement, and cost £117,000.

NOW THERE ARE NONE BUT STEAMERS IN OUR FIGHTING NAVY.

In the Navy List for the present year are 191 vessels carrying guns, of which the most effective is a rifled piece weighing 80 tons, throwing a projectile weighing 1,700 lbs., with an energy of 32,300 foot-tons, and a greatly increased range. Now the most powerful of these vessels carries four such, besides smaller, guns, is of 10,000 tons' displacement, and costs £800,000.

Nor is the difference in velocity, range, and accuracy less marked when the field artillery of the present is compared with the field artillery of the past; while in the hands of the line soldier of to-day is a weapon as far superior in man-killing power to old "Brown Bess" of the preceding period, as "Bess" was to the crossbows, or to the bows and arrows of a remoter period.

This increase in efficiency has not, however, been attained without a vast increase in cost, and the Estimates of the present year are very unpleasant reading; they afford matter for the gravest apprehension.

THEN THE NAVAL AND MILITARY CHARGE WAS £17,664,613.

Army	£3,776,413
Navy	4,413,700
Borne by John Company ...	9,474,500

£17,664,613

NOW THE NAVAL AND MILITARY CHARGE IS £49,226,200.

Army	£18,233,200
Navy	12,993,100
India	18,000,000

£49,226,200

It may have been that at the commencement of the Victorian Epoch* our Army and Navy were still suffering from the stagnation consequent upon the military reaction which set in after the termination of the Napoleonic wars—wars which, culminating at sea in the victory of Trafalgar, on land in the victory of Waterloo, left us lulled into a sense of false, irrational security.

Vast as has been the increase of expenditure, it is not, some say, vaster than is needed for safeguarding the increased and ever-increasing interests which follow the British Flag. At this moment I neither affirm nor deny this, nor am I prepared to say how this expenditure may be lessened, having due regard to the enormous number of men whom every nation of Europe keeps under arms; but, as I scan the items of charge, there is one upon which I look with unmixed satisfaction, and that is the item for the

VOLUNTEER FORCE.

In the Volunteers,—the educated and moderately endowed middle and lower classes—I see the best defence for these islands; in the Volunteers I see the best security for the maintenance of that ordered liberty which may never degenerate into licence, that liberty which guarantees to the individual man freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of action, so long as such freedom is without let and hindrance to his neighbour.

In the citizen-soldiery of the Volunteer Force I see, too, that military condition which seems best suited to the occupations and habits of our kinsmen beyond the seas. Whatever retrenchments we make, I hope we shall always provide the means for maintaining that Force in efficiency.

C. H. NUGENT.

GROWTH OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES.

It has been well said that, "property has its duties as well as its rights." It is an axiom of national as well as of personal application. Growth of national property increases national duties by accumulating national responsibilities. Just in proportion to the honest fulfilment or culpable neglect of such responsibilities is a State really strong or weak. Every addition to the wealth or material progress of our Empire made by the individual citizen is also an addition to Imperial duties, for the discharge of which he, according to his position, ability, and influence, is responsible. Every man who has a vote has equally a direct personal responsibility in government, which is the machinery by which Imperial duties are discharged. If, therefore, the duties of Imperial property are to be fulfilled, knowledge of the extent, distribution, and growth of that property is an essential condition to the right exercise of political power. As a short way of assisting the acquirement of such necessary knowledge, the Diagrams contained in this Journal have been prepared.

We may group the several constituent parts of our Empire under three distinct heads—the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and the Dependencies.

The broad distinction between our Colonies and our Dependencies may be thus shortly stated. A Colony is outlying territory with natural conditions and climate suited to the natural growth and expansion of our own race. Our population planted there must, in proportion to colonial areas and natural resources, become great and powerful communities. How soon or how long it may be before they rival or exceed the United Kingdom in power and influence is simply a question of the possibilities of natural growth, hastened by their power of attracting population from these islands. Whether they remain politically connected with the United Kingdom mainly depends upon the wisdom of the people of the United Kingdom in now recognising the advantages of the connection in the future, and in now co-operating in all things calculated to promote the mutual advantages of union. In other words, it depends upon the knowledge of colonial facts by the voters of the United Kingdom.

Dependencies on the other hand are those British possessions where climate and physical conditions are suited to races which inhabit them, not to our own. Places such as India, the West Indies, and the West African settlements, where our people can sojourn but can never make a permanent natural home, are

* 1836 saw the Navy at the lowest point of this century; the war expenditure, 1800-15, of nineteen millions, maintaining 145,000 seamen and marines, had sunk to 4½ millions.

Dependencies. The indigenous races there depend for advancement, civilisation, the development of trade and commerce, for protection and for administration, upon us. The prosperity of their connection with us depends also upon the accurate knowledge of the voters in these islands as to the characteristics of the races and tribes, and the physical conditions of the Dependencies of the United Kingdom.

When the Queen ascended the throne the people of the United Kingdom reserved the right of managing the local, as well as the Imperial, affairs of Colonies and Dependencies alike. The necessities of the material progress and growth of our Colonies, peopled by our own kith and kin, compelled the abandonment of the policy of our managing their local affairs. The same process of material growth and increasing population of the Colonies must obviously produce similar results in respect of Imperial affairs of common concern to them, and in such matters as the direction of a foreign policy which concerns them and us equally, as well as the arrangements for the defence in war of our common interests, upon which depends their safety as well as our safety. We cannot claim always exclusive right to control. We are neither wiser nor better than our brothers in Australia or Canada, for example; and, therefore, if the political connection between us and them is to continue, the relations, with the growth of the Colonies, must develop the principle of co-operation and equal rights, and tend towards political equality in respect of determining foreign policy and discharging the duties of common defence. The lessons, therefore, the diagrams teach as to the facts of material growth show how rapid is this process, and how necessary it is for us to prepare for changes in the conduct of the affairs of our Empire, which are of common concern to the Colonies and to us.

The Dependencies are in a state of slow development. The genius of self-government is, however, an attribute exceptional, and the peculiar characteristic of our own race. Let us hope, however, that the force of our example and the wisdom of our administration may ultimately develop possibilities of self-government amongst the multitudes of races which make up the 206 millions in our Dependencies, as shown in Diagram 2. While we so hope this, we must not forget that we cannot endow other races with those natural qualities we ourselves possess, and that the strength and value of self-government is not in the form of the machinery by which it is carried on, but in the characteristics of the people by whom it is applied. It is not necessary to explain the diagrams at any length, they speak for themselves. I would, however, observe that the circles which indicate the populations in 1837, and at the present time, of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and the Dependencies, do not illustrate to the eye in a very striking way the facts. It was, however, not possible to use any other figure in the space; but the figures at foot give the statistical facts the circles represent in Table 3. Taking, however, the circles representing population, and the squares indicating, also by the same scale, the areas, it will be seen at once how enormous is the pressure of population at home and in the Dependencies, and how sparse is the population in vast and fertile regions of the Colonies. It is only necessary to observe that in Diagrams 1, 2, 3, and 4 the parts coloured red refer exclusively to the United Kingdom, those coloured blue exclusively to the Colonies, while all that are in black refer to Dependencies only. A careful examination of all the diagrams cannot fail to bring home to the mind how great has been the material progress of our Empire since Her Majesty ascended the throne, and therefore to impress every right-minded citizen with the feeling that, if he really desires to maintain the Empire he must recognise his individual responsibility in promoting by all means in his power an intelligent appreciation of the facts of its growth.

J. C. R. COLOMB.

[The diagrams referred to in the foregoing article are those bearing Capt. Colomb's name.—EDITOR.]

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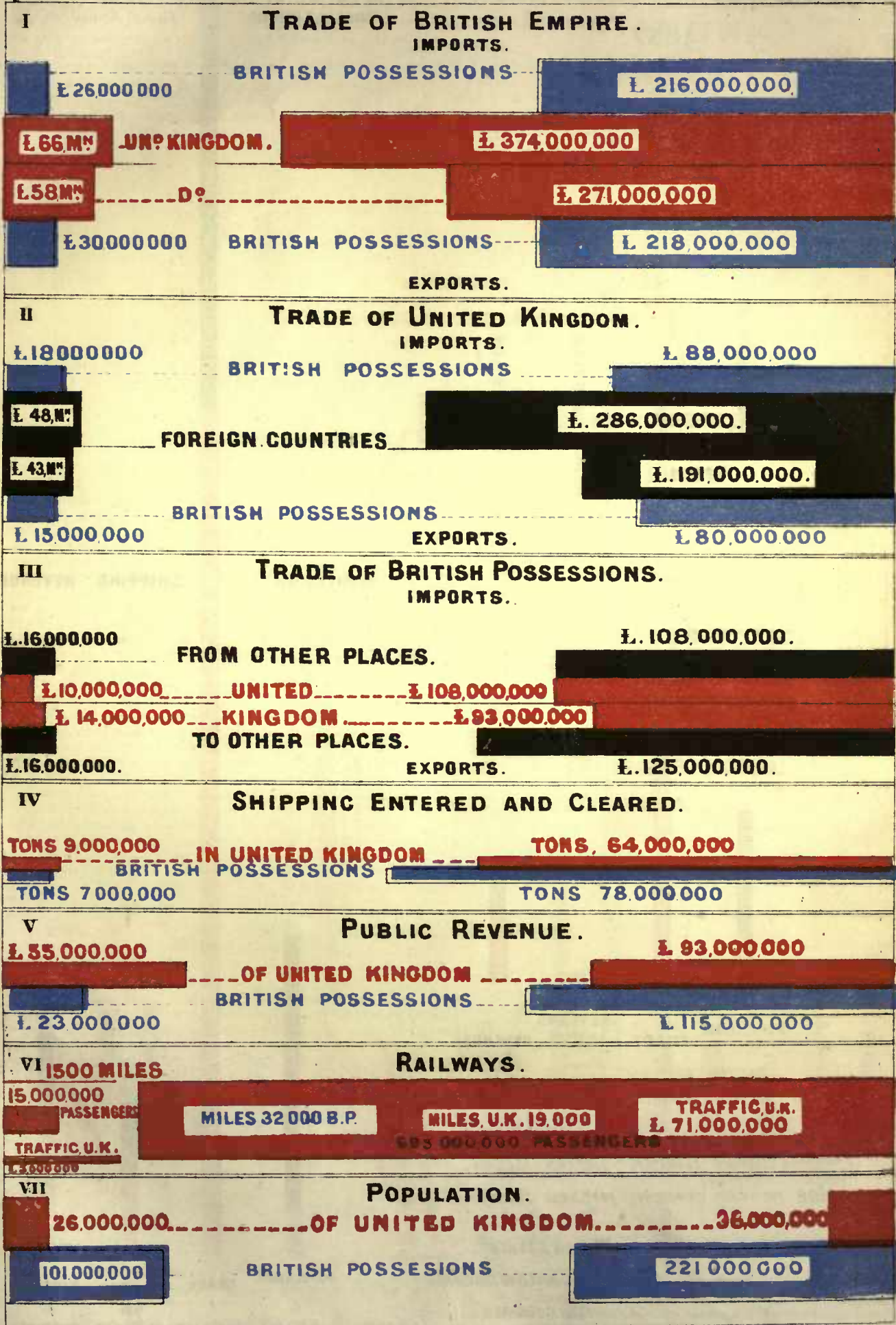
Works: Bethnal Green, London; and Longva & Kjerstadt, Norway.

DIAGRAMS ILLUSTRATIVE OF TRADE, REVENUE, &c.

Scale $\frac{1}{200}$ Square Inch = 1,000,000.

QUEEN'S ACCESSION.

50TH YEAR AFTER.

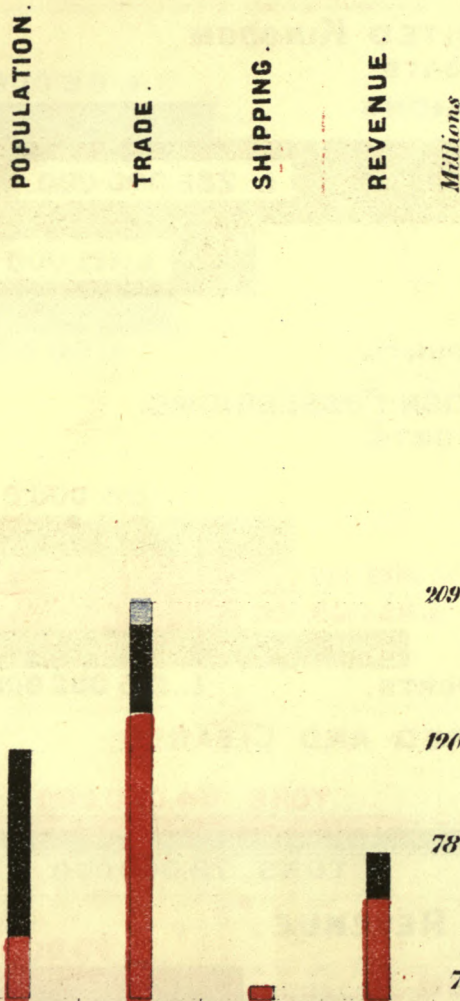


Red - United Kingdom.
Blue - British Possessions.
Black - Foreign Countries.

W. B. Brown

DIAGRAM. Table N^o 1.

SHOWING GENERAL FACTS OF THE EMPIRE
AT THE PERIOD OF HER MAJESTYS ACCESSION
1837.



	POPULATION	ONE YEARS		
		TRADE	SHIPPING ENTERED & CLEARED	REVENUE
		£	Tons	£
Colonies	1,967,200	13,927,500	2,981,000	1106,500
Dependencies	98,538,666	40,846,000	3,991,184	21,697,660
Total Beyond Sea	100,506,081	54,773,500	6,972,184	22,804,160
United Kingdom	25,600,000	15,485,257	7,061,069	55,035,150
EMPIRE.	126,106,081	209,626,017	14,033,253	77,839,310
		£	Tons	£

Indicates Colonies
 do Dependencies
 do U.Kingdom

This **DIAGRAM & TABLE** is
compiled from "MARTINS STATISTICS"
of the **BRITISH COLONIES**,
published, 1839.

J. C. R. Colomb.

Capt. late R. M. A.

Scale One Inch = 100 Millions

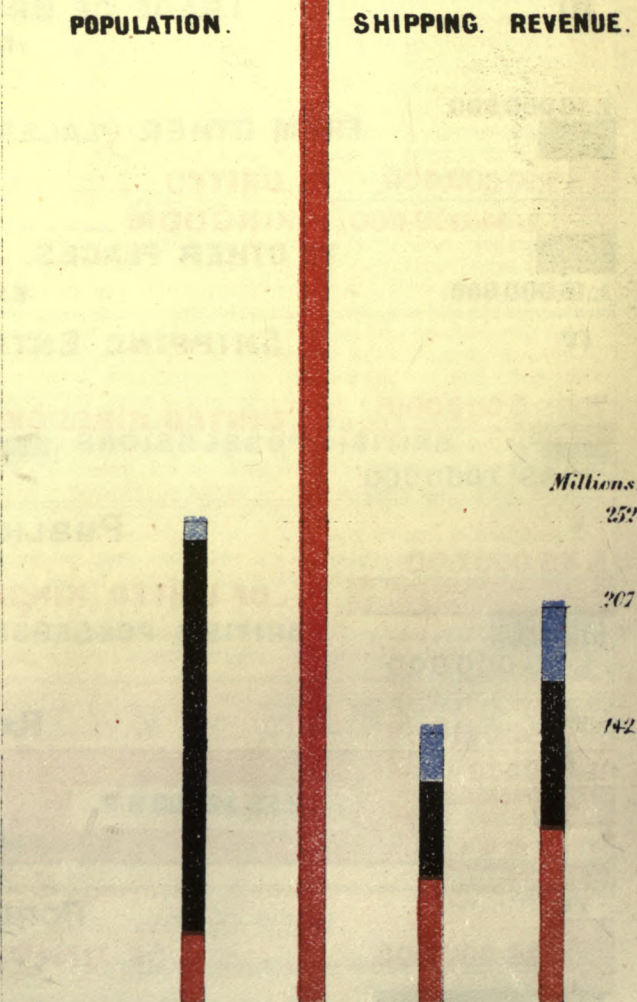
DIAGRAM. Table N^o 2.

SHOWING GENERAL FACTS
OF THE EMPIRE AT THE
PRESENT PERIOD.

Colonies
 Dependencies
 United Kingdom

POPULATION.

SHIPPING. REVENUE.

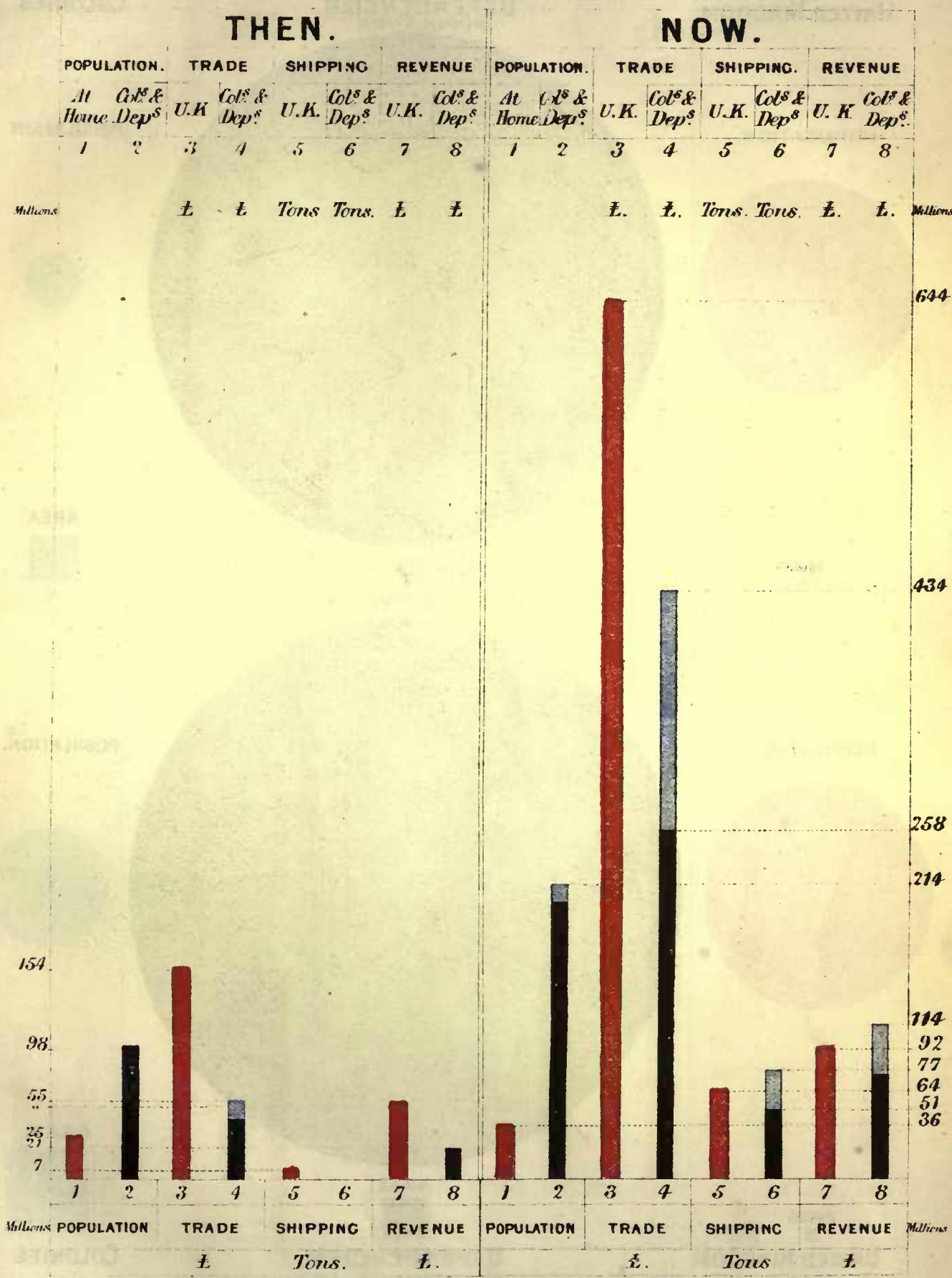





	POPULATION	TRADE	ONE YEARS	
			SHIPPING ENTERED & CLEARED	REVENUE
	£	£	Tons	£
Colonies	9,538,597	176,442,762	26,581,312	37,522,433
Dependencies	206,701,135	257,895,322	51,373,727	77,339,178
Total Beyond Sea	216,239,732	434,338,084	77,955,039	114,861,611
U.Kingdom	36,325,115	644,769,249	64,272,522	92,640,000
EMPIRE	252,564,847	1,079,107,333	142,227,561	207,501,611

J.C.R. Colomb, Capt. late R. M. A.

DIAGRAM OF GROWTH.

POPULATION, ONE YEARS TRADE, SHIPPING, AND REVENUE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND OF THE EMPIRE BEYOND SEA, AT THE PERIOD OF HER MAJESTY'S ACCESSION, AND NOW.



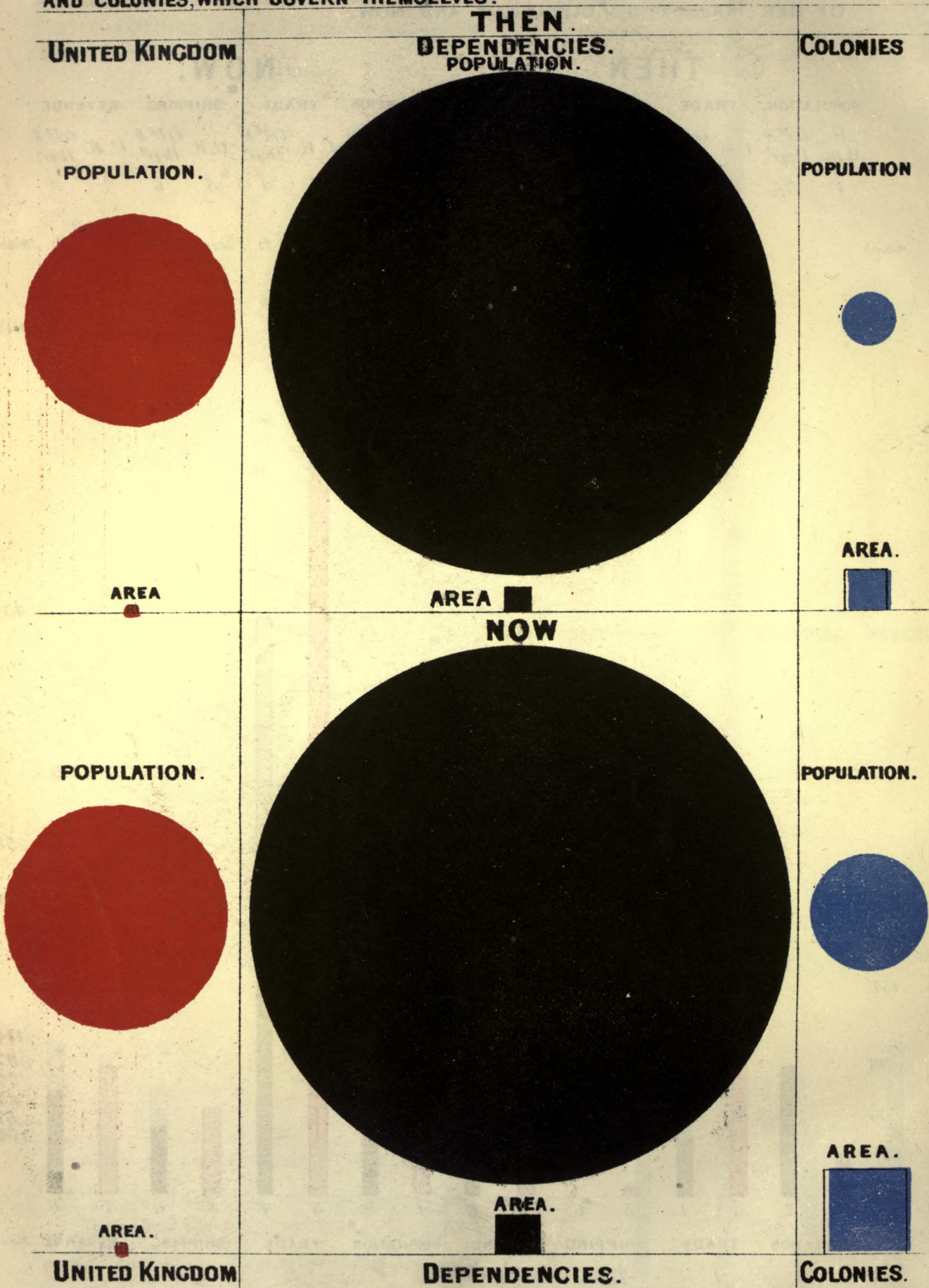
-  Indicates Colonies.
-  do Dependencies.
-  do United Kingdom.

N.B. The Numbers top and bottom are for comparative reference. The Millions are of £. in the case of Trade and Revenue; of Tons in the case of Shipping; and of Persons in the case of Population. Nothing under 6 Millions is shown on this Diagram.

J. C. R. Colomb.
Capt. Late R.M.A.

Scale, One Inch=100 Millions.

BETWEEN POPULATION AND AREA OF THE EMPIRE AS OFFICIALLY COMPUTED AT THE PERIOD OF HER MAJESTY'S ACCESSION AND NOW, DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE THREE GREAT CONSTITUENT PARTS OF THE EMPIRE, I.E., UNITED KINGDOM, INDIA AND OTHER DEPENDENCIES, WHICH WE GOVERN; AND COLONIES, WHICH GOVERN THEMSELVES.



	THEN.		NOW		
	AREA	POPULATION	AREA.	POPULATION.	
<i>U. Kingdom</i>	120,757	25,600,000	120,757	36,325,115	<i>U. Kingdom</i>
<i>*Dependencies</i>	705,569	98,538,881	1,335,989	206,701,135	<i>Dependencies</i>
<i>Colonies</i>	1,428,579	1,967,200	7,106,174	9,538,597	<i>Colonies</i>
<i>Empire.</i>	2,254,905	126,106,081	8,562,920	252,564,847	<i>Empire</i>
	<i>Sq^{re} Miles</i>		<i>Sq^{re} Miles</i>		

* Indian Native States not included.

U. Kingdom
**Dependencies*
Colonies
Empire.

U. Kingdom
Dependencies
Colonies
Empire

Scale, One Inch = 4000.

J. C. R. Colomb Capt. Late R. M. A.





Imperial Federation.

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1886.

OUR NEW CHAIRMAN.

WE have the pleasure this month of announcing that the chairmanship of the League, rendered vacant by the decease of the late lamented Mr. Forster, has now been filled up by the election of the Earl of Rosebery to that office, and of presenting to our



THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY,
Chairman of the Imperial Federation League.

readers a portrait of our new chairman, from a photograph by Messrs. Lombardi & Co., of Pall Mall East. That his lordship has many and distinguished qualifications for the office to which he has now been elected, and which he has cordially accepted, will be very generally confessed. Lord Rosebery was born in London in 1847, and therefore is considerably older than he looks. He was educated at Eton, and at Christchurch, Oxford. His first public appearance was in 1871, when he was selected by the Prime Minister to second the address in the House of Lords at the opening of Parliament.

The subject which he first took up seriously was that of Scottish National Education, moving an amendment to a Government Bill with a view to exclude theological catechisms from the elementary schools. He also spoke in the debate on Lord Russell's motion regarding the settlement of the Alabama Claims by the Treaty with the United States. He was appointed one of the Commissioners of Inquiry to investigate educational and other endowments in Scotland. His public efforts gained further extension through his Presidency of the Social Science Congress, at Glasgow, in 1874; and the academical students of Scotland have recognised his merits by electing him, in 1878, Lord Rector of the University of Aberdeen, and, in 1880, Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, where he delivered an Inaugural Address in November, 1882.

Lord Rosebery, in March, 1878, married a Jewish lady, highly esteemed for her benevolence and amiability, and the authoress of literary and historical studies concerning the traditions of Israel, Miss Hannah de Rothschild, a daughter of the late Baron Meyer de Rothschild, of Mentmore, near Tring. They have several children, the eldest son, Lord Dalmeny, being now four years old. It was not till August, 1881, that Lord Rosebery joined the Ministry, succeeding Mr. Leonard Courtney as Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department; but, in the Session of 1883, objections were raised, with some plausibility, to the holding of that office by a Peer, and his Lordship resigned in June of that year. He devoted his leisure for the best part of a twelvemonth to visiting the British Colonies, and was received in Australia and New Zealand with great cordiality, due to the sympathy which he has always shown for the Colonies and their grand political prospects. On his return to this country he became one of the leaders of

the movement in favour of Imperial Federation, taking part in the formation of the League. On the occasion of the memorable Conference held July 29, 1884, he made a speech, in which he professed himself "very anxious to see all danger to the unity of the Empire postponed by timely action within the Empire itself." He insisted on the absolute necessity of Federation, and said: "You should not postpone this question till it is too late. On both sides of the world—across the western ocean and across the southern ocean—you have two great countries, empires, if you will, stretching forth their hands to you in passionate loyalty and devotion to the country from which they spring. If you will not avail yourselves of that sentiment now, the time may come when you will bitterly repent it." He spoke also at the adjourned Conference on November 18, in the same year, and concluded a pertinent and forcible speech with these words: "I think allusion was also made to the causes that were making this question of Confederation a very leading one, and I think there was one omitted which I will venture to dwell upon now. It is that since the time when what I may call the nullification school of politicians held sway in this country, and when it was almost deemed high treason against common sense to hint that the Colonies were anything else than a millstone around the neck of the Mother Country, great changes have passed over the face of the world. We have seen Italy form itself into a nation; we have seen Germany form itself into a nation; we have seen everywhere a movement for nationality develop and expand even among races which we cannot consider equal to ours, and the reflection is inevitably forced upon us, why should that nation which, in our opinion, is the greatest of the nations, hold aloof from a movement so obviously in its own interest, and which in a short time will be one of absolute and imperious necessity?"

Lord Rosebery was invited to speak at a meeting which was held at Hengler's Circus, Liverpool, when a branch of the League was formed in that city in July of last year. In writing to express his regret that he could not be present, he said: "If for some time to come we could concentrate our external energies on the realisation of this project, we should be deserving well of our country, and should be gratefully remembered by posterity;" and added, in reference to "the loud voices calling to the Empire to unite itself," "It is for us to catch up and register these voices until there shall come such a sound of public opinion as no British Minister dare disregard."

The appointment, in the spring of the present year, of Lord Rosebery to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has been regarded with general approval. Diplomacy, more than any other official business of Government, is facilitated, as Lord



THE RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE,
Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Federation League.

Chesterfield observed a hundred and fifty years ago, by the choice of agents who are likely to stand in agreeable personal relations to the ruling statesmen of great foreign nations. Proved skill and the practised sagacity derived from long

experience of great affairs may be occasionally more than counterbalanced, with no discredit to a veteran Minister, by accidental circumstances which have produced temporary feelings of mutual irritation between public men of commanding position in different countries. Lord Granville, an old and tried servant of the nation, seemed to have provoked an outbreak of impatience at Berlin, through making tardy response to inquiries concerning Angra Pequena and New Guinea, and other matters a long way off. The apparent neglect of German importunity for official information was really due, we believe, to the departmental organisation of our Government, to the separate functions of the Colonial Office, to the limited powers of a Governor of a Colony with a Parliamentary Constitution of its own, and to the absence of the Governor, upon other business, from the seat of his administration. Prince Bismarck did not care to undertake these peculiarities of the situation of the British Government; and being, as Prussians are wont to be, of an exacting and peremptory disposition, expressed his displeasure that the questions he had put, with reference to certain territorial claims, were left for several months unanswered. It happened that his son and official assistant, Count Herbert Bismarck, a personal acquaintance of Lord Rosebery, was enabled, in a private visit to England, which his Lordship speedily returned, to obtain friendly explanations that had the desired effect of removing this uncomfortable feeling, without in any way compromising the policy of either Government. Lord Rosebery did not act the unbecoming part of officious interference, but is thought to have behaved with tact, discretion, and delicacy, in helping to smooth over this merely personal disagreement. His accomplishments, his social position, the flexibility of his mind, and his conversational talents, had shown a marked adaptation to the work of the Foreign Office, and there are few who will not be ready to confess that during his brief term of office he has shown himself to be a capable and successful Foreign Minister, his management of the difficulty with Greece having signally displayed both his tact and his firmness. It will not be judged surprising that from such a man the members and friends of the League are expecting good and great things.

OUR NEW VICE-CHAIRMAN.

THE Right Hon. Edward Stanhope is the second son of the fifth Earl Stanhope. He was born in 1840, and educated at Harrow, and at Christchurch, Oxford. He was in 1862 elected a Fellow of All Souls' College, and was called to the bar in 1865, afterwards going the home circuit. He was elected Member of Parliament for Mid-Lincolnshire in 1874, and served as Secretary to the Board of Trade from November, 1875, till April, 1878, afterwards becoming President. He was Under-Secretary of State for India from April, 1878, till April, 1880, and is a Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery. He attended the Conference in July, 1884, as well as that in the following November. It was he who moved the famous resolution which practically founded the League. It was as follows:—

"That for the purpose of enlightening and instructing the people, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, as to the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of political organisation, a society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principle of Federation."

"That this Conference refers to a committee all details connected with the establishment and organisation of such a society, for a report thereon, to be submitted for the consideration and approval of an adjourned Conference, to be held at a suitable period in the ensuing year."

The portrait of Mr. Stanhope, which we publish in this number, is executed from a photograph by R. Slingsby, Lincoln.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION deserves careful study by all classes. It is the organ of the Imperial Federation League, which appears to be extending its ramifications throughout Great Britain. The journal is calculated to render it powerful assistance.—*Bury Guardian*.

HONOUR TO MR. FREDERICK YOUNG.—A portrait in oils of Mr. Frederick Young, Hon. Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, was formally presented to that body on June 17th by Mr. Thomas Lark, of Sydney. Mr. Young, whose long, unremitting, and successful labours in behalf of the Colonies and the Royal Colonial Institute have as yet been very inadequately recognised, must have been gratified by this tribute of respect, as also his many friends. It was in 1867 that he first became connected with the Institute, and in 1874 that he became the Honorary Secretary. At this latter period the number of members was but 578, while now the roll shows a total of nearly 3,000. To Mr. Young and his efficient coadjutor Mr. O'Halloran, the general Secretary, much credit belongs for the successful way in which the affairs of the Institute are managed. In the portrait, which has been painted by a son of the donor, Mr. Young is represented holding in his hand a copy of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. He is, as need scarcely be said, an active and even enthusiastic supporter of the League and this Journal.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE Imperial Federation League is attracting the attention of French and German papers. They do not question the advantage of Federation from a British point of view. What they are apprehensive of is that it will mean a commercial zollverein which will be a terrible blow to all nations which export to Britain and her dominions, taking as little as possible in return from both.

GERMANY, our most formidable rival in foreign commerce, is fully alive to the value of trade with the antipodes. For the purpose of further developing it, the German Government is just starting a splendid line of steamers, which are to run regularly to Australia. Poor as Germany is, as compared with England, no hesitation has been made about granting a subsidy of over £200,000 a year to the contractors for this and the other line of German mail steamers to the East.

It is now announced that the dispute in connection with the Canadian fishery question is to be settled by means of the appointment of a commission. It is to be hoped that Canada will be directly represented among the commissioners by one or more of her own sons.

In a letter which appeared in the *Times* on the 15th ult. from the Melbourne correspondent of that paper, it was stated that ADMIRAL TRYON had met in conference the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland, and that propositions were discussed as to the relative eligibility of the Australian Colonies supporting by Federal action a fleet of their own, or at their joint cost securing the like defence at the hands of the Imperial Government. It appears that a definite plan was arrived at, the full particulars of which are at present only known to the representatives and members of the different Governments. It is to be hoped that the advisability was recognised of having "One Life, one Flag, one Fleet," as well as "one Throne."

In the Cape Legislative Council, recently, a discussion took place on a motion that the time had now arrived when the several States, Colonies, and Dependencies of South Africa should be united into one Dominion under the Federal principle, and that for the purpose of attaining this object the views of the different Governments interested should be ascertained without delay. The motion was ultimately withdrawn. At the sitting of the Legislative Assembly on the same day a motion brought forward by the PREMIER that a commission should be appointed to act with the delegates nominated by the neighbouring States and Colonies in an inquiry into the question of border customs and duties was carried. The PREMIER remarked that he considered this to be the first step towards ultimate Federation.

A STATEMENT has appeared in the *South Australian Register* to the effect that "an attempt has been made by MR. O. V. MORGAN to induce the conductors of the IMPERIAL FEDERATION MAGAZINE to allow both sides of the question to appear," but that "he has been overruled." The informant of the *South Australian Register* is wiser than we ourselves, for we have no knowledge of such an attempt having been made by MR. O. V. MORGAN, or anyone else. Indeed, there has been no occasion for such attempt. The very first number of this journal contained the announcement that "our correspondence columns are open for the

discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously ;” and this announcement has been repeatedly made since. If any one thinks that we have a cause that we cannot successfully defend, we invite him to write to us. He will find scores of Federationists ready to enter the lists with him.

THE *Western Daily Mercury* remarks that it is curious that at this moment Parliament is actually legislating for Canada, thus showing that the Imperial supremacy is still unimpaired. The matter is one that concerns the Dominion alone, for the Bill declares that “the Parliament of Canada may from time to time make provision for the representation in the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, or in either of them, of any Territories which for the time being form part of the Dominion of Canada, but are not included in any Province thereof.” This, says the *Mercury*, is a pretty effectual exercise of the right of England to modify or expand the Constitution of one of the most independent of her self-governing Colonies.

At present the bulk of Australian trade is done with Great Britain ; yet no English merchant can send a letter to his Australian customer under sixpence ; while Germany is so determined to take part of our trade away from us, that her steamers will, in future, carry half-ounce letters to the antipodes for twopence halfpenny. MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., who, if returned to the new House of Commons, as, doubtless, he will be, for he holds a tolerably safe seat, is determined not to let this question of cheapening the postage between the different parts of the Empire sleep. As an Australian, and a newspaper proprietor with a large correspondence, he is vitally interested in it. He informs us that he has received a distinct assurance from a large steamship company, whose steamers run between this country and Australia, that they are prepared to take as many letters as the Government please to send for the present subsidy. What is there, then, to prevent a penny postage between the Mother Country and her Colonies at the other side of the world becoming, at no distant date, an accomplished fact? Nothing on earth but red-tapeism and official obstinacy.

IN his recently published work, “Through the British Empire,” BARON VON HÜBNER, an Austrian diplomatist, after enumerating the advantages which British rule has conferred upon the peoples of India, replies to the question—What has wrought all these miracles?—

“The wisdom and the courage of a few directing statesmen, the bravery and the discipline of an army composed of a small number of Englishmen and a large number of natives led by heroes : and lastly, and I will venture to say, principally, the devotion, the intelligence, the courage, the perseverance, and the skill, combined with an integrity proof against all temptation, of a handful of officials and magistrates who govern and administer the Indian Empire.”

THE BARON is a man of large experience and observation, as is clear from his exceedingly interesting volumes. Incidentally he makes a good argument in favour of Imperial Federation. He says:—

“England will keep her Colonies as long as Parliament grants the necessary funds for maintaining a fleet strong enough to ensure her naval predominance. If once the Colonies and the coaling stations are lost, it is at least doubtful whether such funds will be voted in time of peace ; England will then lose, gradually and imperceptibly, what she calls her dominion of the seas. In other words, if

England loses her maritime preponderance she loses her Colonies. If she loses her Colonies she loses her preponderance on the seas, and with that the high position she now occupies in the councils of Europe. It is within this circle that the grandeur of the British Empire is comprised.”

BARON VON HÜBNER seems to have taken special pains to acquaint himself with the situation in South Africa. He declares that nothing struck him so much as the discouragement he found prevailing there, occasioned, he says, not by the embarrassments of every kind, the difficulties and dangers, evident if not imminent, which have accumulated on African soil, but by the uncertainties which hang over the supreme conduct of affairs, the natural result of the absence of any dominant, and, so to speak, unchangeable idea or plan. His view is exactly that which was expressed in these columns a few months ago, when we wrote, “It is fairly easy to throw away South Africa, and our escapades during the last five years have given us a good idea of how it may be done. But it is far easier to keep it, if only we could make up our minds and not change them for the next five years.” Continuity and firmness in pursuing a sound policy is what is needed instead of incessant vacillation.

THE question is, What is the sound policy which should be pursued? BARON VON HÜBNER says it will be necessary to choose between three courses. “The first is, to keep and consolidate present possessions. The second is to extend those possessions *ad infinitum*, or to some imaginary or natural limit, paying regard only to the Colonies of other European nations, and thus to make an Indian Africa ; the third is to evacuate this part of the continent, except the Cape of Good Hope, or such other point on the southern coast as might serve for a harbour of refuge and a coaling station.”

AFTER touching upon the population question, and expressing a distinct opinion to the effect that the Mother Country should keep the government of the native races in her own hands, he says, “But the political question—that which I have touched upon above, namely, expansion, the *status quo*, abandonment, or confederation—is paramount to all the rest.”

MR. F. FAITHFULL BEGG, in addressing a meeting of working men the other day in Edinburgh, remarked that Imperial Federation was a question of the utmost importance, especially to working men. He urged the artisans whom he addressed, if they had not already given their minds to the study of the question, particularly as it related to local government, to do so without delay. MR. BEGG’S excellent advice we would commend to working men throughout the Empire, and, in doing so, would invite them, when they have studied the subject, to communicate their ideas to us. This great question is one which vitally concerns all who are engaged in industrial occupations and trade, their future welfare in its highest earthly form being, we are profoundly convinced, bound up in it. We take this opportunity of saying, that we shall be pleased to supply working men’s clubs regularly with a copy of this journal if they will apply for it.

FEDERATION, both commercial and political, has been recognised by the London Chamber of Commerce as the great factor in the development in the future of the British Empire, and is doing not a little to promote it. At its approaching conference in July, the questions to be discussed have been selected from a considerable number suggested

by each Chamber, and the final choice has been made by a committee of organisation, of the following seven topics as those most generally interesting :—

1st. Emigration.—Considered more especially from the point of view of diverting the stream of emigrants to British Colonies rather than to countries where the consumption of Anglo-Colonial produce is interfered with by fiscal arrangements. Opener, MR. J. G. COLMER, secretary to Canadian High Commissioner.

2nd. Postal and Telegraphic Reform.—Consideration of the possibility of an Anglo-Colonial Penny Postage Union, extension of the telegraph system, reduction of rates, neutralisation of cables, etc. Opener, MR. J. F. HUTTON, M.P.

3rd. Imperial Federation.—Consideration of how best to bring about the adoption of a practical working scheme for the Federation of the British Empire.

4th. Codification and Assimilation of the Commercial Law of the British Empire.—Considered more particularly from the point of view of assimilating the commercial law and usages of the Empire. Opener, PROFESSOR LEONE LEVI.

5th. State Guarantee of War Risks.—As affecting the security of Anglo-Colonial trade and of vessels and cargoes under the British flag in time of war. Opener, MR. G. BADEN POWELL, C.M.G., M.P.

6. The Silver Question.

7th. The Bills of Lading Reform. Opener, MR. J. MACANDREW.

THE exceedingly interesting, scholarly, and able paper read by SIR GEORGE BOWEN, Governor of Hong Kong, before the members of the Royal Colonial Institute on the 15th ult., we are able to give our readers verbatim in the present impression. The paper and the discussion which followed have already, without doubt, helped our rapidly advancing cause. The Bishop of Derry rightly insisted that "we had a moral Federation in a common literature, common interests, a common Throne." ADMIRAL SIR COOPER KEY was convinced that when the Colonies distinctly declared for Federation, "the Home Government would be willing to do immediately whatever would tend to strengthen and consolidate the Empire." CAPTAIN COLOMB pointed out that "the ignorance of the masses of this country acting on the House of Commons" produced friction between the Mother Country and the Colonies, which tended to retard Federation. He instanced the way in which the offer by Victoria of ships of war was met by the Colonial Minister, and the fact that England was doing her best to thwart Canada in the establishment of a line of steamers which would add to the defence of the Empire, as illustrations of what he meant. SIR J. HALL (the first Governor of New Zealand) spoke upon the "dissatisfaction felt in the Australian Colonies with the conduct of the Home Government in their dealing with the seizure by France and other Powers of islands and places which were of the first importance to the Colonists." The MARQUIS OF LORNE said they "ought to keep well before the Government the necessity of conceding to Canada her desire with regard to the establishment of a line of steamers for postal service, capable of being turned into armed cruisers at a short notice, and also there ought to be no delay in settling the New Hebrides question on the lines advocated by the Colonies."

* * SUBSCRIPTIONS to the JOURNAL are now taken from July, 1886, to December, or, for twelve months from date, at the option of the subscriber. A few copies of the first three numbers can still be had on application, Price, 6d. each; or by post, 7d.

THE FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

A Paper read at the Monthly Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, June, 1886.

By SIR GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, G.C.M.G., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., and sometime Fellow of Brasenose College.

I AM glad that an opportunity has been offered me to read this evening, before the Royal Colonial Institute, a paper on the proposed future Federation of the British Empire—a grand subject, which of late has attracted the attention of many men of light and leading in all political parties. I shall follow mainly the lines of a letter which, several months ago, I addressed on this question to my lamented friend, the late Mr. W. E. Forster, in whom the cause of Imperial Federation has lost a tower of strength. In his reply—one of the last letters which he wrote before his fatal illness—he expressed his concurrence with my views, and encouraged me to throw into the cause what he was pleased to style "the weight of my unmatched experience in Colonial administration." I regard this encouragement as a voice from the grave of the departed statesman. Mr. Forster knew that I have served in important posts in the Colonies for more than thirty years. I was for several years (1854-9) Chief Secretary of Government in the Ionian Islands, while under the British Protectorate, and when Corfu was the principal *place d'armes* and *point d'appui* of England in the Levant during the Crimean War. Next, I was (1859-68) the first Governor of the new Colony of Queensland, which I organised from small beginnings (which have now risen to a noble growth), almost in the character of what the old Greeks called an *Ækist* (*Οἰκιστής*). The first Lord Lytton, who, while Secretary of State for the Colonies, had promoted me from Corfu to Queensland, wrote to me some years later as follows:—"It is, indeed, a grand thing to have been the founder of the social state of so mighty a segment of the globe as Queensland; and is, perhaps, more sure of fame, a thousand years hence, than anything that we can do in the old world. It is carving your name on the rind of a young tree, to be found with enlarged letters as the trunk expands."

After Queensland, I was, from 1868 to 1873, Governor of New Zealand, "the Great Britain of the South," where the Maori War, which had virtually lasted for ten years (1860-70), was brought to a close under my auspices. Next I became (1873-9) Governor of Victoria, the most active, populous, and progressive of the Australian Colonies, which passed safely during my administration through a severe political crisis. Next, I was Governor of Mauritius (1879-83); in which beautiful island, as in Canada, English is blended with French colonisation, and where there were many embarrassing questions, but where I left all races and classes in amity and contentment. In 1883, I had intended to retire after thirty years' service, when it was proposed to me to undertake the government of Hong-Kong, "The Malta of the Far East," where serious difficulties of various kinds required the care of an experienced and conciliatory Governor. In three years I have, by general agreement, established harmony and efficiency in that Government, together with friendly relations, personally and officially, with the leading actors of all nations in the historical drama lately played in that part of the world. So I had obtained leave to return to England on medical certificate in the March of last year. But Hong-Kong, as a first-class naval and military station, and as a mart of commerce second in importance only to London and Liverpool (for the tonnage of the shipping which annually enters its port already exceeds 5¼ millions), is the centre of British power and influence in that quarter of the globe, which contains one-fourth of the entire human race: and the manifold and increasing embarrassments consequent on the Franco-Chinese hostilities, and on the threatened war with Russia, together with the grave international questions which were constantly arising, made me feel that it was my duty to remain at my post, at whatever risk of health, and at whatever sacrifice of personal convenience. The then Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) signified officially his "high appreciation of the public spirit which led me to this decision." Throughout the recent complications in China, my position was often arduous, but I succeeded in maintaining British rights and neutrality, and, at the same time, in preserving friendly relations with the belligerent Powers. When peace was restored, my leave of absence was renewed, and the late Secretary of State (Sir F. Stanley) addressed the Acting-Governor in the following terms: "I have pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity of expressing my sense of the energy and ability with which Sir George Bowen has devoted himself to the administration of the important Government of Hong-Kong."

I have mentioned the above facts simply to show that my opinion on Colonial affairs—whatever it may be worth—is, at least, based on long and varied experience in the administration of both Crown and self-governing Colonies; for I have been Governor during more than twenty-six years of Colonies of both classes.

Without further preface, I proceed to state that I adopt in substance Mr. Forster's definition of

THE MEANING AND OBJECT OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION, viz., such a Union of the Mother Country with her Colonies as will keep the British Empire one State in relation to other States, through the agency of (1), an organisation for the common defence, and (2), a joint foreign policy. It is true that we have already a Moral Federation, in our common loyalty to the Throne, in our common language and literature, in our glorious national memories of the past, and our still more glorious hopes for the future. Nevertheless, if I am asked, Why not, then, leave well alone? I must reply with Mr. Forster that the self-government already established in the chief Colonies may ultimately end in separation, if there be no common organisation with the Imperial Government.

And here I would observe that on an occasion like the present, time and space are necessarily limited. I can do little more to-night than lay down certain general principles and conclusions: it is impossible to cite elaborate statistics or to produce detailed reasons in support of those principles and conclusions. I would, therefore, refer to the full and able statements, arguments, and illustrations, which are to be found in the published articles and speeches on this question, more especially of the Marquis of Lorne, the Earl of Rosebery, and Mr. Forster—many of which have been reprinted in the Transactions of this Institute and by the Federation League; and to Mr. Froude's recent charming and instructive book styled "Oceana."

I will now proceed to lay before you a few general observations. It is a profound maxim of Aristotle (Politics, v. 4.), that "Revolutions arise from great causes, but out of small incidents."¹ So an old and very able friend, the late Mr. Herman Merivale, in discussing the probable duration of the British Empire, observes that we cannot count certainly on the permanence of common interests, or of friendly tempers.² He refers moreover, to the famous passage of Sophocles, to the effect that, "As the wealth of earth and the flower of human strength fade, so decay leagues and alliances":—

"And what if now at Thebes all things run smooth
And well towards thee, Time, in myriad change,
A myriad nights and days brings forth; and thus
In these, for some slight cause, they yet may spurn
In battle all their pledge of loyalty."³

Thus, if provision is not made in due course for some form of Federation at a future period, if the Empire is simply left to "drift" on the waves of Time, some "slight cause," some small and unforeseen incident, may not improbably one day precipitate an angry disruption. It has been stated on high authority that the decision to maintain the tea duty, which was the immediate cause of the loss of the American Colonies in the last century, was carried by a majority of only one vote in the Cabinet. Other similar examples might be cited. The American Union would have been broken up on more than one occasion during the last hundred years if it had not been held together by Federal bonds, "strong as iron but light as air," forged by the far-seeing patriotism of Washington, Hamilton, and the other founders of the constitution. We in Great Britain, and our countrymen and fellow-subjects in the Greater Britain, should now prepare to do likewise, by stimulating and organising public opinion in favour of a closer union hereafter.

There is one

PRINCIPLE OF FIRST IMPORTANCE

which should never be forgotten, viz., that the advance towards Federation should proceed primarily from the Colonies; and that no change should be made in the existing system without their previous and full consent. While I consider that the creation of a Consultative Council at the Colonial Office, composed mainly of the Agents-General of the self-governing Provinces of the Empire, such as Earl Grey and the Marquis of Lorne, Mr. Forster, and other men of weight and experience have advocated, ought to be established, *if the Colonies should ask for it*—certainly not otherwise—I also hold with them that this should be regarded as a first and provisional step towards a scheme of Imperial Federation. Such a Federation, somewhat on the lines of the Federal systems of Germany and of the United States, will probably become imperative at a future period, if the British Empire is to be held together permanently. Already there are ten millions of people of European race in our Colonies; and some fifty years hence the British Crown will have as many—a hundred years hence it will have far more white subjects (I do not now take into account the coloured millions of India), in the Colonies, than in the United Kingdom. It is incredible that Australasia and Canada, as they will be fifty

years hence, probably much sooner, will consent to share the expense of the Imperial Army and Navy, and of the Diplomatic and Consular Services, &c., or will allow themselves to be dragged into foreign wars, unless they have a voice in some kind of Imperial Council or Federal Assembly, analogous to the Congress of the United States, and to the Reichstag of United Germany. It will be recollected that Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations," strongly urged the admission of representatives from the old American Colonies into the British Parliament. And at the present time, all the French, Spanish, and Portuguese Colonies send representatives to the National Legislatures at Paris, Madrid, and Lisbon respectively. England is the only colonising nation which still excludes her Colonists from all voice in the national councils. Such a measure as that recommended by Adam Smith would have prevented the separation of the United States in the last century: but it would now have to be modified in form, though not in principle; for England, Ireland, Scotland, Australasia, Canada, the Cape, and the other chief Provinces of the Empire, would, each and all, not be content at the present day without local self-government and legislation for their local and municipal affairs. The future Imperial (or Federal) Council at London, as at Berlin and Washington, would, of course, deal only with Imperial (or Federal) matters, viz., the Revenue to be raised for Imperial purposes, the Imperial Civil and Diplomatic Services, the Army and Navy, War and Peace, and the like; while the local Parliaments in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the several Colonies, would deal with the local matters dealt with by the State Legislatures in America, and by the Diets of the several States in Germany.

Mr. Stuart Mill, in his "Considerations on Representative Government" (chapter xvii.), pointed out that Federal Governments, to be successful and permanent, should be

REAL FEDERATIONS,

like the Federal Governments of the United States and of Germany at the present day, and not like the imperfect Federal Governments of the United States between the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and the adoption of the new Constitution in 1789; or the German Confederation (*Bund*) between 1815 and 1867. "In America, the experiment of an imperfect Federation broke down in the first years of its existence, happily while the men of enlarged knowledge and acquired ascendancy, who founded the independence of the Republic, were still alive to guide it through the difficult transition. 'The Federalist,' a collection of papers by three of these eminent men, written in explanation and defence of the new Federal Constitution while still awaiting the national acceptance, is even now the most instructive treatise we possess on Federal Government. In Germany, the more imperfect kind of Federation did not even answer the purpose of maintaining an alliance." In a word, a successful Federation must be not merely a Federation of Governments, but it must have a central and representative Federal Executive and Legislature.

Again, it has been truly observed by an eminent foreign writer that the instinct of the Germanic nations leads them to respect local self-government, and, therefore, to establish Federation for the preservation of national unity: as we see in the examples of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in the Swiss Confederation, and in the German Empire. On the other hand, it is the instinct of the Latin nations to centralise their administration; as we see in the examples of France, Spain, and Italy. As the English language is composed partly of Germanic and partly of Latin elements, so the English constitution combines Germanic local autonomy with Latin centralisation. The time will certainly arrive in our national history when it will become necessary to strengthen the Germanic principle of local self-government, and, at the same time, the Latin principle of a powerful central Executive Government and Legislature, based on the Federal system.

It may here be remarked that one powerful argument in favour of Imperial Federation is that the existing House of Commons would thus be relieved from the intolerable and increasing burden of affairs which threatens to break down its machinery. The most obvious remedy would appear to be the division of the work, in the manner now suggested, into Imperial and Local.

Another strong argument is that Imperial Federation is regarded by many competent judges as the system that would render best and safest alike for Irishmen and for the Empire at large, the concession, which, after recent events, will probably, sooner or later, become inevitable, of some measure of local autonomy for Ireland. I need scarcely assure you that nothing can be further from my intention than to infringe the wise rule of this Institute, which forbids the introduction into our discussions here of the party politics of the day. But the question of Imperial Federation, which necessarily includes Ireland, is beyond and above all mere party politics. I will observe, therefore, that it is contended that Federation would have the effect of practically obviating the

CONSTITUTIONAL AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES

raised respecting (1) the control of the National troops in

¹ Γίγνεται μὲν αὖν αἱ στάσεις αὐτῶν ἐκ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν· στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων.

² See the Appendix to Merivale's "Colonisation and Colonies." Mr. Merivale was professor of Political Economy at Oxford, and afterwards, during many years, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and subsequently for India.

³ καὶ τοῖσι θύβας εἰ τανὺν ἐνημερεῖ
καλῶς τὰ πρὸς σέ, μύριας ὁ μύριος
χρόνος τεκναῖται νύκτας ἡμέρας τ' ἰών,
ἐν αἷς τὰ νῦν ἐν μύφῳνα δεξιομάτα
δῶρει διασκέδασιν ἐκ σμικροῦ λόγον.

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Ireland; (2) The proposed removal of the Irish Representatives from Westminster. For—

(1). Under the Federal system, the chief towns and fortresses, and the main strategical positions in Ireland, would continue to be held by Imperial (or Federal) troops, under the direct command, not of the local, but of the Imperial authorities; just as is now the case in the Southern United States and in Germany, in Virginia and Louisiana, in Saxony and Baden. And the entire moral and material weight of the Empire, not only of England and Scotland, but also of Canada and Australasia, would be against secession or grave disorder in Ireland.

(2). Under the Federal system, Ireland would be adequately represented in the new Federal Council, which would deal with all questions of an Imperial nature.

It has been observed, on very high authority, that there are two marked differences between our existing relations with Ireland on the one part, and with the self-governing Colonies on the other part.

(a). Ireland has, what the Colonies have not, her voice in the Foreign policy, and her share in the common defence of the Empire.

(b). But Ireland has not, what the self-governing Colonies have, full control over her own internal administration, over what Irishmen call "Dublin Castle."

It is obvious that under the system of Imperial Federation Ireland would retain her voice in Imperial policy, and exercise, at the same time, full control over her local affairs. Meanwhile, I may be permitted to remark that if Irishmen do not altogether govern themselves at home, they may derive some consolation from the fact that they have long governed a great part of the rest of the world. Throughout the present century there have been not only

IRISH PRIME MINISTERS,

chancellors, statesmen, ambassadors, judges, admirals, generals, and other high functionaries in England, but a very large proportion of our Colonial and Indian Governors have been Irishmen. At the beginning of the present century the two Irish brothers Wellesley, the one with his head and pen, the other (the future Duke of Wellington), with his hand and sword, consolidated our Indian empire; which after having been ruled by two Irish viceroys, Lords Mayo and Lawrence, is now splendidly administered by another illustrious Irishman (the Earl of Dufferin), with an Irishman (Sir F. Roberts) as his Commander-in-Chief. So it has been with our Colonial Governments. A few years ago it was remarked that the four chief Provinces of the Empire were then governed by four Irishmen—India by Lord Mayo, Canada by Lord Dufferin, Victoria by Sir George Bowen, and New South Wales by Sir Hercules Robinson. I recollect that it was once alleged at a public dinner in Australia that, at that period, there was only one great Colony governed by an Englishman, and that this fortunate English Governor had had three wives—all Irishwomen! Seriously, need I refer further to Lord Wolseley, and to the many other Irishmen who are now serving their country by land and sea all over the world? Imperial Federation would preserve for Irishmen a noble career in the service of that mighty Empire which they have powerfully helped to create, to extend, and to consolidate.

To return from this digression; it will be remembered that Edmund Burke was in favour of the principle of Adam Smith's proposal that the American Colonies should send representatives to the British Parliament, but that he contended that it was not then feasible, on account of the absence of all

FACILITIES FOR COMMUNICATION WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, America was distant, in point of time, at least three or four months from England. In fact, replies to letters were often not received in less than half a year. But now, at the end of the nineteenth century, time and space have been reduced by steam and by the electric telegraph to comparatively narrow dimensions. It is already, in 1886, very much easier to reach London from Montreal or Melbourne, than it was to reach London from Sutherland at the time of the Union with Scotland, or from Donegal at the time of the Union with Ireland. Indeed, not to mention the many unavoidable dangers and delays, at those periods it was simply impossible for any delicate or elderly man to undertake at all such wearisome and perilous journeys. But now any person may go on board a magnificent steamer, not inaptly called a "floating palace," in Canada or Australasia, and thus reach England after a short voyage, without either fatigue or peril. Again, a member of the proposed Imperial Congress in London could ascertain the wishes and views of his constituents in Canada or Australasia by telegraph in a few hours; while all important events that occur in Europe are read the next morning at every breakfast table in Wellington and Sydney, in Melbourne and Montreal, in Capetown and Hongkong; so no valid objection to the scheme of Imperial Federation can now be raised on the ground of distance or of the difficulty of communication.

An eminent Irish politician and author once remarked to me that he wondered why the English Conservatives do not, in

their own interest, advocate "Home Rule" for England. He argued that, if there were a "Home Rule" Parliament for England proper, as there is for Canada and Prussia, for Victoria and Bavaria, then the English Conservatives might maintain, for a long and indefinite period, the Church Establishment, the House of Lords, the present system of County government, and the other institutions to which they are attached, but which will probably ere long be abolished, or radically altered, in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, by Scotch and Irish joining the English Radicals. I have found that this argument made some impression on certain of my friends among leading English Conservatives. But it is to be feared that the majority of the present generation will be reluctant to give up any of the powers of the existing so-called Imperial Parliament; although most thinking men, who have studied the question in all its bearings, will come to the conclusion that the permanent maintenance of the British Empire cannot be secured hereafter without

A REAL IMPERIAL COUNCIL,

representing, in fair proportions, all the chief Provinces of the Empire, and corresponding, in some degree, to the Congress at Washington and to the Reichstag at Berlin. Those who persist in adhering to Great Britain alone, must expect to lose in the next century the Greater Britain, and to see the Venerable Mother of many powerful States of the future, herself reduced to a rank and influence among nations not greater than the rank and influence now possessed by Spain. Those, on the contrary, who desire that their descendants should retain the position won by their forefathers, will agree that, in the British, as in the German Empire, there must be an expansion of the Constitution, so as to embody the principles (in the phrase of Lord Beaconsfield) alike of *Imperium* and of *Libertas*; that is, Imperial control in matters of Imperial interest, and local self-government in matters of local interest. The author of "The Expansion of England" (a book which should be studied by every Englishman in every part of the Empire) remarks that England "has at the present moment the choice in her hands between two courses of action, the one of which may set her on the level with the greatest of the great States of the future; while the other will reduce her to a level of a purely European power, looking back, as Spain does now, to the great days when she pretended to be a World State."

I do not feel called upon to adduce, in this paper, arguments in support of the policy of maintaining

THE UNITY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

for, at the present day, there are few left who will venture to openly gainsay that policy. This was not always so. I well remember that, while I was Governor of New Zealand (1868—1873), an English politician was reported to have used language in Parliament to the effect that "the Colonies are so free that they can leave the Empire whenever they please." This speaker so little appreciated the real feeling of his countrymen in the Colonies that he imagined that they would regard his words as complimentary. Far from it: some of the leading men in New Zealand said to me at the time: "We should have considered it alike more patriotic and more complimentary, if we had been told that England would spend her last soldier and her last shilling to keep us in the Empire, as the Northern States told the Southern States during the War of the Secession." It should be recollected, moreover, that the maintenance of the Empire is not advocated either by Englishmen in the Colonies, or by Englishmen in that Mother Country which the emigrant and the native-born Colonist alike fondly call "Home," from vainglorious feelings of national pride, or only from calculations of commercial or other material advantages. In fact, recent events, such as the contingent sent from New South Wales to the Soudan, and similar spontaneous offers of aid from other Colonies, have proved that common danger does but tend to cement the union, and to give a fresh impulse to the common spirit of national brotherhood, and of common loyalty to the Crown, that golden link and symbol of national unity. The true explanation is that our Colonists themselves feel that the English Colonies are simply an expansion of England. A Colonist regards his Colony much as (for example) a Yorkshireman regards his county. He is ready to take his share of Imperial dangers, together with his share of Imperial privileges. Speaking in particular for that Australasia, which I know and love so well, in which I spent twenty of the best and happiest years of my life, I might say that the feelings to which I allude approach, in a large proportion of the Australasian Colonists, to "that *maladie du pays*, that passionate love of England," which an acute writer of extensive Colonial experience (the late Mr. Gibbon Wakefield) foretold, fifty years ago, would be the result of allowing Englishmen in the Colonies, like Englishmen at home, to manage in their own way their own local affairs.

If it be alleged in any quarter that Colonial loyalty is based on mere sentiment, I reply with Mr. Forster: "Well, sentiment has ruled the world since the world began; and, moreover, history informs us of this noteworthy fact, that wherever there is a deep and prevailing and powerful national sentiment, there are sure to be found strong economical and material grounds in its favour." It has been repeatedly shown that official statistics

prove that trade follows the flag; that our Colonies take per head of their population a far greater amount of British manufactures than any foreign countries; that our exports to foreign countries have largely decreased of late years, while our exports to the Colonies have largely increased. Assuredly, therefore, the sentiment which binds the Empire together is a sentiment of the highest practical and material value.

Another most important consideration should not be forgotten, viz., that there are few unprejudiced men who deny that the permanent consolidation of the British Empire would prove in the future

A POWERFUL AID TO THE PROGRESS OF CIVILISATION

throughout the world, and a strong guarantee for the preservation of peace and goodwill among nations. Moreover, a United British Empire would probably form a friendly alliance with the kindred and English-speaking Empire of the United States of America; and the world would thus see renewed in a *Pax Britannica* what Pliny styled the *Immensa Romanæ Pacis Majestas*.⁴

To sum up: I agree with those who believe that it would be expedient to attach to the Colonial Office in Downing-street a Council of the nature shadowed forth above, if the Colonies should themselves desire it. I agree also with those who think that it will become necessary at some period, more or less remote, to surrender the *quasi* Imperial rank of the existing Parliament of the United Kingdom for the sake of preserving the unity of the British Empire, and the present position of the English race in the face of the world; and to construct a truly Imperial Executive Government and Legislature. In my opinion, the members of the future Imperial Legislature should be elected not directly by the people, but rather (like the Senate at Washington) by the local Legislatures of the several Provinces (or States) of the Empire. This would appear to be the best method of securing for that Imperial Legislature the most practical intellects and the most experienced administrators of the whole Empire. It is, however, premature to discuss the details of any scheme of Imperial Federation, seeing that the public mind has yet to be educated up to the general recognition of the principle. For the present, at all events, we must aim at securing a concert among the several local Governments, rather than at the establishment of an Imperial Council.

I said above that I did not, in this paper, reckon India with the Colonies. That great dependency might be treated as still (so to speak) *in statu pupillari* to the Imperial Crown and Legislature. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe that it should be regarded as a Crown Colony on a grand scale, and that former members of the 'Supreme Council at Calcutta, including a certain proportion of Native Princes, should hereafter be delegated by that body, or selected by the Crown, to represent India in any new Imperial Council at London. It should be borne in mind that, with regard to the gradual communication of the chief rights of British citizens to the natives of India, there is the example of Rome. Cicero considered the liberality of the Romans in admitting foreign nations to the rights of Roman citizenship as the main cause of the rapid extension and consolidation of the Roman Empire.⁵

I have recently returned from a visit to India, as the guest of the present illustrious Viceroy, the Earl of Dufferin, whom, on his annexation of Burma, I saluted in the old Roman fashion as *Burmanicus*. From what I myself saw and learned, I believe that we have a just right to apply to the British Empire in India those noble verses in which the Roman poet Claudian described the Imperial policy of Rome:—

"Hæc est in gremio victos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris, non dominæ, ritu; civesque vocavit
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit."⁶

I am aware, of course, that this paper, which was originally written *currente calamo*, amid many interruptions, and a severe pressure of official work, contains but a very imperfect outline of the subject to which it refers. But it is the result of much thought, and, as Mr. Forster said, of unmatched personal experience in Colonial Administration. I know well the manifold difficulties which surround

THE SOLUTION OF THIS GRAND PROBLEM;

but, assuredly, those difficulties ought not to be beyond the powers of British Statesmanship. In the pregnant words of

Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations," book iv. chap. 7): "There is not the least probability that the British Constitution would be hurt by the union of Great Britain with her Colonies. That Constitution, on the contrary, would be completed by it, and seems to be imperfect without it. The Assembly which deliberates and decides concerning the affairs of every part of the Empire, ought certainly to have representatives from every part of it. That this union, however, could be easily effectuated, or that difficulties, and great difficulties, might not occur in the execution, I do not pretend. I have yet heard of none, however, which appear insurmountable. The principal, perhaps, arise, not from the nature of things, but from the prejudices and opinions of the people both on this and on the other side of the Atlantic." In the same spirit, Professor Seeley observes ("Expansion of England," p. 158): "The old Colonial system is gone. But in place of it no clear and reasoned system has been adopted. The wrong theory is given up, but what is the right theory? There is only one alternative. As the Colonies are not in the old phrase, *possessions* of England, they must be a part of England; and we must adopt this view in earnest. We must cease altogether to say that England is an island off the north-western coast of Europe, that it has an area of 120,000 square miles, and a population of thirty odd millions. We must cease to think that emigrants when they go to the Colonies, leave England, or are lost to England. We must cease to think that the history of England is the history of the Parliament that sits at Westminster, and that affairs which are not discussed there cannot belong to English history. When we have accustomed ourselves to contemplate the whole Empire together, and to call it all England, we shall see that here, too, is a United States. Here, too, is a great homogeneous people, one in blood, language, religion, and laws, but dispersed over a boundless space. We shall see that, though it is held together by strong moral ties, it has little that can be called a constitution, no system that seems capable of resisting any severe shock. But if we are disposed to doubt whether any system can be devised capable of holding together communities so distant from each other, then is the time to recollect the history of the United States of America. For they have such a system. They have solved this problem. They have shown that, in the present age of the world, political unions may exist on a vaster scale than was possible in former times. No doubt our problem has difficulties of its own, immense difficulties. But the greatest of these difficulties is one that we make ourselves. It is the false pre-conception which we bring to the question, that the problem is insoluble, that no such thing ever was done, or ever will be done; it is our misinterpretation of the American Revolution. From that Revolution we infer that all distant Colonies, sooner or later, secede from the Mother Country. We ought to infer only that they secede when they are held under the old Colonial system."

Those persons who still insist that the Federation of the British Empire is *impossible*, even hereafter and in the fulness of time, would do well to ponder on

THE STRIKING PRECEDENTS OF GERMANY AND AMERICA.

The Federal Constitution of the United States was long despaired of by its strongest advocates, and was not carried until 1789, thirteen years after the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Again, ten short years before the proclamation, in 1871, of the Federal Empire of Germany, before the victory of Sadowa and the capitulation of Sedan—that Empire which now throws its gigantic shadow across Europe, was generally regarded as a dream of a few patriotic enthusiasts.

Finally, thousands of those who recently witnessed the opening by the Queen-Empress of the Imperial Exhibition (as it may justly be called), which owes so much to the Prince of Wales, the President of this Institute, hoped and prayed that this grand national spectacle may prove a foreshadowing of permanent union and of future Imperial Federation. Thus we should be brought nearer to the prophetic vision of Burke, when "the Spirit of the English Constitution, infused through the mighty mass, shall pervade, vivify, unite, and invigorate every part of the Empire." In the words of the stirring appeal of our national poet:—

"Britain's myriad voices call,
Sons, be welded, one and all,
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul;
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne!
Britons, hold your own!
And God guard all!"

UNDER a Federal system the Colonies would be as independent, so far as their domestic affairs are concerned, as they are now, and they would be far more secure than they could hope to be if they were independent States. Moreover, as members of the greatest Empire in the world, they would be able to play a splendid part in the industrial and intellectual development of mankind. The movement appeals strongly to the imagination, and there can be little doubt that it would make much more rapid progress if it were enthusiastically supported by a larger number of our leading statesmen.—*The Graphic*.

⁴ Pliny, xxvii. § I.

⁵ "Illud vero sine ulla dubitatione maximè nostrum fundavit imperium, et populi Romani nomen auxit, quod princeps ille creator hujus urbis Romulus fœdere Sabino docuit, etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere; cuius auctoritate et exemplo nunquam est intermissa a majoribus nostris largitio et communicatio civitatis." (*Pro Balbo*, c. 13.) The liberality of the Romans in this respect was contrasted by Dionysius with the exclusiveness of the Greeks (*Ant. Rom.* ii. 17).

⁶ *De secundo Consulatu Stilichonis*, v. 150—153. Claudian (*Ibidem*, v. 154—159) speaks of the facilities of intercourse introduced by the Romans into their vast empire, partly by the maintenance of peace, and partly by their roads—a passage which has been reduced to sober truth by railways and steamers in the British Empire:—

"Hujus pacificis debemus moribus omnes
Quod veluti patriis regionibus utitur hospes,
Quod sedem mutare licet; quod cernere Thulen
Lusus, et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus;
Quod cuncti gens una sumus."

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

At a meeting of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, on May 28th, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—"That in view of the Conference arranged to take place on the 1st and 2nd of July, and of the Banquet fixed for the 3rd of July, any arrangements necessary in consequence of the death of the late Chairman, Mr. W. E. Forster, to fill the chair of the League, should be made as soon as possible.—That the constitution of the League should be so far altered that, in addition to the Chairmanship, a Vice-Chairmanship should be created; both officers to retire annually, but to be eligible for re-election. Elections to take place at the Annual General Meeting.—That supposing the General Committee to adopt the foregoing, Lord Rosebery be invited to become Chairman, and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., be invited to become Vice-Chairman of the League for the coming year."

It was further resolved, "That advantage be taken of the meeting of the General Committee to consider the propriety of raising a fitting memorial to the late Chairman."

The GENERAL COMMITTEE met at the Office of the League on June 3rd, when there were present Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B., M.P., in the chair; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Messrs T. H. Baylis, Q.C. (Liverpool Branch); H. T. Mackenzie Bell, S. Barker Booth, W. J. Browne, J. J. Butcher (Hon. Sec. Newcastle Branch), Lord Eustace G. Cecil, Sir Charles Clifford, Mr. Lionel Cohen, M.P.; Captain J. C. R. Colomb; Messrs. W. J. Courthope, T. Douglas, W. Sebright Green (Hon. Sec. Liverpool Branch); Sir H. T. Holland, Bart., M.P.; Messrs. F. P. Labillière (Harrow Branch), J. Stanley Little; Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart.; General Lowry, C.B.; Messrs. O. V. Morgan, M.P., S. V. Morgan; Captain Cecil Norton; Messrs. P. Redpath (Imperial Federation League in Canada), G. W. Rusden, H. Seton Karr, M.P. (Liverpool Branch); Sir F. V. Smith; Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P.; Professor G. G. Stokes (Cambridge Branch), Mr. A. Turnbull, Major G. de Winton; Messrs. W. Basil Worsfold, C. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P., James A. Youl, C.M.G., J. Dennistoun Wood (Hon. Treasurer), and Frederick Young.

The report of the Executive Committee—including the resolutions printed above—having been read, it was moved by Sir Henry Holland, "That the constitution of the League be so far altered that in addition to the Chairmanship a Vice-Chairmanship be created, both officers to retire annually, but to be eligible for re-election. That the Earl of Rosebery be invited to become Chairman, and the Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P., Vice-Chairman for the present year."

Sir Henry Holland alluded to Lord Rosebery's well-known views upon Imperial Federation, and to his speeches and writings in support of the principle; and pointed out how desirable it was to have statesmen of Cabinet rank in the position of chairman and vice-chairman, because when the chairman was called upon to hold office in a Cabinet he could not possibly give his time and attention to the work of the League; but if a vice-chairman of the opposite side in politics were appointed there would always be some one to take the chair; and he believed that two statesmen more fitted for the offices could not be found.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., and supported by Sir Henry Barkly, Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., Captain Colomb, and others. Several Colonial members of the Committee spoke in warm terms of the satisfaction which the appointment of Lord Rosebery would give in the Colonies, where his lordship's name was held in high estimation. The motion was adopted.

The Right Hon. E. Stanhope, in accepting the position of Vice-Chairman, said that nothing should be wanting on his part to fulfil the hopes which he had heard expressed on all sides that the appointment of a new chairman and vice-chairman would give a spur to the active work of the League. He drew attention to the fact that much was now being done to promote the cause of Imperial Federation, and that rapid strides had been made in the last month, both by bringing the subject to the front by lectures and papers, and by the accession of numbers.

Lord Eustace Cecil then moved—"That active measures be forthwith taken to raise up a worthy memorial to our late lamented Chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, in the form which will most effectually carry out the object for which he would chiefly have cared to live. That the following gentlemen be requested to form a committee to give effect to this resolution:—The Chairman and Vice-chairman of the League, Alderman Sir Robert Fowler, Bart., M.P., Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., and Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G." In seconding the resolution Captain Colomb took occasion to

mention that the Chairman of the meeting, Sir Thomas Brassey, had generously undertaken to contribute the sum of £50 a month for ten months, in order to enable the League to take full advantage of the present exceptional opportunities of advancing the cause of Imperial Federation.

The resolution was carried, and the report of the Executive was approved.

The Chairman announced that His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge and Cardinal Manning were amongst those who had accepted invitations to the banquet, which is to be held at the Freemasons' Tavern on the 3rd of July to celebrate the Conference.

Since this meeting was held, Lord Rosebery has accepted the Chairmanship of the League.

The following gentlemen have been added to the General Committee:—Messrs. T. H. Barns (Birmingham), W. Bickford-Smith, M.P., William May, J. Horne Payne, Q.C., Edward Rawlings (Wimbledon), R. H. Lee Warner (Hereford), W. Basil Worsfold, the Earl of Fife, Messrs. P. H. Nind, N. Darnell Davis, and W. S. Turner—the three last-named being residents in British Guiana—and R. S. Cunningham.

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE will meet at the office of the League on the dates following:—Wednesday, July 14; Wednesday, July 28; Wednesday, August 11; at 2.45 p.m. on each occasion.

DUDLEY.—The *Dudley Herald* of June 8th says:—"The movement towards Imperial Federation gathers apace. The current of political feeling which tends in this direction is rapidly widening its borders, and if we may give heed to the announcement in another column some few of our townsmen appear to have been drawn into the stream. It is proposed to form in Dudley a branch society of the Imperial Federation League, and if the response to the invitation be equal to the impulse which the question has elsewhere recently received, we may calculate with sufficient certainty that ere long Dudley will be well represented. It is known that federation with our Colonies was a favourite scheme with the late Lord Beaconsfield, who, had he lived, would doubtless have given countenance to the new organisation. No more powerful move could be made to give permanence to, and to preserve the motherhood of this realm over its numerous dependencies. In this view we give our cordial support to the formation of a local league—as apart from party politics—with the hope that it may find its objects within attainable limits."

Mr. H. V. Mayer, who is taking the initiative in the formation of a Dudley branch, writes hopefully to the Secretary of the League of his having good success.

LONDON.—BALLOON SOCIETY.—On June 18th, Mr. J. Stanley Little lectured on "The United States of Britain," before the Balloon Society.

LONDON.—EXHIBITION CONFERENCE.—There was a large and distinguished gathering in the Conference Room at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, on May 28th, to hear a paper prepared and read by Mr. F. P. Labillière on "Imperial Federation." The Duke of Manchester was in the chair, and was supported by Sir H. Barkly, K.C.B., Sir Charles Mitchell, K.C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary for Natal), Sir T. Fowell Buxton, and representatives of many of the Colonies.

LONDON, KENSINGTON.—At a meeting of friends of Federation at the house of Mr. J. Horne Payne, Q.C., on the 5th inst. the following resolution was proposed by Dr. W. Culver James, and seconded by the Rev. Edwin A. Wood:—"That a Branch of the Imperial Federation League be formed at Kensington." The resolution was carried unanimously. It was also proposed by Dr. Culver James, seconded by Captain Cecil Norton, and carried, "That the gentlemen present form the Committee of the Branch, with power to add to their number." The gentlemen present were Colonel P. R. Innes, Drs. Culver James and W. H. Lamb, Colonel A. Moncrieff, C.B., Mr. J. M. Ludlow, Mr. Freeman Murray, Captain Cecil Norton, and the Rev. Edwin A. Wood. Mr. Freeman Murray, through whose exertions the Branch has been formed, was appointed Secretary. Another meeting will be held shortly to appoint other officers, and settle subscriptions, etc. The Kensington Branch has our best wishes for its success and usefulness.

LONDON.—ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.—At the monthly meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, held on Tuesday, June 15th, a paper was read on "The Federation of the British Empire," by Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G., Governor of Hong-Kong. This important and able paper we publish *in extenso* in the present issue.

LONDON.—UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION.—The theatre of the United Service Institution was packed on the afternoon of May 31st with a very distinguished audience, to hear a paper by Captain Colomb on "Imperial Federation, Naval and Military." The Duke of Cambridge presided, and the audience included the Prince of Wales, Prince Louis of Battenberg, Lord Chelmsford, Lord Charles Beresford, M.P., General Sir Beauchamp Walker, General Sir Gerald Graham, Mr. W. H.

Smith, M.P., Admiral Sir Cooper Key, General Sir D. Lysons, Sir S. Samuel, Admiral Sir L. M'Clintock, Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P., General Hope, General Erskine, Colonel Lumley Graham, Sir Alexander Stuart (late Prime Minister of Victoria), Mr. Frederick Young (Colonial Institute), and General Sir Andrew Clarke.

A part of this very able paper we give elsewhere, not having space available for the whole; the remainder will appear in our next issue.

LONDON, WESTMINSTER.—On May 24th, at a meeting of the Westminster Debating Society, Mr. Herman Lescher moved "That Imperial Federation has by recent events become a question of the most pressing importance, upon the satisfactory settlement of which depend the preservation and the future of the British Empire." A very spirited debate followed, which was at length adjourned to May 31st, when it closed, the motion being carried by a very large and enthusiastic majority.

OXFORD.—A letter has been received from Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.A., of New College, Oxford, in which the writer says:—"I have the pleasure to inform you that at a meeting held in this college yesterday, Professor Montagu Burrows in the chair, it was unanimously resolved to constitute a Branch of the Imperial Federation League in this university. There are already a considerable number of members of the League here, and it is expected that the Branch, now fairly constituted, will receive large 'accessions of numbers before long.' Mr. Marriott was himself elected Secretary, with Mr. E. A. Nepean, University College, and Mr. J. McGregor, Oriol College, Assistant Secretaries. Professor Napier, M.A., was elected Treasurer. The aforesaid gentlemen, together with Mr. W. L. Courtney, M.A., New College, Mr. P. Lyttleton Gell, M.A., Balliol College, and Mr. S. Alexander, of Lincoln College, constitute the Executive Committee. It is a matter for much satisfaction that Oxford has now a Branch of the League which promises so well.

MR. J. STANLEY LITTLE ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

AT a meeting of the Balloon Society of Great Britain, on Friday, the 18th ult., Mr. Frederick Young in the chair, a lecture was delivered on Federal Unity by MR. J. STANLEY LITTLE. There was a large and enthusiastic audience, and the following gentlemen among others, were present, M. de Fournville, Capt. Colomb, Mr. Labilliere, Mr. Rider Haggard, Major Leslie, Mr. Haddon Chambers, Mr. Pike, Mr. W. R. Merritt, Capt. Wilson. Mr. Le Fevre in introducing Mr. Young said, that in a very large sense that gentleman might be regarded as the father of Imperial Federation.

MR. YOUNG spoke of the earnest and persistent efforts which he had made in the cause of Federation, and he in a few graceful words, made the lecturer known to the audience as one who had studied the subject in its fullest details, and from his knowledge of the subject was well able to treat upon the whole question. He added that if the British Empire was to maintain her greatness, it must be by Imperial Federation.

MR. J. STANLEY LITTLE then proceeded to deliver his lecture. He said: the permanence of the British Empire was a question which affected the well-being and vital interest of every member born, or to be born of the great human family. The Manchester school of insularists was happily dead and decently buried, and it was now coming to be understood and accepted by all parties, that the unity of the Empire was far too important a matter to be sacrificed on the altar of party politics, it was beyond and above all these petty divisions. The infinite pre-eminence of the English Colonies over all other Colonies, was attributed in the main to the daring spirit and adventurous courage of the English people; the love of braving danger in a great and good cause is the heritage of our race, and characterised all the races whose coalescence had created us. An Englishman was an adventurer in every fibre of his nature, or he was none at all. "Who have dared to pierce the mysteries of nature, and to lay bare her most zealously guarded secrets as our men of science have dared, who have dared to raise the standard against intolerance or persecution, be it from king, priest, or noble, as Englishmen have dared, and where have men ventured into those empyrean heights where they have sat enthroned beside the maker and giver of all things, as our poets have ventured? Englishmen in plenty have always been ready to lead or to follow in the serried ranks of the forlorn hope, and through good and evil report, heedless of misrepresentation and calumny they have brought those causes to a triumphant issue, or have perished in the attempt. The spirit which counts life but a small thing to throw upon a die made England and the Empire, and the same dauntless and irrepressible courage sustains them."

Fortifying himself with an array of overwhelmingly conclusive figures the lecturer proceeded to demonstrate the interest and value of the British Empire from every point of view—climate, resources—area, population, and trade. The reason the trade follows the flag was because the commerce of a nation looks to its navy to protect it. At this time the Colonies were more loyal to England than she to herself. If we neglect and snub them we shall turn their love to hatred. The issue was now clear and distinct, Federation or Disintegration. He traced the growth of the Colonial demand for a larger share in the councils of the Empire, the growth of the Federal idea in England, and he clearly defined its meaning and objects. For many years its advocates were looked upon "as fantastic dreamers evolving poetic utopias for the delectation of super-refined minds."

The objectors now took the *non possumus* line of argument, but Mr. Stanley Little contended that difficulties were only made to overcome, and he cited a whole string of difficulties which Englishmen have surmounted. He proceeded to dispute the positions taken up by Mr. Froude and Lord Derby, and in dealing with this part of the question he dwelt on the utter inadequacy of our defensive forces, the position being thus:—England can't afford to pay more, the Colonists say we cannot pay for that in which we are allowed no voice. Imperial Federation would scotch both these snakes of discontent. The actual loss to England and her Colonies respectively, consequent upon disruption—the economic gain arising from a real union—were emphasised—the disintegration of the Empire would be national suicide, in the face of the prevailing tendency to centralisation on the part of other allied peoples. The necessity of adjusting the requirements of land to those of labour, and *vice versa*, was supplemented by the statement that England *per se* was no longer a rich nation. The lecturer was of the opinion that a United British Empire would become a crucible in which all the nations of the earth would ultimately blend into one people. Threshing out the subject of Imperial defence, he went on to speak of Imperial reciprocity (for which he made a fervid appeal), and upon Colonisation and the utilisation of Crown lands. In deploring the many bangles and constant shortness of vision of the Colonial authorities, Mr. Stanley Little contended that many of these things were done rather than offend "certain jaundiced theorists with addled brains and perverted consciences." In speaking of these mistakes in South Africa and Canada, the lecturer alluded to the New Hebrides and to New Guinea, in which last matter the Australasians regarded "our pusillanimity with a kind of pitying contempt; and the poor feeble snub we tried to give them, they returned in that spirit of revenge for which they had the highest authority. They returned good for evil. They have shown us their opinion of our weak-kneed parsimony by sending the pick of their manhood to fight side by side with our soldiers in the Sudan." The population question was next touched upon, and a scheme of pauper farms was advocated on philanthropic, economic, and self-defensive grounds. We cannot kill socialism in any other way; for to contend that the misery of the poor is due to their own selfishness and vice, is easily answered by the poor in the *tu quoque* manner. Is it not to clever duplicity, and to selfish cunning in profiting by the industry of others that the wealth of our prosperous classes is due? This was followed by a series of ingenious arguments to prove that pauper classes were the detritus, so to speak, arising from the terrible friction involved in the creation of the Empire, and as such they had a first claim on the fruits of that Empire. He went on to show how the present Imperial Parliament was only the *caput mortuum* of an assembly which had outgrown its uses, and he deprecated any tentative measure of Imperial reform, advocating the institution of a real Imperial Parliament on an equitable basis, the proportion of delegates to be rearranged with every census taken. The lecturer concluded with a stirring appeal to his hearers on the grounds of sentiment. "It is," said he, "to sentiment—this passionate sentiment of common kindred and country—I appeal to-night. I appeal to you all to see to it, that the grand heritage which has come down to you from your fathers shall be passed on unimpaired to your children." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

MAJOR LESLIE moved, and MR. PIKE seconded this resolution: "That in the opinion of this meeting the present moment was most opportune for pressing forward the important question of Imperial Federation for the full and fair consideration of the electors of the United Kingdom and those gentlemen now in this country who represent our vast Colonies and dependencies."

CAPTAIN COLOMB said although the lecturer had concluded his address with an appeal to sentiment, we must not forget that the "sentiment" of common interests would ultimately determine this question. The Empire had a sea-borne trade of £1,000,000,000 sterling annually, of which £400,000,000 never touched an English port, but was inter-Colonial trade. The absolute need of a common system of defence was emphasised in a stirring and brilliant speech. MR. LABILLIERE made a fervid appeal to the audience to come forward and give practical proof of the faith that was in them by joining and helping the League. Mr. Sangster, M. de Fournville, and Captain Wilson also spoke, and several members of the Balloon Society carried on a discussion which proved very interesting and animated, and in the end the resolution was carried unanimously. A vote of thanks to the lecturer, proposed by Mr. H. Rider Haggard, and seconded by Mr. W. R. Merritt, and a similar compliment to the Chairman, brought the meeting to a close.

COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.—At a conference on Wednesday, June 23rd, a paper was read by Mr. W. Lant Carpenter on "The Position of Science in Colonial Education." The Colonies to which Mr. Carpenter had directed his attention were—Canada generally; in South Africa, the Cape of Good Hope and Natal; Western and South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, New Zealand, and Tasmania, the last of which, unfortunately, was not represented at the present Exhibition. An account of the present condition of scientific education in each of these Colonies was given. As a general conclusion, Mr. Carpenter thought that the claims of science to a place in State-aided primary education were more fully recognised than in the Old Country, and this, not merely because it was the only foundation upon which a system of technological education could be securely built, but for its value in drawing out the minds of the pupils. There were many voluntary Colonial associations for the promotion of science, and Mr. Lant Carpenter suggested that the establishment of an Australian Association for the advancement of science, somewhat on the lines of the British and American Associations for similar purposes, might not be beyond the reach of practical scientists, and he was strongly of opinion that such a Federation would tend to strengthen "the position of science in Colonial education."

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

All who are interested in the movement can become members by sending in their names and One Shilling, as Registration Fee, which must be renewed year by year.

The annual subscription of members is One Guinea, and upwards, which entitles those who subscribe it to receive all the publications of the LEAGUE free.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1886.

FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS.

UNDER the above title the special number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION has been published during the past month, and we commend it to the attentive study of our readers. It is literally packed with articles by writers of first-class ability, some of whom have been specially qualified by long and varied experience in the public service to deal with the subjects they have taken up. In a very striking way, illustrated as it is by diagrams and map, it shows the extent, resources, and power of the British Empire. It reveals almost at a glance how great has been our progress since Her Majesty the Queen ascended the throne in 1837. During no previous reign has the country, using the term in the most comprehensive sense, made such progress; never was England so great and glorious as now. We sincerely and respectfully, and with sentiments of truest loyalty, congratulate our Sovereign upon having entered so auspiciously upon the fiftieth year of her reign, and trust that she will not only be permitted to conclude it, but many additional years. God save Queen and Country!

THE DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE.

THE unexceptional success of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition is a matter of gratulation to all loyal patriots, and to the Prince of Wales and Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen, to whom under any circumstances the highest praise was due, the plaudits accompanying the crown of bays must now be additionally accorded. It has been truly said that "low aim, not failure, is disgrace;" but here we have high aim and success also, and the populace, true to the time-honoured aphorism—"Nothing succeeds like success"—throw up their caps, and shout "Hurrah!"

It may be safely said that the Exhibition of 1886 has done more to educate the people, to bring them up to the great idea of Imperial unity, more to make them understand

the importance of Empire, than any amount of speeches, essays, newspaper articles, and the like. There is a certain sluggishness about the English character. True to their Germanic origin the English people are slow to perceive and to acclaim new truths, new facts. It is so in regard to their recognition of individual pre-eminence. A distinguished Colonist remarked a few days since, that the English people are not ungrateful nor unappreciative of the efforts of those men who devote their energies to serving them, but they require time for the expression of their approval. They demand that a man shall be well tried and well seasoned in their service before they will proclaim him; if he try to anticipate the recognition which he considers his due, they become restive, suspicious, and they end by casting that man forth from them. As with men, so it is with ideas, so it is with sentiments—indeed it is so throughout. This thought was forcibly impressed upon us during a visit to the Exhibition on the day succeeding the Bank Holiday. The great proletariat was there, with their uncles, their aunts, their cousins, and their wives. The band had been playing all kinds of music, for the most part of a very demotic character. Presently the familiar strains of "The Village Blacksmith" came in as a variant on Strauss's waltzes and the airs of Sullivan's popular operas. There was a great movement towards the band-kiosk. With open mouths and strained eyes, that old familiar melody was listened to, and when it was over, the cheering was such as to denote uncompromising approval. There are certain things which, as Lord Dundreary never tired of saying, "no fellow can understand," but this our new masters thoroughly understand. We might go on talking for ever about "the untilled fields across the seas," and lands which flow with milk and honey; the climate where consumption is unknown, the Colonies where a pauper like Eccles "doesn't exist," *et hoc genus omne*. We may bring a noble array of convincing figures, and dish them up with all the flowers of rhetoric, all the persuasiveness of eloquence, but the ears are closed, the minds are uninspired, all has fallen upon fallow soil. The people have played Banquo to the astonished Macbeths at the board of Imperialism, they have returned the suasive invitations to sit down and sup from the plenitude of Empire, with eyes lacking speculation, and with no appetite for these things. And yet what eyes the people have, when the scales are once removed, what appetites they have for new kinds of food, when you can once put their prejudices out of court, when you have once excited within them a new desire.

For years and years the great idea of Empire has fallen dead upon a people who have refused to "know their own greatness." The piper has piped never so alluringly; nobody came to dance, nobody heard the music; the poetry of it floated heavenward, unheard, over the heads of the masses. But like the sigh in the song, it has returned to earth, gaining in its downward flight, from the cold zenith-realms, a volume, a force, which echoes with "a mighty tumult of harmonies," erstwhile unheard, unknown, throughout the length and breadth of this great, this unsurpassed, Imperial realm of ours.

Pictures are among the greatest educators of the human family, because the eye epitomises all the other senses; and suggests them all. It is to the eye then that we Federationists have at length come as to our final court of appeal. From the jury of ocular demonstration the last verdict has been demanded, and the answer is conclusive and unanimous. At last, at last the dull mass is animated; at last the people have learned how they have wronged themselves; and neglected that bright inheritance created for them by the valour, by the heroism and the self denial of their fathers. We may hope that now they have learned their lesson they will make short work of that system of foible, fuss, and fumble, by which those in high places have befooled them of their just rights. The English people are slow to accept an idea, phlegmatic in repose, they are irrepensible in action. That, which to speak in Carlylese, would not march, has at last made a start, and the great democracy, yesterday supine, callous, and indifferent to all those great national concerns from which they imagined the broad ocean still divided them, are now inspired with a new idea. The great Imperial idea has possessed them, and it is running through them class by class with electric rapidity.

Is it too much to say that the year 1886 marks the birth year of a new era of progress, the British Empire and the British people, before which, in the extent and breadth of its future development, the achievements of the past will pale their ineffectual lights? That this is so, and that the Colonial Exhibition of 1886 has been the means to the end, is a belief to which nobody need fear to subscribe.

NOVA SCOTIA AND THE DOMINION CONFEDERATION.

AN example of the way in which self-interest, or supposed self-interest, may operate adversely to Federation, is found in what has been going on of late in Nova Scotia. Not long since the Legislature of the Province passed a resolution in favour of secession from the Dominion Confederation, and the recent elections show how strongly the secessionist feeling prevails among the people of the Province generally. The Maritime Provinces, it seems, have grievances which should have the immediate and sympathetic attention of the Dominion statesmen. They claim that under the existing protective policy they are forced to buy from Ontario and Quebec more commodities than they can advantageously sell to them. They assert that the New England States, England, and the West Indies are the proper outlet for their fish, timber, and timber products, together with their other exports. Before Confederation they say they possessed a trade with Great Britain giving large employment to their ships and sailors, but the present high duties have now precluded that trade. In like manner they are to a great extent excluded from New England, their best and nearest customer, because the Dominion has been unable to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States. From Jamaica, last year, four commissioners visited Ottawa to negotiate for a treaty admitting duty free to that island Canadian products in exchange for equal privileges for their sugar and fruit, but by some mistake these negotiations were suspended. The next general election for the Dominion will test the strength or weakness of the secession movement, but in the meantime the Federal Government will do well to adopt measures that will prove to their brethren by the sea that their commercial and other interests are not a matter of indifference to them. Of course IMPERIAL FEDERATION has no sympathy with the Nova Scotian secessionists as such, nor is it of opinion that the interests of Nova Scotia are not the interests of the Dominion generally. Quite the contrary, and we would remind Nova Scotians that their Province is already indebted to the Confederation for the Intercolonial Railway, and other advantages which ultimately must tell markedly in its favour. It is no small thing for the Province to be a member of the Canadian Confederation, and it will become a greater thing as time goes by. Let them have an eye to prospective as well as present advantages, and above all let them be chary of weakening their own position and that of the Confederate Provinces generally. Union is strength.

BUSINESS-LIKE ARRANGEMENTS.

"WEALTH and natural resources," said Captain Colomb in his interesting and valuable lecture delivered at the Royal United Service Institution, "are nothing but temptations to attack if their reasonable and sufficient application to the purposes of defence are denied." The wealth of the British people is enormous. As the special number of this Journal, entitled "Fifty Years' Progress," shows, it has during the last half century been increasing "by leaps and bounds." Our trade with India has increased five-fold even during the last thirty-five years, and that of Australasia with India twenty-fold. Our trade with the Colonies themselves has been constantly mounting up, till now exports and imports amount in value to £166,000,000. The sea trade of the Colonies at the present time exceeds by fifty millions yearly that of France and Russia taken together, yet our united Colonies cannot between them send to sea as many armed boats as these two Powers can send ships of war. Practically, the Colonies depend upon our fleet absolutely for the defence of their sea commerce. And our trade with them and theirs with us is a most vital matter, a matter not of sentiment but of bread to millions. Is it not about time,

asks Captain Colomb, to make "business-like arrangements for our common defence?" Our readers both at home and in the Colonies will peruse his paper, we trust, and agree with us that it is.

THE NEW HEBRIDES QUESTION.

THE timeliness of our utterance on the New Hebrides question, in the June number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, has been illustrated since by the announcement which was made in the middle of the past month by the daily press, that the French had annexed the New Hebrides—an announcement which, notwithstanding the fact that we were in the midst of a most absorbing political crisis, created a considerable sensation. Our Government promptly made inquiries of the French Government, and was informed that though the French flag had been hoisted "it would not continue to be hoisted." It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the step was taken as a tentative measure. If no protest had been made, the French flag would probably have "continued to be hoisted." It seems to have been concluded that the present was a favourable time to steal a march upon us, when we are harassed and absorbed with the discussion of a great constitutional question. As an indication of French desire and intention it deserves to be noted. Clearly the nation has need to keep its "weather eye" open towards France and the New Hebrides.

HERE AND THERE.

CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB must have felt complimented and honoured when he received the Prince of Wales's intimation to deliver his lecture at the United Service Institution on May 31st, instead of on the day originally fixed, as the Prince was anxious to be present. It must have been, too, no small satisfaction to the lecturer to find himself confronted with so magnificent an audience as that which assembled in the theatre of the old building in Whitehall Yard to hear what he had to say on the subject of "Imperial Federation, Naval and Military."

Apropos of this lecture—Tell it not in Gath—Mr. Punch has been caught napping. Only on this supposition can be understood the admission by him to his columns of the—as I have seen them termed—"venomous" remarks of some gentleman who terms himself an "impressionist." It is possible that at the time the gentleman committed to paper his "ideas," as he terms them, his chief *impression* was that had he been the lecturer he would not have been favoured with the presence of the heir to the throne, nor with such a crowded audience of distinguished personages.

THE gallant lecturer can well afford to agree with the statement "that the subject of Federal Defence has yet to be dealt with in spite of Captain Colomb's well-intentioned remarks," after reading, as doubtless he has read, the leaders which appeared the next morning in the *Times*, and all the leading London papers. Captain Colomb would probably be the first to confess that Federal Defence is, in all its aspects, so large a subject that a dozen lectures from the most capable men to treat of it would not exhaust it; but that that part of the subject to which Captain Colomb addressed himself was most ably and exhaustively treated on May 31st at the United Service Institution, I venture to affirm, no impartial person who was present could deny.

IN last month's *National Review* appeared an article from the pen of Mr. W. J. Courthope on the subject of "The Political Prospect," which is very ably treated by the writer. Mr. Courthope looks forward to the day when the new and better institutions necessitated by Imperial Federation will supersede the party machine as an engine of government. "Looking only to the present," he says, "it is difficult to see what objection there would be if her Majesty were advised to make the Agents-General for the Colonies members of the Privy Council, and to revive, for the purposes of Imperial representation, some of the functions of that inert but constitutional body. In conclusion, there is one point which, in these democratic days, all members of the Tory, the Monarchical, party would do well to realise as clearly as it is realised in the Colonies: the centre of the Empire is not the English House of Commons, but the Imperial Parliament with the Crown.

A WRITER in the *Illustrated London News* says:—"If Ireland did not stop the way, it is probable that the best method of bringing the Mother Country and the Colonies into closer union would be discussed more earnestly and persistently. Imperial Federation is a great question—perhaps the greatest—but its

ultimate significance cannot as yet be fully estimated by parent or by children. History often takes a different view of events to that held by contemporaries, and it is possible that last year, when Mr. Dalley sent a contingent from New South Wales to fight by the side of our soldiers in the Soudan, he did more to bind Greater Britain together than any act of statesman has hitherto done. The men who so gallantly volunteered for that expedition said in effect, "We, too, are Englishmen, and the British flag is the outward and visible sign of a union unaffected by distance—and, indeed, is not the ocean our Queen's high road?" It may be said that this is sentiment. Be it so; but without sentiment and without enthusiasm there can be no true love of country, and without that love there can be no national greatness."

REFERRING to the Irish question, the *Graphic* says:—"The problem is how to give Ireland the practical management of her local affairs without eliminating her from the Imperial Bund. The most statesmanlike solution appears to be the creation of separate statutory Parliaments for England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as for Ireland, all of these being affiliated to an Imperial Legislature, in which the Colonies will be adequately represented." In my humble opinion, it would be most ill-advised to erect statutory Parliaments as proposed without, at the same time, carrying a measure of Federation.

I NOTE that a gentleman who writes anonymously has sent a letter to the *Surrey Advertiser* on the Imperial Federation League, in which in a very friendly spirit he draws attention, among other things, to this journal. Doubtless the editor will agree with me that next to subscribing to IMPERIAL FEDERATION themselves, friends of the movement could not do better than introduce it in every possible way to the notice of the public and their friends.

IN the course of his letter this gentleman says: "Personally, as a Conservative, my sympathies are with the cause of the Primrose League; but, on principle, I decline to join that or any other party league, because I think such party associations are apt to aggravate party feeling, and it is party spirit that is doing so much injury in these times. I find myself constantly repeating the sentiment so well expressed by Professor Goldwin Smith, 'Would that our statesmen would think of the future of the Empire and not of their own position at the next election.' In the work of the Imperial Federation League I see no trace or taint of party spirit, and therefore I have joined the general committee of that League."

THAT party spirit is doing a vast amount of mischief, no observant man will do other than confess. It does not hesitate to sacrifice national interests to the exigencies of party, and it tends to the degradation of personal character and the lowering of the tone of honour among English gentlemen. It would be easy to illustrate this statement with examples from both parties—for one party is no better than another in this respect—which circumstances have brought to the light during the last few months. That at least one political organisation exists having "no trace or taint of party spirit" is a thing the country is to be congratulated upon. The Imperial Federation League should be the rallying point of all possessed with the sentiment of patriotism of all parties. It, and it alone, at present lifts great National and Imperial questions above the petty emulations and strifes of party.

THE following extract has come in my way from a poem by Mr. Douglas Sladen. In the name of the Colonies the writer asks "Quis separabit?" and says:—

"While we cling
To our great mother we are sons' and heirs
To all the heroes in her Abbey laid;
Our fathers fought at Crecy, Agincourt,
Blenheim, Quebec, Trafalgar, Waterloo;
Shakespeare's and Bacon's countrymen are we,
Newton's disciples, friends of Walter Scott,
Fellow-inventors of Watt, Stephenson,
Arkwright, Sir Humphrey Davy, and Wheatstone,
Fellow-discoverers of Drake and Cook,
Brothers-in-arms of Wellington and Nelson,
Successors to the Lords of Runnymede,
Assigns of the Petitioners of Right,
Executors of England's Constitution,
Joint tenants of the commerce of the world,
Joint owners of the Empire upon which
The sun sets never; co-heirs of the Fame
Built up by valour, learning, statesmanship,
Integrity, endurance, and devotion,
On land and sea, in fierce and frozen climes,
Through eight blood-stained and glorious centuries."

THE Queen has entered upon her jubilee year, at the close of which, it is to be hoped, we shall have a becoming celebration of Her Majesty's most eventful and prosperous reign. Already, the best mode of celebrating the event is being discussed. Different monarchs have had different methods of keeping their jubilee reign. For instance, it is recalled to mind that in the celebration of George the Third's jubilee, in which immense interest was taken, all small debtors were allowed to go free, creditors either foregoing their claims or receiving their own from subscription lists opened for the purpose. The King's name headed one list with £4,000.

I WAS at the "Colinderies" the other day with two German friends, and what they saw was an eye-opener. After spending some time there, and getting some idea as to what it meant as to the resources and power of the British Empire, one of them confessed that the English had indeed something to be proud of, and that the wonder was that we were not a more swaggering and boastful nation than we are, and that we carried ourselves as meekly and modestly as we do.

IN reference to the question which Mr. Howard Vincent put to the Premier on the 4th ult., as to the desirability of holding a Conference of Colonial representatives this year, taking advantage of the presence of so many eminent Colonists in our midst, to discuss with them the great question of Federation, the *Leeds Mercury* the next morning said:—"When such a conference is held under the auspices of the Government, those who take part in it must not be chance visitors to this country, but the accredited representatives of our Colonial Empire. We believe, however, that the day is not far distant when such a conference will take place in London, and when the first steps will be taken for the practical realisation of the great scheme of which Mr. Forster was the foremost and enthusiastic advocate."

I DO not question the wisdom of Mr. Gladstone's view that "chance visitors" should not be asked to confer with the Government on the question of Imperial Federation, even though those chance visitors included several Colonial ex-premiers, and other distinguished public men in the Colonies; but I do think it a pity that he remains so obstinately apathetic in regard to Colonial matters, and shows such scant courtesy to our numerous Colonial visitors. A naval review was suggested, but no, a naval review would occasion inconvenience to the public service. Inconvenience to the public service, forsooth! I should like to know what the public service exists for if not to be occasionally inconvenienced for the public good. A few words expressive of interest and sympathy at the present time addressed by the head of Her Majesty's Government to our Colonial brethren, some act showing such interest and sympathy, would do measureless good, but the words are not spoken, the act is not performed. As a matter of *policy*, even, it is bad.

FEDERALIST.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE CONFERENCE ON FEDERATION.

A CONFERENCE on Imperial Federation was held in the Conference Room at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on May 28th, by members of the Royal Colonial Institute.

The Duke of Manchester took the chair, and was supported by Sir Henry Barkly, K.C.B., Sir Charles Mitchell, K.C.M.G. (Colonial Secretary for Natal), Sir J. Fowell Buxton, and the representatives of many of the Colonies. Mr. F. P. Labilliere read a paper on Imperial Federation, in which he urged that a union of the Colonies with the Mother Country, would be a safeguard of the Empire, not only in war but from war. He thought the real principle of successful Federation was combination on an equitable basis. That implied that all those who combined should have a voice in the government, whereby the common interests would be maintained; and this could only be given to Canada, Australasia, South Africa, and the West Indies by extending to them equitable representation in a Parliament of the Empire. He left India out of the list because the idea of bringing representatives from that country to London, or even of admitting them to any elected Indian legislature, had never been seriously proposed. Taxation should be adjusted so that it should be equally borne. All our self-governing Colonies should retain complete control of their provincial affairs. They should be secured in the rights they now enjoy of regulating their own fiscal systems upon such politico-economical principles as they consider sound and suitable to their own interests. We had already complete systems of provincial self-government; all we wanted was a really Imperial Government, and an Imperial Parliament devoting itself exclusively to the affairs of the Empire. To do this we should have to hand over the provincial concerns to provincial institutions. The Parliament need not then retain so many members in the House of Commons, and a due proportion of the reduced number would have to be Colonial representatives. To the House of Lords Colonial statesmen could be admitted as life peers. A discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Frederick Young, Sir J. Fowell Buxton, Sir A. Stuart, Mr. Mason (Fiji), Mr. Morris, Mr. J. Stanley-Little, and others took part.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION—NAVAL AND MILITARY.

A paper (abridged), read on Monday, May 31st, before a distinguished audience, including H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who was in the chair, at the Royal United Service Institution, by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, formerly R.M.A.

In the time allotted it will be impossible to do more than sketch the outlines of the subject. Before proceeding to do this it is necessary to review general considerations in order to avoid confusion if not dangerous misconceptions. The main features of Imperial Federation are:—

- 1st. The unity of the Empire.
- 2nd. The developments necessary to preserve it.

The first is based on the present universal acceptance of the declaration that it is to the mutual material advantage of all parts of the Empire to be united.

We have here the expression not merely of a patriotic sentiment, but a direct reference to practical utility. Sentiment is a great force, but its strength for practical purposes is in proportion to self-interest. Mutual advantage is the strongest bond, and the measures most calculated to secure the permanency of the Imperial Union are those which best foster and promote common benefits conferred by that union.

In discussing Imperial Federation from any point of view there is danger of confusion between the end sought to be accomplished and the means by which that end can be attained. The end sought is not the adoption of one particular plan or scheme for the transaction of such affairs of the Empire as are of common concern to all its parts. It is something much more simple—the strengthening of Imperial Unity. The means to secure that end are such constitutional developments of the Imperial civil, naval, and military machinery as are necessitated by progress and growth, and are by mutual consent acknowledged to be for mutual advantage.

Imperial Federation has to do with facts—commercial, political, naval, and military facts—and not with the theoretical construction of a “brand new constitution” for the Empire. Walpole tells us that when Lord Holland was asked by an Italian minister to draft a constitution for the little State of Naples, he replied, “You might as well ask me to build a tree.” The Imperial Federationist does not propose to build trees, but he points to what have been long ago planted, and asks for a recognition of growth and that demands of development shall be satisfied.

Let us now briefly examine what it is we have planted; what has been the extent and nature of its growth; and what are the demands of a naval and military character made by the development of these interests, which war forces may be required at any moment to preserve.

WHAT WE HAVE PLANTED.

Our flag has been planted in territories beyond sea by three distinct processes—conquest, cession, and settlement. Some portions we owe to the sword, some to diplomacy, others to the natural overflow of population. Those who think that Empire means war need to be reminded that out of eight and a half million square miles of British territory, only about one and a half million square miles have been directly acquired by war or by diplomacy. Some seven million square miles represent the proportion contributed to our Empire by the pursuits and enterprises of peace. Industrial and commercial progress has won for us some seven-eighths of our Empire. It has also created new liabilities, introduced novel conditions, and accumulated responsibilities which must be met if the unity of the Empire is to survive in war. Keeping to the special subject before us it may be said that what we have in three distinct ways planted, are new maritime and territorial conditions of British defence.

It is to be noted that the great bulk of our territory acquired by conquest or diplomacy lies in the tropics and sub-tropics. Here we have to deal with dense populations ever on the increase, and with varieties of races in every stage of progress or decay. Here also we have to deal with climatic and other conditions which forbid all prospect of the natural growth and expansion of our own race ever being really localised. These limbs of Empire for prosperity, for protection, and for peace depend upon the strength of our influence and power. The main source of that strength must be drawn from centres of civilisation which has its only permanent abiding place in the temperate zones. For protection from external attack or foreign intrigue, and for security against internal anarchy, they depend upon military and administrative means furnished from without. As component parts of our Empire their relations to the rest are the relations of the numerically strong to the numerically weak, yet of the governed to the governing power.

Turning now to other portions of the Empire which lie almost wholly in the temperate zones—the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Colonies of Australasia and those of British South Africa, in these the characteristic features completely differ from those presented by the Empire of Dependencies.

In British North America and Australasia populations are

yet so small in proportion to area that they may in that respect be said to be at present infinitesimal. We have there but a residuum of aborigines gradually disappearing before the advance of civilisation by a natural process of absorption or decay. In Canada there is a considerable population of French origin, but thoroughly loyal to the Crown. British South Africa presents circumstances of an exceptional character. There we have aboriginal races numerically immensely in excess at present of European population. The European population itself contains a preponderating proportion of Dutch origin, loyal to the Crown. In all these territories the backbone of the population is Anglo-Saxon. The populations there owe their presence to that spirit of energy and enterprise which led men, and still leads them, to “home away” from the Old World to the New. In every one of these territories climatic conditions and all circumstances favour the unrestricted growth and practically unlimited expansion of our race. Were the thirty-six millions of people crowded together in these two small islands of ours spread over the habitable portions of those territories they would still be but very sparsely populated. For internal prosperity and for progress these Colonies mainly depend upon themselves, not upon us. They look to increase of population by natural growth and to immigration of “bone and sinew” from the Old World to ensure for them a great and glorious future under the old flag. For the maintenance of social order they no longer require the guidance or the assistance of the Mother Country. Canada, with special internal difficulties, without any parallel in Australasia, has recently shown she needs no external help to suppress rebellion and re-establish law. Such military means as are necessary for the security of internal order are furnished from within not from without. The relations of these component parts of the Empire to the Mother Country are the relations now of numerically weak to numerically strong distributions of one and the same people. They are not the relations of the governed to the governing power, but of absolute freedom based upon the common attributes of political, social, and moral equality. Our Colonies are tied to us by loyalty to the same Crown, the forces of a common sentiment, and by a sense of present mutual advantage. The bonds may be permanently injured, or for ever destroyed, by a war for which neither the Colonies nor we were adequately prepared.

What we have planted then beyond sea may be grouped under two distinct heads—the Empire of Dependencies and the Colonial Empire. One is the artificial product, the other the natural offspring of the Home Empire of the United Kingdom.

The tenure by the Home Empire of the Empire of Dependencies is that of administrative capacity and of power. The association of the Colonial with the Home Empire is that of kinship, consent, and a common loyalty to a common Crown. The existing connection between the Colonial Empire and the Empire of Dependencies is through the Home Empire of the United Kingdom. They form together a trinity of strength or of weakness precisely in proportion to their power of combination for common security. That power must develop fresh strength in the ratio of the demands and necessities of growth. In other words, it depends upon the furthering now and in the future of all such measures as shall increase mutual advantages in peace, and secure organised co-operation for mutual defence in war. These are briefly the principles of Imperial Federation. They are applicable alike to political, commercial, naval, and military considerations. The recognition of their importance must precede practical action, and the realisation of the influences and the facts of growth is the first step towards that recognition.

Let us now therefore briefly examine

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF GROWTH.

For purposes of illustrating growth it is necessary to fix standard dates. It is fitting to take as one the present time, when products of our Empire are gathered under one roof in London, and subjects of our Queen are flocking together from all parts of the world-wide dominions of the Crown. For a past date, I select the period of the great International Exhibition of 1851. Thus we shall measure during the past thirty-five years broad facts of British progress at home and abroad, such as population, trade, shipping, and revenue.

For purposes of rough illustration let us take the United Kingdom on the one hand, and the whole outlying Empire on the other, and compare at these two dates—1851 and the present time—the one and the other.

The broad lessons may be summed up as follows:—

1st. That the aggregate year's trade of the outlying Empire now exceeds by over one hundred millions sterling the total value of the whole trade of the United Kingdom only thirty-five years ago.

2nd. While one year's trade then (1851) of the United Kingdom was nearly treble the value of the aggregate annual trade of the Empire beyond the sea, it does not now exceed it by even 50 per cent.

The movement of shipping in and out of port furnishes a standard also of relative interest on the seas and oceans of the world.

1st. In 1851 the aggregate tonnage entering and clearing British ports at home was more than double the aggregate tonnage entering and clearing British ports abroad. Now, however, it will be seen the tonnage entered and cleared our ports abroad in the year is greater by some 13,000,000 tons than in the case of our ports at home. I remind you that this excess alone is about the equivalent of the total tonnage in and out of all our home ports during the year of the Great Exhibition, 1851.

Here, then, we have the creation by natural growth of new, great, changed, and changing interest requiring protection in war.

Upon readiness, sufficiency, and combined action of Fleet and Army this vast trade for its security in war entirely relies. Upon its safety depends not merely the wealth and greatness of the British Empire, but its power to lead onward and undisturbed in the civilisation of the world. Upon the adequate protection of Imperial trade in war will depend not merely the comfort but the *bread* of scores of millions of toilers geographically separated by seas but under one flag. The original sources of material power of defence are men and money. The possession of such original resources as men and money is one thing however, while their proper adaptation and sufficient appropriation for purposes of defence is another.

Roughly speaking, during the last thirty-five years there has been an increase of the Queen's subjects at home of nearly 10,000,000, while over sea the addition amounts to nearly 40,000,000.

In 1851 the annual revenue of the United Kingdom was nearly double the aggregate revenue of the Empire beyond sea, while now the aggregate revenue of the Empire beyond sea exceeds by £22,000,000 sterling that of the Mother Country.

Such then are a few broad features of these comparisons. There are many others of importance I now pass by, the subject being large and the time of explanation short. Having hastily examined what we in the past planted, and having glanced at the nature and extent of growth, let us now take a general survey of some other changes which have occurred.

It is necessary to note without remark those constitutional changes, due to Colonial growth, occurring since 1851, so far as they affect arrangements for defence. Canadian Provinces have combined and formed one great Dominion, spreading from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with one Parliament initiating and controlling measures for its local defence. It has joined the oceans by railway communication. Newfoundland possesses a separate Parliament, charged with providing for its local defence. In South Africa there is also now a Parliament, exercising the same functions over a portion of that territory. At the antipodes there are six separate Parliaments possessing similar powers of arrangement for the defence of six separate portions of Australasia. I merely add to this bald statement that it is quite at the discretion of these nine Parliaments, in combination with our own, with each other, or separately, to provide means of defence for these great common interests which lie beyond their shores.

While the common interests of the Empire and Parliaments have been growing, science has been revolutionising

THE MODE AND MEANS OF WAR.

The changes it has accomplished may be here sufficiently described in a few words. In the first place, it takes almost as many years now to build war-ships and great guns as in bygone times it took months. On the other hand, the use of arms of all branches of the service in the past could be picked up in a hurry, and even during a campaign. The scientific weapons now demand long and elaborate training; in short, broadly speaking, what science has done is to enable rapid and decisive results to be produced in war, but *only* by long previous preparations and the development during peace of an organised system and plan. Effective and successful defence will therefore wholly depend in war upon the elaboration of organised arrangements and provision of means during peace. These cannot now be improvised when the time for their application has arrived. The necessary naval and military arrangements between the several parts of the same Empire to secure common safety for the common interests must be made and *paid for* in peace. They cannot be postponed until danger arises without peril. Science and systematic preparation have usurped the former places of sentiment and enthusiasm in determining the issues of war. Wealth and natural resources are nothing but temptation to attack, if their reasonable and sufficient applications to the purposes of their defence is denied.

There is a further consideration to which I must refer.

While industry and enterprise in British lands in all quarters of the globe have been swelling the value and volume of our common sea commerce, war navies have been created and naval power has been developed by nations which thirty-five years ago were not—could not—be regarded as maritime Powers. Military stations and naval bases have been established by other Powers on oceans and seas not then but now of huge Imperial importance to us. All this is only natural, only what is reasonably to be expected, but nevertheless they are facts which, as regards British defence, must not, cannot be ignored.

These broad considerations concern not simply the United Kingdom, but all territories, all industries, all manufactures, all interests, and all peoples, under our "one flag." They make up

A UNION OF COMMON WAR RISKS

against which general insurance must be paid and joint precautions taken. They can only be met with success by co-operation and joint action between the several parts of the Empire upon a settled system and a developed plan. I am referring chiefly to British sea trade, and for the present exclude other interests from comment. In doing so, however, it must be remarked that with certain exceptions—prominently that of India—the frontiers of our Empire are practically sea frontiers. As a rule, the protection of our sea commerce is virtually the protection of our territories. Trade is territorial in its source and origin, though maritime in its main operation of exchange. I may mention in passing that the sea trade of India alone is about equal to that of Russia. It is worthy of attention that during 1851 the trade between the United Kingdom and India was officially stated at about seventeen millions sterling; it is now some eighty-six millions a year. Thirty-five years ago the annual trade between Australia and India was in value only £150,000, it is now over three millions in value a year. The trade of the Mother Country has therefore five times, and that of Australia twenty times as much interest in the security and prosperity of India as they had thirty-five years ago. The territorial security of India is therefore of ever increasing importance to the industrial and commercial classes at home and in Australia. This remark can be shown to generally apply to almost all parts of the Empire as regards India and each other. I mention these facts to avoid a possible misconception that the protection of British trade and commerce is simply a question of securing sea communications. The sources of supply must be guarded as well as the freedom of flow secured. It is helpful to a real conception of Colonial growth to remember that Australasian trade alone at this moment equals that of the Empire of Russia. The total trade of that great Empire was in 1851 but two-thirds of the total trade of Canada to-day. The aggregate sea trade of the Colonies and Dependencies at the present time exceeds by some fifty millions a year that of France and Russia together. These are great maritime powers, but our Colonies and Dependencies, with a greater aggregate of sea interests to be protected, could not produce as many armed and efficiently manned boats as these two Powers can vessels of war.

All operations of war—by land or sea—may be resolved into three original elements; place, time, and force. The places necessary to occupy are fixed by geographical circumstances. The nature and strength of the forces required are determined by the character of the places to be taken or held. Time is the factor that rules the necessities which organisation has to fulfil by the production at the right places, at the right time, the right force. This very elementary statement of course applies as much to certain latitudes and longitudes on oceans and seas as to territorial positions. Sea commerce passing over the water areas of the world is governed by physical laws. The direction, volume, and value of its constant ebb and flow, so to speak, is regulated by the laws of supply and demand. Now the whole operation of

PROTECTING OUR SEA TRADE

is covered by two main propositions:—

1st. The keeping in of the ships of the enemy that are in port when war breaks out.

2nd. Forcing all other vessels under a hostile flag off the sea, either into port or to the bottom.

The masking of hostile fleets by promptly placing, on the outbreak of war, off their war ports, the force necessary to keep them in is an essential condition of safety of the commerce not only of the Mother Country but of each and all parts of the Empire. It is a joint necessity which must be provided for in order to secure reasonable safety for the whole. The fleet which keeps that of the enemy in port in one hemisphere is really protecting commerce in the other. The Colonies and dependencies for the security of their commerce will in war be as dependent as the United Kingdom on British naval power, being equal and adapted to the discharge of that fundamental duty. While our commerce has been growing and foreign naval power has been developing, science has been changing the conditions of blockade: torpedo defence has benefited the blockaded, while reliance on steam, which is reliance on coal, has diminished the staying power of ships engaged in blockade. Ships outside a port must keep up steam by emptying their bunkers up their funnels. Meantime these ships will be losing speed by the natural process of fouling of immersed surface. Thus, in order to coal and in order to clean, they must constantly leave the offing, and while away their place must be taken by others. The net result of such considerations, here only indicated, is that the growth of our sea trade has made efficient blockade more imperative, while science has made that operation more difficult and more costly. The magnitude of the sea interests of the Colonies and Dependencies alone demand that the necessary means shall be sufficient and available for

this purpose. Our outlying Empire with over four hundred millions' worth of goods on the sea in a year is most directly concerned in the locking up of hostile fleets on the outbreak of war. Is it neither to share the cost of providing the means nor the duty and the honour of applying them to the purpose of securing its own safety? Our people at the Cape, in Canada, or Australia are as patriotic as our fathers were when Jervis and Nelson, for the salvation of England, maintained famous blockades and fought their great sea fights. It is well to remember that the trade of British North America and South Africa together now is about what the trade of England was when St. Vincent was fought; and that the sea commerce of Australasia alone exceeds by tens of millions the sea trade of the United Kingdom when Nelson triumphed at Trafalgar.

Now as to the other branch of operations for the defence of sea trade. Though we may blockade hostile war ports, still some of the enemy's war fleet will probably be already at sea—steamers will escape from his mercantile ports or elsewhere armed for attack on our maritime or territorial interests. The main difference between blockade and the more extended operation of clearing the sea of hostile ships is—that in the one case our objective points are fixed points—the enemy's war ports—in the other they are ships with power of rapid locomotion. Sudden changes of position at sea and the probable absence of any clue whatever as to the direction and objects of those changes are the chief circumstances to be met by the defence arrangements of our Empire. The power of a fleet or vessel to attack or defend interests on the high seas is in proportion to its freedom; the limits of a steamer's freedom at any point on the high seas are the coals in the bunkers *less the quantity* required to carry her to the nearest port where she can procure a fresh supply; her movements are ruled by coal-carrying capacity in relation to speed; speed is reduced by the fouling of immersed surface and by general wear and tear; loss of speed is equivalent to a reduction of coal-carrying capacity, and consequently to restriction on liberty of action.

As regards time and place, therefore, the freedom of a nation's fleet, squadron, or ship depends primarily upon the number and general distribution of national ports available for coaling, docking, and refitting. That freedom, however, is absolutely destroyed if such ports are not secured from attack wholly independently of sea-going ships. The first necessity, therefore, to the freedom of our fleet is the local and military defence of all British ports of importance at home and abroad. The chief measures to adopt in war to force hostile vessels off the sea is to employ sufficient means to make their access to their own mercantile ports, to which ocean steamers can resort, hazardous; and also to observe closely similar ports under a neutral flag.

WHAT THE NAVAL AND MILITARY ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE HAS TO PROVIDE FOR,

in order to secure the common commerce of each and all its parts, is the production of these various places on the outbreak of war, the right forces to do this varied work. The safety of that commerce will entirely depend upon the promptness with which it is done. The Empire's ability to do this work quickly is a question of co-operation between its several parts involving joint expenditure, common naval and military reserves of force and of supplies. These must be adapted to, and available for general service for the defence of our common sea trade; the interests of one are the interests of all; the duty of one is the duty of all.

The fullest freedom being secured for our sea-going forces, the next consideration is their distribution on the ocean; that must be mainly determined by the natural distribution of Imperial commerce on the high seas. The sea-going force required to protect a sea line of communication varies with its length. The longer the line, the greater the *number* of vessels necessary to protect it. The offensive or defensive *power* of the individual vessel is a tactical, but the *number* and class of vessels is a *strategical* problem—speed affects both. The importance of the line is determined by military considerations and by commercial facts. Since 1851, a process has been going on which must be noticed, having a commanding influence on the distribution of our naval force. In that year the United Kingdom drew about two-thirds of over-sea supply of wheat, wheat meal, and flour from European ports—the total amount of such food imported was some twenty-three million cwt.—the total quantity we now import is nearly treble what it was in 1851, and only about one-fifth of the whole now comes from European and Mediterranean ports. The sources of such supply have shifted across the Atlantic, and even to the other hemisphere. This extension of the food lines of the Mother Country is equivalent to a reduction of naval power available for other services. Food lines must be made safe whatever else happens, and for this special purpose a large proportion of our maritime means must be set apart. The increased length and increased reliance on our food lines over-sea necessitates an increase of naval means to ensure their safety, unless other naval duties are to be left undone.

But in 1851 only one-fortieth of such supply came from

British possessions abroad, while now the proportion is about one-fourth of that total. Development of the infinite food-producing capabilities of our Empire beyond sea really corresponds to an increase of our defensive power. It may for the above reason be considered as part and parcel of the question how to secure a maximum of safety with a minimum of naval expenditure. Its solution lies in the increase of population in our own Colonies and the cultivation of our own lands over-sea. Co-operation between the Mother Country and the Colonies to produce this result would be of infinite advantage to both.

Maritime war must accentuate the commercial reliance of the Empire upon itself, because the loss caused by commercial interchange ceasing between belligerents will seek compensation elsewhere. South Africa, Australasia, Canada, and India are great and increasing factors in the trade operations of the world, and the seaboard of the last three command the waters of the other hemisphere, while South Africa commands one of the three roads which connect them with our own.

It is just because the

PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEANS ARE SO IMPORTANT

to us, and because they are so far removed from the Mother Country, that we must expect attack on our sea commerce will be first delivered there. Circumstances peculiar to this half of the world have a tendency to draw towards it in peace squadrons and war vessels of all the maritime Powers. There are international interests in Chinese and Japanese waters requiring their presence at all times. It is probable, therefore, that in an outbreak of war more hostile cruisers will be at sea in the other hemisphere than in this. It is further to be observed that all other water areas of the world together do not present such geographical advantages for attack on our commerce as these three districts. The number of unappropriated islands, the restricted areas over which the world's commerce in those regions at present operates, offer many and great facilities for the establishment unobserved of coaling rendezvous and temporary bases for hostile ships. Our fellow citizens in Australasia appear to be fully alive to this fact. We and they are too prone to think that the danger can be averted by the simple and cheap process of hoisting the Union Jack on a pole on an indefinite number of islands. It is not, however, the enthusiasm which hoists our own flag in peace that will secure our safety on any sea in war, but the possession of organised defensive war power capable, when the time of trouble comes, of promptly pulling hostile flags down.

BY WHOM AND HOW IS THAT NECESSARY POWER TO BE CREATED AND MAINTAINED?

That is really the whole question of Imperial Federation for defence—it is one only to be settled by Home and Colonial statesmen, backed by enlightened public opinion throughout the Empire. We here are only concerned with the strategical naval and military aspects of the Empire's defence. With the civil arrangements necessary to provide the means required for common security we have nothing to do. I would, however, venture once more to repeat my own belief, expressed on many occasions here and elsewhere during the last eighteen years—it is this: That more means are likely to be provided, and that some basis of joint action would probably be settled, if responsible Ministers of Her Majesty's Home and Colonial Governments were brought together in one room and round one table, in order to confer with the responsible military and naval authorities, as to what is necessary to be mutually done for the security of our common interests in war.

The aggregate yearly value of the trade of our Colonies and Dependencies in the South Pacific is nearly double the total annual trade of the United Kingdom in those waters. Taking annual value of commerce as a standard, the Colonies and Dependencies are very much more concerned in the safety of the South Pacific districts than the United Kingdom; deficiency in the naval and military means required to protect the trade in the South Pacific would inflict more grievous loss on our fellow-citizens in Australasia than on us. It is a question for them, for Canada, and for us conjointly to determine how the ever-increasing British trade in the Pacific is to be provided with naval and military protection. Most of the chief ports of Australasia are, by local means, secured against sea attack, and thus they are in striking contrast with some of our great commercial ports at home. The money some of these Colonies have spent, the armaments they have provided, and the local forces they maintain, are solid contributions to the freedom of our squadron in the South Pacific. That squadron may be sufficient for the purposes of peace; but can Australasia long remain satisfied with the existing arrangement, which places the reserve of ships, men, ordnance, and ammunition in the North Atlantic, and thus, at the very moment the South Pacific sorely needs them on the spot, they will be at the other side of the world?

The moveable reserves of *matériel* and *personnel* in Great Britain for use in war are for general service of the Empire, and when distributed and despatched from home to the various stations, the Pacific, owing to its distance, will be the last to

receive reinforcements. The delay will thus be greatest where the combined sea interests of Colonies and Dependencies are greatest, and where prompt action is most urgent.

Does anybody think—can anybody believe—that a defensive system adapted to the ancient necessities of an island can be effective when that island has grown into an Empire and overspread the world? Those who say off-hand it is so, let them make assurance doubly sure that they are right. Let those who doubt inquire more; and it is the duty of every one who does not think so to do what in him lies to bring about a development of our naval and military arrangements adapted to the necessities of our growth.

(The remainder will appear in our next.)

THE CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE.

A CONFERENCE will be held on the 1st and 2nd July, 1886, in the Conference Hall of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, by permission of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the Royal Commission.

PROGRAMME.

THURSDAY, July 1, 11 to 1.30.—Chairman: The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery—A paper will be read by Professor J. R. Seeley, Author of "The Expansion of England." Subject: "*Objects to be gained by Imperial Federation.*"

THURSDAY, July 1, 2 to 4.30.—Chairman: Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.—A paper will be read by Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G., late High Commissioner for Canada. Subject: "*Means by which Imperial Federation may be carried out.*"

FRIDAY, July 2, 11 to 1.30.—Chairman: Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P. A Paper will be read by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, late R.M.A. Subject: "*Imperial Defence.*"

FRIDAY, July 2, 2 to 4.30.—Chairman: Sir Thomas Brassey, M.P., K.C.B. A Paper will be read by Mr. J. G. Colmer, Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada. Subject: "*Emigration and Immigration.*"

Delegates from branches of the League throughout the Empire have been appointed to take part in the Conference.

Papers are limited to fifteen minutes' duration. Discussion will be invited after the papers, in which it is especially hoped that visitors from the Colonies will take part. Speeches are limited to ten minutes.

The Conference Hall is open to anyone obtaining admission to the Exhibition.

Members of the Imperial Federation League are particularly invited to attend.

GLOUCESTER JUNIOR LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.—LOCAL PARLIAMENT.

AT a recent meeting of the above, the Government scheme for Imperial Federation was introduced by MR. C. ARNOLD:—

Whereas, in order to maintain the permanent unity of the Empire, some extension of its political organisation will be indispensable, so that the large and rapidly increasing population of the portions of the Empire beyond the seas may have an adequate voice in the control of Foreign relations, defence, and all other common interests and concerns, and may take a fair share in sustaining Imperial responsibilities.

It is hereby resolved that the following scheme be submitted to the Local Legislatures of our several Colonies for consideration:—

1. That an Imperial Council be established, consisting of fifteen members, who shall be appointed by the Legislature of the United Kingdom, and by the Legislature or other representative bodies as are now or shall be established in our several Colonies and Dependencies.

2. That the said Council shall consist of members who will be representatives of the United Kingdom and of her several Colonies, as follows:—North American Colonies, two delegates; West Indian Colonies, one delegate; African Colonies (including Cape Colony), two delegates; India (with Ceylon), three delegates; Australasia (with Polynesia), three delegates; the United Kingdom, four delegates; one of the latter delegates to be elected President of the said Council.

3. That the salaries of the members of the said Council shall be paid by the Country or Colony he or they may represent.

4. That the said Council shall sit in London, and be elected triennially.

5. That the said Council shall have no right or power to interfere with Home or Colonial local affairs.

6. That the functions of the said Council shall be to deliberate and decide on all matters, defensive and constructive, affecting our coaling stations and several Colonies, but that no action of this Council tending to be aggressive shall be undertaken without the consent of the Home Government.

7. That for the purpose of defence, and to be prepared for united action, and the protection of our commerce, a tax may

be levied on the gross value of the imports and exports of our several Colonies, sufficient to meet the exigencies of the Empire.

8. That the said Council be empowered to solicit and arrange for loans, to be devoted to the furtherance of commerce and the development of Colonial resources.

The speaker, after giving statistics, comparing the area, population, and amount of trade of our Colonies, with the Colonies of other nations, and contrasting the latitudinal position, and the civilisation of the inhabitants of the British Colonies with those of French and Dutch possessions, said that it was true statesmanship to anticipate Colonial requirements, and not to wait until they became necessities. In moving the adoption of the scheme, he said that Imperial Federation belonged to the near future, and asserted that when England was united with her Colonies in Imperial unity, then war would be almost an impossibility, and the British Empire would have real claim to the title of the most powerful Empire in the world.

MR. R. LEES seconded the adoption of the scheme, and said that in recent years our Colonies had increased in population and power at such an enormous rate that they could no longer be considered as mere protectorates, but had become integral parts of the Empire, and unless some means were taken to bind them more firmly to the Mother Country, and to give them a voice in Imperial policy, disaffection, and ultimately disintegration would be the result. He said the Colonies would not long submit to a form of government which, though giving them absolute independence as regards local affairs, debarred them from modifying or participating in an Imperial policy which might any time bring them into war. He held that such a union would give a great impetus to commerce, and conduce very considerably to the prosperity of the Empire.

On the motion of MR. LL. BLAND, the debate was adjourned to a subsequent meeting. On the resumption of the debate MR. Bland criticised the remarks of the openers very severely, and held that Federation existed already, and he saw no necessity for the adoption of the scheme.

MR. J. H. YATES approved of the principle of Federation, but suggested several alterations in the details of the scheme.

MR. W. H. KNIGHT supported the scheme, and said that opposition to Imperial Federation only came from those who were absolutely ignorant of what it really meant.

MR. D. C. JONES opposed the scheme, and held that the existing relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies left nothing to be desired, and that the promoters were really advocating Protection under the cover of Federation.

MR. H. WHILEY and MR. G. PREEDY gave their hearty support to the scheme, and denied emphatically that Protection was advocated.

MR. A. THOMAS, while acknowledging that he had not given the subject much attention, opposed the scheme.

MR. C. ARNOLD, in closing the discussion, held that not a single weighty argument had been urged against the principle involved.

On the division the scheme was adopted by a majority of one.

STATE-DIRECTED COLONISATION.

BEING in the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on the 8th June, I went into the Conference room, being anxious to hear what the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Colonisation had to put forward as a programme, and also to hear the views of Colonials from different parts of the Empire upon this all-important question.

I must confess to being a little disappointed in the programme put forward by the Association. It does not seem to me to go far enough in a practical direction, the principle evolved in the report, which was read before the Conference commenced, is no doubt perfectly sound, and cannot fail to be appreciated by every one who takes any interest in Colonisation generally, but it does not go far enough.

It does not offer any practical suggestions for carrying out a scheme of Colonisation: it would have been interesting enough to hear the speeches of the representative working men belonging to the different Trades Unions, if they had given us any practical hints as to how the surplus population of Great Britain and Ireland could be sent out to our Colonies without becoming a burden in the new field which is offered for their labour, and not intended to support them in idleness. There seemed to be too much apprehension on the part of this class of speakers that the most skilled labourers would be sent out of this country, and that their places would immediately be filled up by Germans, who would flock into this country, and keep down the price of labour.

There were few practical speakers from the Colonies, and most of those who gave their opinions as to the desirability of persons being sent out from this country, treated the subject rather from an emigration than a Colonisation point of view, desperately afraid were they all of overstocking the labour markets; the bugbear of cheap labour is a terror to all Colonists, but especially to those

who live in the neighbourhood of large towns. Then again they all seemed to have a great dread that useless helpless men and women would be landed on their shores, for whom the Colony to which they were sent would have to make provision, and they seemed to be almost too anxious to hem round the selections of fit Colonists to send out with too many difficulties. One speaker from Canada certainly was candid enough to say that there were thousands of acres of land in the Dominion well fitted for habitation, which were waiting for the spade and the plough, and that any number of honest families, willing and able to work, might be sent out to different parts of the Dominion, if they were only provided with the means of living for two years, and assisted to erect dwellings, and that after that time they would be able to commence a return of the money advanced to send them out, and would be well satisfied to pay a good interest on the money advanced to them.

Sir Saul Samuel gave some practical hints from a semi-official point of view, as to the necessity of the different Colonial Governments being first consulted as to the terms upon which land could be set apart for Colonisation; unless the Home and Colonial Governments acted in perfect accord, and after due consultation, he pointed out that failure must result. The Marquis of Lorne spoke with his usual prudence and care, and rather deprecated forcing any system of emigration; but he failed to deal with the subject, so far as I could see, with a view to the field which vacant lands afford for homes for our surplus labourers.

Lord Brabazon summed up the speeches, and pointed out that the Association was established principally with the object of pressing the Home Government to take joint action with the different Colonial Governments in developing a system of colonisation, by which families should be sent out to Canada and other places, where there was vacant land ready for them. Unfortunately, it seems that the only action which has been taken by the Government, in consequence of the pressure brought to bear upon them by the Association, has been sending out a circular asking what "immigrants" different Colonies were prepared to receive—the very opposite to what the Association aims at, which is Colonisation.

SIGMA.

CURRENT PRESS OPINIONS.

A RECENT number of the *Natal Mercury* contains a long and able article on "Home Politics," the conclusion of which is most pertinent to our cause. It is as follows:—

"The fact of the matter is, speaking generally, the foreign policy of England has become too complex for any one hand to grasp it successfully. English statesmen are overwhelmed with the seething activity of the Empire. The time is quickly coming when in all matters of Imperial policy, the directing hand in London shall not only be sustained, but in a large measure guided, by those of her strong sons across the seas. England must accept the altered conditions of affairs: the growth is with us—with the greater Englands to come—here in Africa, yonder in Australia, in India, and in Canada. England's day as a self-supporting country, in any sense of the word, is over. She is no longer an agricultural country; her day as a manufacturing country is nearly over-past; and she will soon cease to be a producer in the bald sense of the word. In the future she will live as a huge storehouse of the brains, the culture, the wealth, the learning of the Empire of the world—as a great agency, and an exchange and mart for the products of the entire globe, and as the carrier of the earth's produce, being as she is of that earth the natural centre. To that day we look with a calm confidence; and Imperial Federation is the means to the end. Then, as the Poet Laureate has it:—

"The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

The *West London Standard*, speaking of "the progress that this question has made within so short a period as the last twelve months," says:—

The most gratifying features in connection with the hold which this matter is taking upon the minds of the public are the facts—first, that men of all shades of political opinion have given their assent to the principle; and, second, that its adherents are to be found, not merely among the official, and, so to speak, professional political classes, but among people of all ranks. That the principle remains to a very large extent without any very definite shape is not to be placed to its disadvantage; and, even if it were, this could not weigh against the manifest advantage of the other features just referred to. It is a "big" question—big in itself, and big with the future fortunes of the Empire; and such a question cannot, ought not to, assume a definite shape without undergoing a careful, gradual, perhaps slow, development. The earth itself was at one time "without form and void," and the supporters of the principle of Imperial Federation need feel it no reproach that they are not ready with a cut-and-dried policy to launch at a moment's notice.

The *Bedfordshire Independent* says:—

It is pleasant to learn that the Imperial Federation League meets with encouragement both at home and in the Colonies. Federation or Dissolution are the two possibilities of the future of the British Empire. A closer union than Federation is—even were it desirable—impossible, even in these days of easy and rapid transit from one end of the world to the other. The improbability of Dissolution can be converted into a

practical impossibility by wise action of the kind that is being commenced by the Federation League. The great principle that will bind the British Empire together will be "Unity, not Uniformity." A large measure of local independence and a strong bond of Imperial union are not inconsistent with each other, in an empire made up of peoples related by blood, speaking the same language, and inheriting the same traditions.

The *Planter's Gazette*, in referring to the Australian mails, says:—

The Postal Convention with Australia shows that Mr. Froude is right when he reminds us that the Imperial Federationists have plenty to do before they can even get to the preliminaries of the scheme they have most at heart. Before we can think of a united Empire we ought at least to have a Postal Union—if not a Customs Union. We have been, in fact, for a long time past, more united in some respects with Italy and Spain than with Australia and Canada, to say nothing of India. There is no bond of union, in modern times, like that of cheap communication. It is satisfactory to know that New South Wales and Victoria will soon be only a month away from England. The honourable members of Sydney and Melbourne will be able to get to the Imperial Parliament in London almost as quickly as their ancestors reached Westminster from Argyllshire and Aberdeen 150 years ago, and much more comfortably.

The *Grenada People*, in a long article on "National Unity," says:—

To us West Indians, Imperial Federation offers much. The cane-sugar industry, which is being killed by the unfair competition of the beet, would have a fair chance of a prosperous revival in the event of a Federation of the Empire. Like the different States in the American Union, a perfect system of Free Trade would prevail in the British Empire so soon as it is Federated. This Federation of the Empire would naturally lead—without any violation of the principles of Free Trade—to differential or countervailing duties being imposed against foreign articles in favour of articles of home growth and home manufacture. As within the Empire itself as against foreign States a modified system of protection would prevail; so also, in favour of itself, the Free Trade principle would be acted on. That is, goods—whether raw or manufactured—arriving in the ports of the Empire from States outside the League, would be taxed at a higher rate than goods of a similar nature manufactured or grown in any of the States of the Union, and whilst most of the products of the British Empire would be permitted to enter the ports of the Empire free of duty, the same privilege would not be accorded to the product of foreign countries. This question of Imperial Federation is becoming one of life and death to the West Indies.

The *Derby Express* says:—

The cause of Imperial Federation loses one of its most strenuous advocates in Mr. Forster. For years the late member for Bradford endeavoured to press upon the minds of his countrymen the inestimable nature of the benefits that would flow from a scheme whereby the Colonies and all British dependencies could be brought into closer communion with the Mother Country. By an unfortunate concatenation of circumstances the question of Imperial Federation has fallen into the background ever since the last general election. But, as it is one that must come forward when the excitement and trouble of the crisis we enter upon to-day passes away, it would be well for the country to consider some of the advantages which it is at present precluded from enjoying by reason of the want of cohesion between different parts of the Empire. Great as the political advantage of having such a Federation as Mr. Forster advocated, there are other advantages that cannot fail to impress themselves on the popular mind. We have in the British Isles, as a recent writer forcibly remarks, a redundant population and redundant wealth. Our Colonies and dependencies have boundless land, soil, and climate of every variety, and lack nothing but capital and labour to turn them to account. If a market were once assured in this country for Colonial produce, British capital and enterprise would quickly be engaged in its development. In some places, such as India for instance, nothing is wanted but the means of transit to bring within our reach, at very low prices, great supplies of corn and other grain. There is hardly anything which our teeming millions consume that our Colonies and dependencies might not produce under the influence of adequate labour and adequate means. They want what we have, and they have, or might have, in their cereal and other produce, the food we so grievously want. It is urged, and most fairly, as we think, that by giving our brethren in the Colonies and British dependencies an advantage over the foreigner in our own markets we could, without inflicting sensible injury upon our population by enhancing the price of the things they consume, induce and foster a freer commercial interchange than now exists between them and this country, thereby "binding in the ties of a common interest those who are already bound together in the lasting ties of race, and enlarging the narrow limits of the British Isles by the wide lands of every clime that lies under the British crown." Who could divine a limit to the grandeur, power, and prosperity to which such an Empire might attain?

VISITORS to the Exhibition will be interested in knowing that the Malay House which has been erected, in the upper gardens, by the Government of Perak, one of the protected Malay States connected with the Colony of the Straits Settlements, is now open to the public. The house, which is that of a Malay of the better class, consists of the "Balei" or reception house, where the owner sits and receives his friends; the "Ibu" or the middle house, which is the ordinary living place of the family; and the "Penangah," where the cooking is done. It is constructed entirely of materials sent to this country from Perak, and was built by Malays also sent home for the purpose. It is of full size, and furnished in the usual manner.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspect of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

A NATIONAL PARTY.

To The Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—The great Eastern traveller and writer, Professor Arminius Vambéry, has always taken an active and very intelligent interest in English politics, and has frequently pointed to the evils of Party strife, showing, as he put it, "How the respect and consideration for England is being wantonly destroyed, by the selfishness of one party in its struggles with the other." I am now induced to ask if you will give publicity to the following brief extract from Professor Vambéry's last interesting and instructive work, entitled, "The Coming Struggle for India." "In order to put an end to the evil resulting from party strife, it is necessary that besides the two leading parties of the country, a third one, viz., a National and Imperial party should come forward who, alive to the importance of a great National policy, befitting the vast dominions of the Queen Empress, should not allow the honour of the country to drift at random through party strifes and rivalries." Does it not seem as though the Imperial Federation League had sprung into existence to carry on the great work pointed to by Professor Vambéry.—Your obedient servant,

EDWARD H. PASKE, Colonel.

Morris, Guildford, 1st June, 1886.

GEOGRAPHY IN OUR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—In accordance with the wish you expressed some time ago, I write to you on the subject of Geography in our Public Elementary Schools. Experience must, I am sure, prove to you that the worst foe of your League is ignorance: ignorance of the history of our Colonies, ignorance of their geographical position, ignorance of their life and political systems. On reference to the New Code (1885) issued by the Education Department, you will find that not until the sixth standard are children taught about the British Colonies and Dependencies as a whole. Now, how many children reach the sixth standard? On page XIV. of the report of the Education Department for 1884-85, I find the following return:—

Standard.	Number of Scholars Examined in Standard.
I.	519,863
II.	574,242
III.	516,074
IV.	407,137
V.	221,491
VI.	83,270
VII.	20,444

That is, not more than one-seventh of the children who attend elementary schools pass in Standard VI. On the usual assumption that six-sevenths of the population are of this class, it follows that *about three quarters of the population of England pass through schools without receiving the most elementary instruction about more than one of our Colonies.* Is it then possible without detriment to the teaching of Geography to give this instruction at an earlier age? It is not only possible, but, in the opinion of experts, it would be beneficial. That you may judge of this for yourselves, I give the existing standards in full, and will then proceed to criticise the arrangement that is thus authorised by the Code.

Standard I.—To explain a plan of the school and playground. The four cardinal points. The meaning and use of a map.

Standard II.—The size and shape of the world. Geographical terms simply explained, and illustrated by reference to the map of England. Physical geography of hills and rivers.

Standard III.—Physical and political geography of England, with special knowledge of the district in which the school is situated.

Standard IV.—Physical and political geography of the British Isles, and of British North America or Australasia, with knowledge of their productions.

Standard V.—Geography of Europe, physical and political. Latitude and longitude. Day and night. The seasons.

Standard VI.—Geography of the world generally, and especially of the British Colonies and Dependencies. Interchange of productions. Circumstances which determine climate.

Standard VII.—The ocean currents and tides. General arrangement of the planetary system. The phases of the moon.

In the first standard the principle from which the Department starts is a sound one; the children will best seize the meaning of a map by having explained to them the plan of an area which they can view as a whole. But in Standard II. this principle is abandoned and its direct opposite is adopted,

that by picturing the world as a whole, and a map as a representation of a small portion of that whole, children can get the clearest idea of its meaning. These principles are mutually destructive, and the reconstruction of Standard II. is a necessity before sound teaching in geography can be given. In Standard V. is taught the geography of Europe, and this might well give place to an account of our Colonies. I will not further detain your readers with a criticism of the present standards, but will lay before them a series of Standards drawn up for me by a teacher in one of our elementary schools. It will be seen that under such a scheme all children who passed Standard IV. would know something about the principal British possessions, and more about the Colonies.

Standard I.—To explain a plan of the school and playground. To know the position of the four cardinal points. To point out on a map of the district (not exceeding a radius of ten miles) the principal places and natural features.

Standard II.—To know generally the geography of the country.

The physical features of England and Wales, with the meaning of such geographical terms as can be illustrated in the neighbourhood of the school.

N.B.—The boundaries, mountain ranges, rivers, such as Thames, Severn, Trent, Mersey; not small streams only of local importance. The principal headlands and openings, especially harbours.

Standard III.—The meaning of such geographical terms as can be illustrated from the map of the British Isles.

The principal physical features of British Isles.

N.B.—"Principal features" must be understood to have reference only to such items as those noted under Standard II.

Up to this point the examination shall be entirely oral.

Standard IV.—The shape and size of the earth. Simple object lessons on the formation of hills and rivers. To be able to draw a map of England, India, or Australia.

The names and positions on the earth of the principal British possessions. The productions and pursuits of these Colonies. Political geography of England.

N.B.—By position is to be understood that the pupils shall be able to point them out on a blank map of the world, and name the general direction of route from England. By "principal possessions" is to be understood, India, British North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony.

By permission of the managers the inspector may examine this standard on paper.

Standard V.—Latitude and longitude. Simple object lesson on the causes of day and night. Political geography of the British Isles. The physical geography of the Colonies named under Standard IV. The main physical features of Europe. To be able to draw two maps chosen from the Colonies or Europe.

Standard VI.—The seasons, general circumstances determining climate. Physical and political geography of Europe. Interchange of productions generally. Routes.—To draw a map of any country in Europe, except Switzerland and the small divisions of South-Eastern Europe.

Standard VII.—The oceans, currents. Simple object lessons on the causes of currents and tides. Phases of the moon. Eclipses. General geography of America, Asia and Africa.

N.B.—It is to be understood that "general" refers mainly to physical features, and natural productions, with such political divisions as shall localise the place identified with the productions named.

To draw a map of the four main divisions of the earth, and of any portion of the British Empire.

In Standards V., VI., VII., the examination shall be on paper.—I am, yours faithfully,

Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Street,
Whitechapel, E., June 7th, 1886.

E. B. SARGANT.

"ALTHOUGH the Imperial Federationists have lost their head—the late W. E. Forster—they have by no means lost heart, though an eloquent, glowing, feeling eulogium ('In Memoriam') shows that their hearts have been touched. We have lost a statesman of proved capacity and unflinching courage; the weak and oppressed of the earth have lost a firm friend and sturdy champion. 'His life was one long and determined protest against tampering with truth. Opportunist doctrines of expediency were hateful to the rugged honesty of his whole nature. He despised them as stratagems by which to escape responsibility, as excuses for avoiding the discharge of duty. Persistent in purpose, resolute and strong, his aims were broad, clear and distinct. His language was never ambiguous, his fervour was never feigned. Calmness of judgment, combined with intellectual power, made him eminent. An abiding sense of duty, and fearlessness in its discharge, made him great.' Now, when we need him so much to champion Imperial consolidation and co-operation, we have lost him; but his influence survives and will live on, working for unity, amity, brotherhood, universal peace. Of that we are sure: and IMPERIAL FEDERATION (the organ of the League) proves it. The League is thriving."—*Western Morning News.*

LITERATURE.

A Short History of Napoleon I. By John Robert Seeley, *Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. With a Portrait.* London: Seeley & Co., 46, 47, 48, Essex Street, Strand (late of 54, Fleet Street), 1886.

As the distinguished author of this work truly says, in his preface, "To write a life of Napoleon which shall be positively short is not possible." Napoleon filled so large a place in European history, though for so short a period, and his life was so crowded with events—events of so momentous a kind, and so far-reaching in their influence—that anything like a story of his life, setting forth in detail his achievements, failures, various vicissitudes, and the influence and effect of them all, immediate if not remote, which should be positively brief, is an impossibility. This life, therefore, is not positively, but only comparatively, short. The author of it has endeavoured to eschew the multiplicity of facts and details which only to the ordinary reader begets bewilderment and paralyses the judgment; at the same time he has endeavoured to atone for what is lost in colouring and light and shadow by clearness of outline. It must be at once confessed that in this respect an unqualified success has been achieved. Everything has been subordinated to clearness and unity, and the result is a work of great practical value. Professor Seeley's great historical learning, drawn from original sources, and accumulated through many years of earnest study of the Napoleonic age, has been brought to the aid of the ordinary reader, enabling him to get a vivid view of that age, and of the man who so largely gave it its character.

About a third of the volume is occupied by an essay on "Napoleon's Place in History." This essay is designed to correspond with the history to which it is appended, and makes use of no materials but such as are furnished by the history. In referring to it the author says, "The question it deals with is rather his relation to his age, his place in the history of France and of Europe, and even on this question—I need hardly say—it offers only suggestions. It is only an essay; it is not a treatise." The essayist, nevertheless, manifests much acumen and keen political and historical insight, and discusses with great ability such questions as Napoleon's lawlessness, impressibility, relation to parties, significance in French history, his success, and how far his influence was beneficial, etc.

Napoleon was a phenomenon, and demands being studied. He was a born leader of men, a man of clear and strong intellect, of marked individuality, of great force of character, and of unusual military genius. He was successful, wonderfully so for a time, and might, but for his own inordinate ambition and folly, have founded a dynasty as likely to endure as most other dynasties. But, as Professor Seeley shows, he was unusually favoured by circumstances. The Revolution had broken the continuity of French institutions and traditions. The situation of the nation made a Napoleon possible, just as in the middle of the seventeenth century the situation of the English nation gave Cromwell his great opportunity. Napoleon, moreover, was not only a possibility, but an actuality, and this not only because circumstances gave him his opportunity, but because they in part created him for it. He was the child of the Revolution; but not the only child of it, nor the only child of it who was cast in the same mould, and impelled by the same influences in the same direction. Not to speak of smaller, or least of less prominent men, Moreau ran him hard for a time; and, perhaps, had Moreau been equally unscrupulous, would have attained and maintained the supreme power over his head.

Napoleon himself seems to have been so impressed with the idea that he was a product of his age, particularly as the age was represented by and, so to speak, embodied in the French nation, that he spoke of himself as "a thing." Yet let it not be forgotten that he was a moral agent, a responsible being, and that his actions were the result of his own perverse nature, reckless ambition, and fierce, dominant will. History must be just, and justice will not consent to regard any man as "a thing," but demands that he should be treated as a being capable of distinguishing good from evil, and of choosing the one and eschewing the other.

Professor Seeley writes calmly and judiciously, as an historian should. Probably, if he were writing not as a historian, but as an moralist, he would betray a different tone. For ourselves, regarding Napoleon I. as one of the greatest criminals the world has produced, we can scarcely write of him without indignation and abhorrence. Notwithstanding our author's philosophic calmness, there are not wanting indications that he shares our opinion. Expressions such as this make the revelation: "It is among the most unpardonable even of his crimes," etc. The man who sacrifices only one of his fellow-creatures to his ambition or selfishness is called a murderer. Is he less a murderer who sacrifices tens of thousands? What shall be said of a man who orders an attack of outposts, in which men are slain, "in order to treat a lady to a sight of real war"? What is the designation which properly belongs to the man who, in negotiating the Concordat with Cardinal Gonsalvi, "had recourse more than once to the vulgar fraud and knavery which earned for him the title of Jupiter Scapin"? What stigma ought history to place on him who, in his invasion of Syria, took at Jaffa 2,000 prisoners, and who, "unwilling either to spare food for them or to let them go, ordered the adjutant-general to take them to the sea-shore, and there shoot them, taking precautions to prevent any from escaping"? The man who lost half a million of men through the disastrous invasion of Russia and the retreat from Moscow, revealed the cynicism and cruel heartlessness of his nature when he avowed to Metternich, "A man like me troubles himself little about the lives of a million of men." "Morality," he said, "was not intended for the class of men to which he belonged." Imperialism of the Napoleonic cast means tyranny and crime, and it is to be hoped that freedom-loving Englishmen will ever have a wholesome dread of it, while at the same time they understand the privileges and realise the responsibilities of empire, and seek to be equal to both.

The valuable work before us in no way detracts from the reputation

of the accomplished author of "Ecce Homo" and "The Expansion of England," and that is saying a great deal.

Our Island-Continent: A Naturalist's Holiday in Australia. By Dr. J. E. Taylor, F.L.S., F.G.S., &c., with Map. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, W.C.

DR. TAYLOR is a strong and graphic writer, and must be, we are sure, a most interesting fellow-traveller. We should like to have accompanied him on his trip to our island-continent; but as we have not had that pleasure we thank him for this bright narrative of it. He writes as an enthusiast for natural history, botany, and geology, and all who are interested in those delightful sciences will do well to obtain this book.

Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield, 1875-1880. By Geo. Carlslake Thompson, LL.M., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. In Two Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

THESE are two bulky volumes, but not too bulky for the purpose of adequately treating of the subject which the author (or authors, for Mr. Thompson confesses to having received large help from his brother) has taken in hand. The work was designed to (1) discuss briefly the functions which the genius of the English Constitution assigns to Public Opinion; (2) to discuss methods of valuation of Public Opinion in general, and to analyse English Public Opinion on the Eastern Question in particular; (3) finally to show that in the events of 1876-8 Public Opinion was deprived under Lord Beaconsfield of its due influence on the foreign policy of England. The book certainly has a value, but with all its conclusions we cannot agree. It will be chiefly useful to the politician in giving him a compendium of newspaper articles, and reports of Parliamentary debates in reference to the Eastern Question, and the momentous events of the years referred to.

A FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

THE *State*, edited by Mr. A. Egmont Hake, the relative and biographer of General Gordon, has published a scheme of federation which we take the liberty of reproducing in the columns of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. The League deliberately abstains from propounding a scheme at this stage of the discussion, but is glad for others to do so, thereby evoking discussion and disseminating ideas. Concerning its scheme the *State* says, "If not *teres atque rotundus* it may at least serve as a ground of argument and objection. We are content that it should serve as a 'whipping block,' the example of the sufferers whereon may produce emulation in others to avoid their errors." But now for the scheme. Here it is:—

A Bill to adjust the relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and certain Colonies, and to provide for the future Government of the United Kingdom.

Whereas it is expedient to amend the laws regulating the relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Colonies hereinafter mentioned, and the procedure in legislation,

Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, as follows:—

1. This Act shall be cited for all purposes as the "Confederation of the Empire Act, 1886."

2. On the first day of January in any year following the adoption of this Bill by the Legislature of any of the Colonies hereafter mentioned, that Colony shall be entitled to send members to the House of Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in proportion to its population and to its contribution to the Imperial revenue, upon the basis of the last Census of the Colony and the actual sum last paid in for the year after that in which the said Census shall have been taken.

3. This calculation shall be made every tenth year, and until it is made the proportions of members shall be as follows. Great Britain shall return 670 members, as provided in the Representation of the People Act, and the Redistribution of Seats Act, 1885, England returning 465 members, Wales 30 members, Scotland 72 members, and Ireland 103 members. Subject to the provision above recited, the Dominion of Canada shall return 83 members, New South Wales 16 members, Victoria (Australia) 16 members, South Australia 5 members, Queensland 5 members, Western Australia 1 member, New Zealand 10 members, Tasmania 2 members, the Cape of Good Hope 20 members, Newfoundland 1 member, and Natal 1 member, and this proportion shall not be disturbed before the first day of January, 1893. Provided always that a redistribution shall be made as regards the Colonies mentioned above before the first day of January, 1894. This redistribution shall always be made by a Committee of the House of Commons, closing its sittings not less than six months before the date mentioned, and on the basis that each Colony shall have one member for every fifty thousand of its population, subject always to the withdrawal of one or more of these members in proportion to the amount the Colony has fallen short in the previous financial year of the United Kingdom in its payments into the exchequer or treasury of the United Kingdom.

4. The Legislature of each Colony herewithin named shall in every case exercise its local rights and privileges as at present; and it shall be lawful for any Colony not so named to apply for a legislative Constitution in the way heretofore customary, and upon condition that when it has obtained local representative government it shall pay a like proportion of the revenue payable by the Colonies generally to the exchequer of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland upon a similar basis and subject to like restrictions.

5. It shall be within the power of the Legislature of each Colony to

prescribe the manner in which its representatives in the Imperial Parliament shall be chosen, provided always that the choice be that of those who are entitled to exercise the suffrage in the Colony itself and that the representatives sent to the Imperial Parliament shall not be merely delegates with instructions from the Colonial Legislature or Legislatures.

6. The debt of each Colony shall be upon the separate responsibility of that Colony until such arrangements as may be found practicable are made between the Imperial Parliament and the Legislatures of the respective Colonies for the purpose of consolidating the debts. When such debts are consolidated, moneys raised for Colonial purposes shall be raised upon the basis of Imperial responsibility for such debt, subject to the provision of interest and sinking fund annually by the Colonial Legislature or Legislatures. The Colonies, being, therefore, enabled to borrow money for public purposes at the same rate as the United Kingdom, must contribute towards the defences of the Empire in the following manner, that is to say:—

Section 1. Each Colony shall form, if it have not already formed, a militia: the active militia, or one-tenth of the whole, being formed of Volunteers enrolled by enlistment, who will serve for three years in time of peace, and who will be, so far as practicable, drilled without interference with their avocations; and the reserve militia, who may in case of special emergency be called upon to serve in the following order:—First, unmarried men or widowers, without children, between the ages of eighteen and thirty years; second, unmarried men or widowers, without children, between the ages of thirty and forty-five years; third, married men or widowers, with children, between the ages of thirty and forty-five years; and fourth, men between the ages of forty-five and sixty. Each Colony shall be divided into a given number of military districts according to circumstances, and a military school of instruction shall be provided in each district. Arms and munitions of war shall be provided by, and remain the property of, the Imperial Government; but local fortifications shall be provided at the cost of the Colony concerned.

Section 2. Contributions shall be made by each Colony to the Imperial Exchequer over and above the amount to be remitted for the charge of debt and sinking fund at the rate of not more than ten shillings per head of the population in each year, for the purpose of providing arms for Colonial defence and extending the naval service of the Empire for the more effective protection of the contributing Colonies. This money so contributed will be voted by the Imperial Parliament solely for the purposes of Colonial defence by the land and naval forces.

7. Questions relating to the taxation or revenue of the United Kingdom shall be voted upon in the Imperial Parliament by representatives of the constituencies of the United Kingdom only, and the Imperial Parliament shall not, save in so far as may be afterwards agreed by each Colonial Legislature, impose any taxation upon any of the Colonies in this Act mentioned, save as above recited. On all other questions than those of taxation and revenue and expenditure upon debt, the army and navy, the Civil List and Consolidated Fund, the Civil Services, and the cost of the collection of the revenue or the modification of the franchise or the redistribution of seats in the United Kingdom, the representatives of the Colonies shall have the power of sitting, speaking, and voting in the Imperial Parliament in the same manner as the representatives of the United Kingdom now have and exercise.

8. For the purposes of this Act England shall be divided into two provinces, divided by a line in such a manner that the counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Warwick, Worcester, and Hereford belong to the Southern province, and the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Leicester, Stafford, and Salop be left to the Northern province. Wales shall form a province, Scotland shall form a province, and Ireland shall form a province. The chief town of the Southern province shall be the city of Westminster; the chief town of the Northern province shall be the city of Manchester [or the town of Leeds or the town of Sheffield]; the chief town of Wales shall be the city of Llandaff [or the town of Aberystwith or the town of Carnarvon]; the chief town of Scotland shall be the city of Edinburgh; and the chief town of Ireland shall be the city of Dublin. Any legislative measure having exclusive reference to part of any one of these provinces shall be introduced in the Imperial Parliament, and, having been read a first and a second time in the House of Commons, shall then be referred to a Grand Committee composed of all the members of the House representing constituencies within that province, who shall report upon it, with or without amendments, to the House of Commons, and after due notice the report may be received, and the Bill read a third time in the discretion of the House. Each of these Grand Committees may elect to sit either at Westminster or in the chief town of the province to which it belongs, and by itself or by sub-Committees call and examine witnesses, and hear counsel on behalf of or against any such Bill. Provided always that no such Grand or sub-Committee shall sit during the Session of the Imperial Parliament, except at Westminster, and then within hours at which the House of Commons is not actually sitting, and provided also, that any such Bill at any of its stages may be carried over from one Session of Parliament to another without being required again to pass through stages already passed, saving always that every such Bill shall lapse at a dissolution of Parliament.

9. It shall be lawful for Her Majesty to summon to the House of Lords as peers for life, or upon good behaviour, persons who have already served for not less than three years in one of the principal Colonial administrative offices, having had, during six years at the least, seats in the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly of one of the Colonies herein named, in such a way that there shall not be more than one such life peer for every complete three hundred thousand inhabitants of the Colony from which he shall be chosen. And no such life peer shall be qualified to take his seat or vote until he have shown to the satisfaction of a Committee of the House of Peers that he is possessed of at the least one thousand pounds a year derived from land, or fifty thousand pounds of money or other personal property.

10. Meeting places for the Grand Committee of each province shall

be provided in the chief town of each province at the charge of the Imperial Revenue.

11. The travelling expenses alone, by the mail route, of representatives chosen by the Colonies to sit in the Imperial Parliament, may be defrayed by the Colonies which send them, but no sustentation or other allowance beyond the sum of twenty shillings a day during their travel or during the Session of the Imperial Parliament may be paid by any Colonial Legislature to any such representative, and no allowance shall be so payable to any life peer called to the House of Peers under this Act.

OBITUARY.

WE regret to have to announce the death of Sir Alexander Stuart, K.C.M.G., the Executive Commissioner for New South Wales in connection with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, which took place on the 16th ult. Sir Alexander was born at Edinburgh in 1825, and was educated at the University of his native city. After being for some years in India, he joined the Bank of New South Wales, and was in Sydney as Assistant-Secretary from 1851 to 1855. In 1855 he resigned his connection with the bank and joined the late Captain Towns, of the firm of R. Towns & Co. The firm was largely connected with the development of Northern Queensland, Townsville being named after them, and they had trading stations in many of the Pacific islands. In 1874 Mr. Stuart, who was closely identified with the Anglican Church in New South Wales, entered Parliament as Member for East Sydney. In 1876 he was Colonial Treasurer under Sir John Robertson, and in 1884, on the fall of the Parkes-Robertson Ministry, he formed an administration which broke up last year in consequence of his being struck down with paralysis. It was thought by his many friends and admirers in Sydney that change of air and scene would do much to restore him to health, and hence his visit to this country. On account of the precarious state of his health Sir Alexander did not make many appearances here in public as a speaker, but on two or three occasions he addressed English audiences and invariably gave expression to his desire for increased and permanent British Imperial unity. In a letter to one of the officials of the League he lately said, in reference to the preservation of the unity of the Empire, "you may indeed count upon me as one of your strongest friends." It will be remembered that it was during his premiership that the New South Wales contingent was sent to the Soudan, though the entire credit of that act he has magnanimously ascribed to his friend and colleague, Mr. Dalley. The illness which proved fatal to him was an attack of typhoid fever. He leaves a widow and family.

COLONIAL PRESS AND "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

RECEIVED the second number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, which seems to be conducted with as much vigour and ability as the first.—*Pictorial Australian, Adelaide.*

Ought to find a place on the library table of every intelligent Colonist. It is, in all respects, a most presentable journal, doing credit alike to its editor and its publisher.

The journal should be widely read by those who agree with its views, and who will derive encouragement from the evident vitality in the movement, and by those who imagine that Federation is a wild dream of theorists, and who will be astonished to find that the matter has assumed proportions which may cause them to reconsider if not change their opinion.—*Blenleigh Review.*

Neatly got up, and of handy size.—*New Zealand Mail.*

It contains thirty-two pages, filled with matter of great interest.—*New Zealand Herald.*

It contains plenty of solid reading.—*Canterbury Times, Christchurch.*

The organ of the Imperial Federation League, IMPERIAL FEDERATION, is doing useful service to the cause it advocates.—*Home and Colonial Mail.*

It is well written and full of interesting matter upon the subject which the promoters have at heart.—*South Australian Register.*

Ably edited and well got-up paper.—*Colonial Trade Journal.*

We shall read the future numbers of this publication with every attention.—*Montreal Daily Herald.*

It contains a large amount of weighty, well-written matter; and deserves encouragement not only from the Mother Country but from all her numerous Colonies. Our limited space prevents us giving extracts from articles which at the present epoch of solidifications of powerful states and the absorption of weaker ones should be read by all.—*Elmore Standard.*

Not mealy mouthed in its sentiments, or milk and water in its language.—*Melbourne Leader.*

AT the meeting of the Suez Canal Company, in Paris recently, it was reported that a sudden increase had taken place in the Australian trade. In 1878 there were only 27 ships, with 3,509 passengers, passed through the Canal; whereas in 1884 there were 228 ships, with 33,288 passengers. The 3,624 ships which passed through the Canal last year included 2,734 English, 294 French, 155 German, 139 Dutch, 109 Italian, 69 Austrian, 30 Norwegian, 29 Russian, 26 Spanish, 16 Turkish, 5 Portuguese, 3 American, 3 Danish, 2 Japanese, 1 Belgian, 1 Greek, and 1 Persian.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES, AND ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE.

BRITISH subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

THE SECRETARY,

Imperial Federation League,

43, St. Margaret's Offices,

Victoria Street,

London, S.W.

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

1. A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.

2. Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—

(a) A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

(b) A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.

Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.

(c) The names and addresses of the members of the Association.

(d) A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."

3. On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.

4. The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other, with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.

5. It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of Branches.

Such central organisations, if formed, would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.

6. Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.

7. Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.

8. Individual members may be supplied with all publications of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.

9. The General Committee hopes to be furnished with reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.

10. It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of Imperial importance.

11. By the aid of the organisation of the League information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.

12. It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in Parliament and in the press, etc. etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.

13. The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year.

It is to be observed that the ordinary Annual Subscription by members of the League is One Guinea, but the Annual Registration Fee has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid. Although the General Committee only require the "annual registration fees" to be sent from Branches, still, considering the heavy expenditure which will have to be incurred in carrying out the objects of the League, they will thankfully receive contributions from the Branches as well as from private individuals.

A GRAND BANQUET

OF THE MEMBERS OF THE

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE

WILL TAKE PLACE AT

THE FREEMASONS' TAVERN,

On Saturday, July 3rd, 1886.

The Right Hon. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY will preside.

H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge has signified his intention to be present.

The following Gentleman have consented, among others, to act as Stewards on this occasion:—

The Duke of Manchester, K.P.
The Right Hon. Lord Brabazon.
The Right Hon. Lord Brabourne.
Lord Castletown and Ossory.
The Right Hon. Earl of Dunraven, K.P.
The Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone.
The Right Hon. Viscount Hampden, G.C.B.
Lord Claud J. Hamilton, M.P.
The Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery.
The Earl of Wemyss and March.
Right Hon. Sir H. Holland, Bart., K.C.M.G., M.P.
Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard, G.C.B.
Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.
Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, M.P.
Right Hon. Sir Harry Verney, Bart.
Sir James Anderson.
Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
Sir Thomas Brassey, Bart., M.P.
Sir G. F. Bowen, G.C.M.G.
Sir Algernon Borthwick, M.P.
Sir Daniel Cooper, Bart., K.C.M.G.
Sir William Crossman, Bart., K.C.M.G., M.P.
Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G., M.P.
Sir Charles Clifford.
Sir John Coode.
Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, K.C.M.G.
Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, Bart., M.P.
Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P.
Sir Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G.
Sir Roper Lethbridge, M.P.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
Sir George Mackay, K.C.M.G.
Sir F. A. Milner, Bart.
Sir Charles Nugent, K.C.B.
Sir C. Nicholson, Bart.
Sir G. E. Paget, K.C.B.
Major-General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., M.P.
Sir Rawson W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B.

Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G. (High Commissioner for Canada).
Sir Samuel Wilson.
W. Shepherd Allen, M.P.
L. R. Baily, M.P.
T. Syms Bristowe, Q.C., M.P.
P. Van der Byl, M.P.
A. Baldwin.
T. H. Baylis, Q.C.
H. T. Mackenzie Bell, Esq.
S. Barker Booth, Esq.
Oscar Browning, Esq.
J. J. Butcher, Esq.
Professor E. C. Clark.
Captain J. C. R. Colomb.
W. J. Courthorpe, Esq.
L. L. Cohen, M.P.
Joseph Cowen, M.P.
Professor G. H. Darwin.
R. R. Dobell, Esq.
T. Douglas, Esq.
David Duncan, Esq.
Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G.
Edward Easton, C.E.
C. Washington Eves, Esq.
H. O. Arnold Forster, Esq.
J. T. Agg Gardner, M.F.
Col. E. T. Gourley, M.P.
W. H. Grenfell, M.P.
Robert Gillespie, Esq.
G. Graham, Esq.
W. S. Sebright Green, Esq.
Albert Grey, M.P.
W. Greswell, Esq.
F. Hardcastle, M.P.
J. Henniker Heaton, M.P.
E. Heneage, M.P.
Mitchell Henry, M.P.
A. Hickman, M.P.
E. W. Howson, Esq.
Professor T. McK. Hughes.
Hon. M. E. Finch-Hatton, M.P.

Hon. H. Holbrook.
Hon. W. Lowther, M.P.
James Jackson, Esq.
H. Seton Karr, M.P.
Col. King-Harman, M.P.
H. L. W. Lawson, M.P.
Stanley Leighton, M.P.
F. P. Labilliere, Esq.
Lieut.-Gen. Lowry, C.B.
J. Stanley Little, Esq.
J. M. Ludlow, Esq.
Alexander McArthur, M.P.
O. V. Morgan, M.P.
Gisborne Molineux, Esq.
Major W. V. Morgan.
Samuel Morley, Esq.
Kenric B. Murray (Sec., London Chamber of Commerce).
Professor A. S. Napier.
Colonel McCalmont, C.B.
Wilson Noble, Esq.
James L. Ohlson.
W. Pomfret Pomfret, M.P.
P. Ralli, Esq.
James Rankin, Esq.
Peter Redpath.
G. W. Rusden, Esq.
William Shaen, Esq.
Col. H. A. Silver.
S. W. Silver, Esq.
Col. Coysgarne Sim.
Professor G. G. Stokes.
Lieut.-Col. Myles Sandys, M.P.
Mr. Serjeant Simon, M.P.
W. Tipping, M.P.
Alex. Turnbull, Esq.
C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.
Lieut.-Col. Campbell Walker.
William Westgarth, Esq.
Major G. de Winton.
Frederick Young (Hon. Sec. R.C.I.), Esq.

APPLICATIONS FOR THE REMAINING TICKETS should be made at once to
THE ORGANISING SECRETARY, 43, St. Margaret's Offices,
Victoria Street.

Members of the League who wish to invite their friends to the Banquet, should apply to the Organising Secretary, stating names. Invitations will then be issued to them on the tickets, and sent to the member applying:

TICKETS PRICE 25s. EACH.

Imperial Federation.

AUGUST, 1886.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

PROFESSOR F. W. NEWMAN proposes that the QUEEN'S Jubilee should be celebrated by the issue of a new gold coin, of the value of twenty-five shillings, to be called an Empress.

IMMEDIATELY after the General Election last year there were forty-one members of the General Committee of the League who were members of the House of Commons. Immediately on the close of the General Election this year there are seventy-four.

MR. ALEXANDER WOODS, of Winnipeg, has been appointed "Agent-General for the Dominion to Australasia." The object of his appointment is to advance the trade interests of Canada in Australasia.

COUGHT not something more to be done than is being done to divert the stream of emigration, which is constantly flowing out from the British Isles to the United States, to our Colonies? The Emigration Returns for the past half-year show that of a total British emigration of 112,227, 75,224 went to the United States, 19,890 to Australasia, and only 12,224 to British North America. To the other British Colonies the emigration was little more than nominal.

THE capital value of one emigrant is from £200 to £250. The loss, therefore, to the Empire, in the period referred to, through emigration to the United States, has been on the lowest computation, upwards of £15,000,000.

A RESOLUTION was carried at the Conference of the Chambers of Commerce on the 6th ult., authorising a deputation to wait upon the Prime Minister, the Colonial Secretary, and other members of the Government, for the purpose of urging that the Colonial Governments should be at once consulted as to the best means of carrying out some efficient scheme of Imperial Federation.

ON the 8th ult. the Associated Chambers of Commerce passed a resolution in favour of federating the English Chambers of Commerce with similar bodies in the Colonies. Should the plan be carried out it will greatly aid, doubtless, in promoting trade and commerce. It may well be said that, thanks chiefly to the efforts of the Imperial Federation League, Federation is "now in the air," and is affecting everybody.

BUT for the pressure on our space this month in consequence of the verbatim reports we give of the papers, speeches, and proceedings in connection with the Conference of the League, we should give greater prominence to the Conference of the Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, before referred to, which was so fine an expression of that Imperial unity which we are seeking to strengthen and consolidate. We heartily congratulate MR. KENRIC MURRAY and the London Chamber of Commerce on the success of their project, which cannot fail to have large results in the future. It would be a good thing if the Conference could be made, say, a triennial one. The periodical debate of

such subjects as last month engaged the attention of the elect of the British and Colonial Chambers of Commerce by an assembly in which all shades of opinion at home, and in the outlying portion of the Empire, would be represented, could not fail to be the means of focussing and also diffusing light.

IT was satisfactory to find due prominence given to the subject of "Postal Reform." The opinion of MR. PEARSON-HILL, who introduced the subject to the notice of the Conference, that "the Postal Union rate of 2½d. should be extended to the Colonies, on social, political, and even economical grounds," is one we fully share. The desirability of the reduction of the inter-Imperial postal rates, where those rates are above the rates of the Postal Union, is admitted by all, and the only objection of any force which can be urged against it is that of expense. But this objection ought not to stand, especially in the face of such information as we were able to publish in our last issue. The Post-Office exists for the convenience of the public, and not for the purpose of making money to meet the needs of the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER. Allowing that the postal service would not be self-supporting, if the proposed reduction were made, is that a sufficient reason why it should not be made? All branches of the postal service, as it is, are not self-supporting. The carriage of a newspaper costs 1d., while the postage is ½d. The cost of the mail-packet service exceeds the receipts, it is said, even now by £1,000 a day; but it may very reasonably be contended in view of our past experience that the reduction of the rate would increase the gross receipts rather than reduce them. Moreover, it is not too much to assume that those who would most benefit by the change would be willing to guarantee the Post-Office against heavy loss. But the reduction, when it is made, should not be simply to the Postal Union rates. What the Empire needs is a penny post to any and every part of it. At present we are free to make what postal arrangements we please between ourselves and the Colonies, and it is to be hoped that the opportunity will not be allowed to slip.

SIR W. J. CLARKE, BART., M.L.C., Victoria, speaking at a banquet given by the Clothworkers' Company at their hall on the 21st ult., said that, to his mind, "Federation was to be found in complete reciprocity of tariff and trade. If Great Britain and the Colonies conducted their commercial relations on purely equal terms, Federation would immediately follow."

THE Government of the Dominion of Canada has sent instructions to SIR CHARLES TUPPER, High Commissioner for Canada, to confer with the Australian Agents-General in order to establish, if possible, cable communication between North America and Australia, and to ascertain what annual subsidy the antipodean Colonies would guarantee.

ON the day that we went to press with our last number the first through train of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver's Island started from Montreal in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The line is nearly three thousand miles in length, and is a grand contribution on the part of Canada towards both the Federation and defence of the Empire.

IN a paper read by MR. SIVERIGHT in the Conference Room at the Exhibition lately, on "Colonial Telegraphs," it was stated that Australia could now boast of 33,863 miles of telegraphs, or 7,000 miles more than the Mother Country possessed. In South Africa the Colonies had

subscribed to a common convention, and made it possible to send a message over 2,000 miles of wire for one shilling. MR. SIVERIGHT favoured the idea of Imperial Federation of telegraphs as a prelude to political Federation.

WE greatly regret we are not able to find room for a report of SIR CHARLES H. NUGENT's lecture, briefly noticed in another column. We are simply embarrassed with matter this month, and find it impossible to notice and report everything we would. This fact certainly reveals how much and extensively the Federation question is stirring, and therein is occasion for satisfaction. We may, probably be able to present the views of SIR CHARLES—who has already, as our readers will remember, written in these pages on Imperial defence—on the larger question later on.

WHAT the Prime Minister refused to do the officers of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines have themselves done, namely, find funds for a review at Portsmouth for the entertainment of our Colonial and Indian visitors. The review came off on the 23rd. Two special trains conveyed the visitors from Victoria Station to the Dockyard, whence they proceeded to inspect Her Majesty's ships *Edinburgh*, *Collingwood*, *Sultan*, and *Impérieuse*. After luncheon, which was served on board the *Orontes*, the guests were conveyed to Spithead, where the powerful ironclad *Reserve Squadron* was inspected. The *Orontes* afterwards proceeded to Stokes Bay, where the mode of a night attack on an ironclad at anchor was witnessed, and also the method of clearing a passage through an enemy's mines. On returning from Stokes Bay our visitors were conducted over the *Victory*. The day was very rainy, and this, together with the occurrence of an unfortunate accident in the morning, in which seven persons were injured, but happily no lives lost, threw a gloom over the proceedings.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, speaking at the banquet given by the LORD MAYOR at the Mansion House on the 7th ult., "to meet the Archbishops and Bishops," called attention to the Church Federation which was begun so long ago, and had united the Colonies with the Mother Country with such close and strong ties. "Forty years ago," he said, "there were seven, while at the present time there were seventy-five Colonial dioceses, every one of which looked to England for help and encouragement. The Church, therefore, had prepared the way, if Federation was to come, by founding these ties of religious Federation upon which alone a real Federation could be built."

THE *Graphic* has paid us the compliment of imitating us. With its issue, July 24th, it has published a coloured map of the Empire, and diagrams similar to those in our special number. The letterpress is supplied by CAPTAIN COLOMB. The *Graphic* has imitated, but we venture to think not excelled us. Our map is a better map than the *Graphic* map, ever so much. Of course it is!

IT is with much satisfaction that we record the admission of three of the principal Australian Colonies to our Parcels Post system. This is a step in the direction of an Imperial Postal Union so strenuously advocated by us. The facilitating and cheapening of communication between the different parts of the Empire should be an object to be kept constantly in view by the sagacious and patriotic statesman, and, indeed, by all who have a part, however humble, in determining the relations between England and

her Colonies and Dependencies. Much has been done already, by science in particular, to practically reduce the distance of the one from the other, but much still remains to be done. Perhaps nothing, at least to the imagination, tends more to remove the idea of distance and separation than frequent and easy communication. We rejoice, therefore, at every move in this direction.

PARCELS not exceeding eleven pounds in weight are now received at any post-office in the United Kingdom for transmission to New South Wales, South Australia, and Victoria. Parcel mails are, and have been since the 1st ult., made up in London for these Colonies for despatch, alternately, by the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, and the Orient Steam Navigation Company, sailing fortnightly from the Thames. Parcels intended to be so sent must be posted, in London, generally not later than the previous night, and in the rest of the United Kingdom in time to reach London not later than Tuesday night by the ordinary Inland Parcel Mail Service. The greatest length of parcel allowed is 3 feet 6 inches, and greatest length and girth combined is 6 feet. The rates of postage are, for a parcel not exceeding 2 lbs. in weight, 2s.; and for each additional pound, or fraction of a pound, 1s.

A PARCEL POST for Canada is announced to begin on the 1st inst. The greatest length of parcel allowed is 2 ft., and the greatest depth or width 1 ft. The rates vary according to the province, from 1s. 3d. for a one-pound parcel sent to New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and the Province of Quebec, to 1s. 10½d. for a similar parcel sent to British Columbia or Vancouver's Island.

AT the banquet on the 3rd ult. LORD ROSEBERY alluded in terms of warm sympathy and approval to the honour which a few days previously had been conferred on the Premier of New South Wales. "In the last week," he said, "we have registered our first Australian Privy Councillor—an Australian Privy Councillor who had the genius to conceive and the patriotism to execute the daring plan of sending a contingent from New South Wales to stand shoulder to shoulder with our soldiers in the Soudan." He characterised this as "a considerable movement in advance," and none of our readers will be likely to disagree with him. That an Australian statesman should have been sworn a member of the Privy Council is a matter for much satisfaction. It establishes a precedent which might be speedily followed with advantage in the case of representatives of other Colonies. Why should not the Agents-General in every case be made Privy Councillors? They are here on the spot, and are invariably men who have made their mark in State affairs in the Colonies from which they come. There are upwards of two hundred members of the Privy Council, and surely no inconsiderable proportion of the membership should comprise representatives of the Empire beyond sea.

IT is gratifying to find that so few Federationists have lost their seats at the late election. Among the few who have come to grief at the polls, we are sorry to say, is SIR THOMAS BRASSEY, who has rendered good service, by his gifts and otherwise, to the cause of Federation. However, he is not likely, it may with certainty be said, to be long without a seat in one House or the other. We regret, too, that that high-minded politician, MR. JOSEPH COWEN, is without a seat in the present Parliament, as well as MR. ALBERT GREY and CAPTAIN NORTON. Among the most

active of the members of the League are MR. ARTHUR COHEN, Q.C.; the RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, SIR JOHN GORST, Q.C.; MR. A. J. STAVELEY HILL, Q.C.; SIR H. T. HOLLAND, BART.; MR. H. L. W. LAWSON, and MR. HOWARD VINCENT, whom we congratulate on being again victorious. Among our new allies in the House of Commons, we have pleasure in saying, are CAPTAIN COLOMB, MR. WILSON NOBLE, and SIR SAMUEL WILSON. MR. H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER made a splendid fight at Darlington, and only failed of success by fifty-seven votes. We trust that victory waits to crown him the next time he enters the fray.

THE PREMIERS of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland have concluded their consultation with ADMIRAL TRYON, and the result is that it is proposed that ships, costing some £600,000, shall be built at once by the English Government, and that the Colonies in Australia, or such of them as are parties to the arrangement, shall reimburse the Admiralty by payment of an annual sum for depreciation; that the Colonies shall defray the whole cost of maintenance, amounting to £150,000, and place the vessels at the absolute disposal of the admiral commanding the station. So much for the part of the Colonies. On the other side the English Government is to undertake not to reduce the strength of its fleet in Australian waters, and to place at the disposal of the Colonies an increased number of naval cadetships. Of course this is nothing but a proposal at present, but it is a decided step in advance, and will lead, it is to be hoped, to a definite arrangement, which will be but the beginning of a comprehensive scheme of Imperial Federation for defensive purposes.

CAPTAIN COLOMB—whom we heartily congratulate on the success of his spirited contest at Bow and Bromley, and who, as the *Times* has remarked, “is well known as the able advocate of Imperial defence, and will be an acquisition to the new Parliament”—in the paper he read at the Royal United Service Institution, pointed out that our food supply largely depended upon the effective and successful defence of our commerce in time of war. This is a very important consideration to a nation which grows only about a third of the corn supply it consumes. Adequate defence for our sea commerce in the present condition of things, without doubt, is vital to us. But is the present condition of things the best possible? MR. BADEN-POWELL, in a paper he read at the session of the Chambers of Commerce Congress on the 7th ult., advocated State guarantees of war risks at sea, insisting that the State should compensate owners for the capture or destruction of private property at sea in time of war. Much, no doubt, may be said in favour of this view, and much may be said against it; in fact, as SIR ROGER DE COVERLEV oracularly declared on a well-known occasion, “Much may be said on both sides.” After all, would not a more excellent way be to give private property absolute immunity from capture or injury? For a long time France, the United States, and even the “barbarous Russ” have been seeking to get this recognised as a part of the comity of nations, but England has stood out against it. Our opposition when foreign nations had not such fleets as some of them now have, when, indeed, England’s navy equalled all the navies of Europe put together, and when we had not such an enormous population to feed as now, was intelligible, but many things have happened, and great changes have come about, since then.

JUST before going to press we hear that Mr. Frederick Young has resigned the honorary secretariat of the Royal Colonial Institute. The Council in accepting his resignation have elected him as one of the vice-presidents.

THE OBJECTS TO BE GAINED BY THE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

A Paper read by PROFESSOR J. R. SEELEY, at the Conference of the Imperial Federation League, July 1st, 1886.

THE League has not committed itself to any special form of Federation, and yet the text-books distinguish several possible forms; and it is probable enough that other forms, adapted to new circumstances, will appear in the world. Sir Alexander Galt will consider this afternoon the means of introducing Federation into the Empire; in doing so he will probably discuss the form of Federation to be introduced, and I do not wish to trespass upon his province. I must restrict myself, therefore, to those general advantages which the Empire would gain from any form of union more satisfactory and more calculated for duration than that which exists at present. I am commissioned, in short, to open this Conference by stating the grounds of that

FUNDAMENTAL CONVICTION UPON WHICH THE LEAGUE IS FOUNDED,

and which justifies it in existing and spreading itself, in hoping and believing, in working with ardour and enthusiasm, without a detailed profession of faith. This conviction is, that as the present connection between England and the Colonies is evidently not definitive, and as it must either grow slighter and slighter until it is dissolved, or else be strengthened, while it cannot be strengthened without being also modified and reformed, the latter alternative is to be preferred to the former. We are for reform and reorganisation, not for inaction and indifference, and we undertake the task of reorganisation in no spirit of despondency, but, on the contrary, with confident hope. I am to state, I say, the grounds of this conviction, but in the briefest possible way, not as discussing the subject, but as furnishing heads for discussion.

First, let me sweep away

ONE OR TWO PRECONCEPTIONS OR PREJUDICES

which haunt our minds, and make it seem essentially improbable and hard to conceive that so vast an empire can be durable. We call it *overgrown*; we compare it to the vast military empires of history which have crumbled away, and to those vast Colonial empires so similar to our own, the empires of Spain and France, and our own earlier empire which was dissolved by the secession of the American Colonies. From these examples we draw the conclusion that states of a moderate size, such as Great Britain or France, are natural and healthy, and that vast aggregations of territory are abnormal, monstrous, and therefore—when by accident they appear—certain to be ephemeral. You see, that to refute this prejudice would need a treatise; I can only give you the heads of such a treatise. I say, then, that the effect of steam and electricity has been to make these vast aggregations of territory natural and convenient. See the United States—how they expand, how they refuse to be divided. Look at Russia. See how, within our own Empire, provinces draw together and form federal states over vast areas, as in Canada and in Australia.

Another prejudice is that the Colonies are involved by their connection with the Mother Country in all the accidental quarrels with European states in which England may engage, and in which the Colonies have no real interest or concern. Let us only examine carefully the European wars in which England has been engaged since the seventeenth century. We shall find, first, that they have not risen in the casual, accidental way supposed, but out of large, permanent causes; secondly—and this is most important—that the great permanent cause has been the Colonial Empire itself. On the historical point I must refer you to what I have said elsewhere. The great eighteenth-century wars of England, I assert, were mainly Colonial, Imperial struggles; apart from the Empire we have scarcely any interests: it can scarcely be said that England has any European policy in which the Colonies are not concerned. When we have fought it has been for Colonies or trade, and trade is only Colonies under another name.

BUT IS THE TIME YET COME?

Might we not by a too hasty scheme involve ourselves in inextricable difficulties? I am in favour of federation, not of premature federation. By all means let us proceed deliberately; at every step let us make sure of our ground. But this does not mean, let us put the question aside for the present, and take it up again twenty years hence. There is a drift at work which will soon carry federation out of the region of possible things, unless we keep our minds fixed upon it, unless we prepare it by perpetual discussion, unless we popularise the idea and make vast multitudes aware of their interest in it, unless we mature the scheme and discover the statesmen who shall realise it. Therefore Mr. Forster created the League; therefore the Prince of Wales created this Exhibition where the League now assembles.

Again, I am in favour of

A GOOD FEDERATION, NOT OF A BAD ONE.

It is easy to point out evils which might arise from a federal system ill contrived, which would cramp the Colonies or the

Mother Country or both. But let us suppose that the present movement proceeds, steadily and deliberately, that after thorough discussion a scheme emerges, that this scheme is, after the fullest examination, found satisfactory and accepted. What are the advantages we expect from federation thus adopted?

In a conference like this it is good not to waste time on anything of secondary importance. Let us omit, then, all the minor advantages that might occur to us. You will be invited to-morrow to consider the two subjects of

IMPERIAL DEFENCE AND EMIGRATION.

These then, I think, are the two heads under which the principal advantages of federation may be classed.

We desire Federation on the ground that the Mother Country and the Colonies have important common interests, and as furnishing a means by which those interests may be discussed. Now, what have the Colonies and the Mother Country in common? Between them there is ever flowing a wave of trade, and also a wave of population. These require to be carefully watched. Suppose war should come and interrupt trade; what disasters might follow both to England and to the Colonies! Therefore the water-way should be guarded. In other words, we want Imperial defence.

Again, there is a movement of population—one of the greatest, most important movements ever witnessed. In the Colonies there is land for all our people; in England there are hands ready to do all the work which the Colonies may need. But in this great displacement what room for error, mismanagement, confusion! What scope, therefore, for common discussion, for an Imperial Parliament, for Imperial statesmanship!

FEDERATION IS, IN ONE WORD,

the calling into existence an organ of discussion and legislation for affairs common to the whole Empire, and in this in such a way as not to interfere with the liberty and self-government of the parts. This organ is needed for two great affairs, which without such an organ cannot have justice done to them, first, for the defence of a trade which covers all seas and which is endangered by every approach of war, secondly, for the regulation of a vast exodus, which is dispersing the dense population of these islands over the boundless half-empty spaces in which has been established the authority of the Queen.

J. R. SEELEY.

MEANS BY WHICH IMPERIAL FEDERATION MAY BE CARRIED OUT.

A Paper read by SIR ALEXANDER GALT, G.C.M.G., at the Conference of the Imperial Federation League, July 1st, 1886.

THE evidence afforded by the present Colonial and Indian Exhibition of the varied resources of the vast dependencies of Great Britain has naturally suggested to the Imperial Federation League that the time was opportune for the discussion of the means whereby the existing ties of union might be drawn still more close, and the British Empire consolidated and strengthened.

I feel that an apology is due from me for venturing to open the discussion of a subject of such gravity and difficulty as the Federal Union of the Empire; but the responsibility must be largely shared by the Committee, who have imposed this duty upon me.

To the most ordinary observer it must be evident that

EVENTS ARE IRRESISTIBLY TENDING TO SERIOUS CHANGES

in the relations of the United Kingdom to itself, and also towards its dependencies. Democracy has become the predominant power under the new franchise, and local reforms will assume a prominence that threatens to dwarf the importance of Imperial foreign policy. While simultaneously with these radical changes at home, the greater self-governing Colonies are developing so rapidly in population, commerce, and wealth, that the period must be close at hand when their national aspirations and ambitions will seek to be gratified by an admission to Imperial Councils, or they will be sought, it may be feared, in independence. The question which must be speedily solved is, whether the British Empire will be scattered into fragments, or whether such a new starting-point can be found as will, by separating purely local from common Imperial objects, unite the whole nation in continuous effort to maintain and extend the glory and power of our common country.

In the presence of such a distinguished assemblage of well-known statesmen and representatives from the Colonies and the Mother Country, I feel that it would be highly presumptuous in me to attempt to define any plan by which the great question of Imperial unity can be solved. My duty will, I conceive, be best discharged by a general review of the position of affairs at this moment, leaving it to others to indicate more definitely the method by which the end may be achieved.

The genius of the British people, as portrayed in all their past history, is shown in an

AVOIDANCE OF ABRUPT AND REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE.

The Constitution under which we have hitherto happily lived is the result of the development and progress of centuries. Our Colonial system is equally the product of experience; and even in the government of the native races which in India recognise the authority of the Crown, a steady and generally consistent policy of education and progress is pursued.

Much as the union of the Empire is to be desired, I am not sanguine enough to believe it possible that by any one great act of legislation it can be accomplished. The movement must be spontaneous, and the outgrowth of circumstances plainly indicating each step required; the edifice must be slowly and carefully erected from the foundation upwards, until each important detail has found its practical solution, and public opinion has sanctioned and consolidated the whole.

I may probably differ from many of my Colonial brethren, and even from our English coadjutors, but I am thoroughly convinced that

THE MOVEMENT FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION MUST COMMENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN ITSELF,

and the cornerstone be laid here before the admission of the Colonies can be seriously undertaken. If the Committee, in honouring me with their commands to address you to-day, have expected that I should urge the claims and wants of the Colonies, as more especially pressing the subject of union upon the people of the United Kingdom, I must necessarily disappoint them. The great change which we desire will more seriously affect the Mother Country than her outlying possessions; and while it would be both easy and unquestionably true to enlarge upon the resources and demonstrate the readiness of the Colonies to share in the rights and duties of a common citizenship, I greatly fear the effect would be to weaken our cause, by inducing the belief that it was a Colonial, and not essentially an Imperial or British, question.

If the Colonies be expected to take the lead in the discussion of Imperial Federation, it is obvious that, with their varied local interests and feelings, there is great danger of such a divergence of view being presented as might induce the conclusion that harmonious blending was impossible. Or, on the other hand, the general Colonial opinion might be found to be so opposed to existing English sentiment and policy on some important detail of government that despair of ultimate success might once more revive in this country the idea that the Colonial bond was only temporary, and must in the natural course of time be replaced by independence. Upon both grounds, therefore, I contend that it is wiser for the present to keep the Colonial question somewhat in the background, so far as ultimate legislative union is concerned, and to confine the treatment of this branch of the subject to an immediate defensive and commercial union, trusting to the natural and growing influence of mutual interest to prevail in the final absorption of the whole Empire under one Federal system.

I have no desire to introduce current political topics, but it is impossible to discuss Imperial Federation without reference to actual passing events, and their causes in this country, and I trust, therefore, to be pardoned for the references I am compelled to make to the Irish Home Rule measure.

It appears to me that Irish Home Rule has become

THE LEADING QUESTION OF THE DAY

not so much from any immediate or sudden change in the state of Ireland as from a feeling that the conditions of Parliamentary government have altered, and that the House of Commons is absolutely unable to find time and attention for the vast variety of domestic and foreign affairs pressing upon it. Since the first Reform Bill, the class of subjects interesting and needful for the masses has enormously enlarged, while the extension of the Empire, and the prodigious growth of its commerce, have also demanded more constant and absorbing attention. Pressure for time has really called into active play the policy of obstruction, and to a conviction that some remedy must be found to avoid a complete paralysis of legislative government we may certainly attribute the two important steps of the Cloture and the Grand Committees. The former has confessedly failed, and the practical value of the latter is mainly in its recognition of the necessity of relegating certain special subjects to those most fitted for their discussion; it is, in fact, a rather crude adoption of the Home Rule or Federal principle.

The impracticability of dealing in the same legislature with the parish business of the kingdom, simultaneously with the measures which concern the safety and power of such an Empire as that of Great Britain, is being now generally admitted. But with that reluctance for radical change which has been the invariable characteristic of the nation, we see the remedy is being sought in such measures as the proposed Municipal Government of London, the creation of local boards with extensive powers, and other plans, all based upon the idea of escape from the overpressure which is paralysing the House of Commons.

The extension of the franchise has necessarily and logically intensified this action. It is seen in the new reforms already foreshadowed, it is evidenced in the return of their advocat

Parliament. And as Ireland happens to present the most acute form of dissatisfaction with the present form of Parliamentary government, it is in this direction that we find the earliest and most energetic

DEMAND FOR LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Putting aside the various reasons which surround the immediate Irish question with difficulties peculiarly its own, I think the same underlying causes which have induced the introduction of the Home Rule Bill will be found equally to exist in England and Scotland. The enfranchisement of, practically, the entire mass of the people will certainly produce the demand for reforms directly bearing upon their local and individual interests as inhabitants of the British Islands—reforms which are wholly and distinctly apart from those questions which concern the Empire at large. Democracy may indeed be probably safely trusted, under the influence of better education, with legislation on all local subjects, but from its very aptitude for matters quite within its grasp it becomes the less fitted to deal with questions which affect the foreign relations of the Empire, and its vast and growing Indian and Colonial possessions. The Colonies, though feeling the warmest interest in the welfare of their fellow-subjects at home, will scarcely view with indifference a Ministry maintained in office, it may well happen, by some local question of paramount importance, while their foreign policy may be one leading to humiliation and disaster. Yet it is manifest that this is the tendency of events, if the present system of Parliamentary Government be maintained.

I rejoice therefore in the belief, that the introduction of the Irish Home Rule Bill implies a recognition of the necessity of adopting the Federal principle for Great Britain. And I venture to affirm that those features of the proposed measure which have ensured its rejection by the House of Commons would wholly disappear if the same principles were equally applied to England, Scotland, and Wales.

That Irish representatives should be excluded from the Parliament which controls the major part of the taxation of Ireland seems wholly repugnant to all British principle, and certain to lead to early and fatal dissension; while their admission on other than equal terms is equally at variance both with the theory and practice of the Constitution. The Executive Government exists as a committee of the House of Commons, whose confidence it must always possess. That confidence is the result of its method of dealing with both domestic and foreign affairs: it may be withdrawn either by a direct vote without cause specified, or by the defeat of some specific question which is selected by the Ministry as a test. On a direct vote of want of confidence the Irish members could not be debarred from voting, and by a temporary alliance with a minority influenced wholly by some purely English or Scotch question would most seriously embarrass the administration of affairs; and very speedily cause their exclusion from Parliament, and the instant revival of the difficulties which had led to their admission.

The present state of Great Britain and Ireland has many close points of resemblance to that of the Dominion of Canada prior to confederation, and the record of the discussions which led to the happy union of the Provinces of British North America may, I think, be studied with advantage by British statesmen.

THE CARDINAL FEATURE OF THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION

is, that the local powers of the several Provinces are all expressly delegated to them; the Federal Parliament in the first instance, and the Imperial Parliament in the last resort, being the repository of all undefined powers, and having supreme legislative control. In this most important respect the Canadian system is distinguished from that of the United States, where the powers of the Federal Congress are derived from express concessions by what are regarded as sovereign states.

Time does not permit of more than a general reference to the division of powers between the Provincial and Federal Legislatures and Governments of Canada, but it must, I think, be admitted that a system which has proved satisfactory to Quebec should certainly gratify all the aspirations of Ireland, short of actual independence. Quebec contains a population nine-tenths of whom are of French descent, speaking that language as their native tongue, ruled by the French civil law, Roman Catholic by religion, and being now entrusted with the exclusive control of their own local affairs, they are contented and prosperous; while the English and Protestant minority feel secure under the ægis of supreme control, in the last resort, reserved to the general Federal Parliament, in which their countrymen constitute the majority. Almost or quite the same powers should abundantly satisfy Ireland, or, if the struggle of races and religions be too acute to permit of one Provincial Legislature at Dublin, Ulster might be separately organised, in the confident hope that ere long the bitterness of ancient feuds would pass away, and the result be one united Ireland.

If then the state of Ireland to-day has convinced nearly one half of the House of Commons that Home Rule should be conceded, and if a decided majority would have been willing to

grant it if subordination to the supreme control of the Parliament at Westminster could have been secured, why not at once make the measure applicable to England, Scotland and Wales, in all of which the conviction is daily growing that

THE PEOPLE SHOULD CONTROL THEIR OWN LOCAL AFFAIRS,

leaving to a Federal Parliament the subjects common to the entire nation, governing and defending the Empire, and still retaining the power to control, modify, extend, and even abolish the local constitutions created under and by its authority. Were this done the first and great step would have been taken towards the Federation of the whole Empire. The powers reserved to the supreme Legislature would be known and determined; and one by one, if not simultaneously, Canada, Australia, the Cape, and the other British Colonies would seek admission on such basis, and subject to such conditions, as their respective circumstances might demand. The almost impossible task would be avoided of arranging suitable relations for the Mother Country and her possessions simultaneously. The system would be placed in action first in the British Islands, and from time to time each great self-governing Colony could become incorporated with the Home Government.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

is, I am aware, in many minds, associated with the fear that it would prove incompatible with our monarchical system. But I am far from sharing these apprehensions; on the contrary, the influence of the Crown would be not only maintained but extended—the Sovereign would not only be the direct Queen of England and head of all the local governments, but also the monarch of the whole Empire. People in England never fully appreciate the sentiment of the Colonies towards the Queen. Not only is she beloved and respected for her own surpassing inherent qualities of heart and mind, but she is the recognised tie which unites us to the Mother Country. We view with comparative indifference the struggle of parties, we care little for the House of Commons; but to the Queen we look as embodying our connection with the Empire. Under her command the armies and navies of Britain go forth to battle; in her name all treaties with foreign powers are concluded; from her hands we seek distinction and reward for meritorious service to our country. She is the fountain of justice and mercy, and at the foot of the Throne we confidently repose our petitions for redress of grievance or wrong. Make England a republic to-morrow, and the main binding tie of the Empire would be severed, and every Colonial legislature would consider itself the equal of the Congress that might assemble at Westminster.

I fear I have already trespassed too long on your indulgence in referring almost entirely to the British aspect of Federation, but, being convinced that a successful solution of the problem of Imperial union must be sought first in the establishment of the Federal principle in Great Britain and Ireland, I have resisted the temptation of dwelling upon the greatness and value of India and the Colonies, as affording arguments in support of the principles of the Imperial Federation League.

But can such arguments be necessary, surrounded as we are to-day with material evidence that within the confines of the Empire everything required for the wants or wishes of mankind is produced. Never in the history of the world has there existed under one government such variety of climate, soil, and race; never were the bounties of nature conferred in such profusion upon any nation; never was there such scope given to their industry and intelligence. And yet, surrounded with the evidence of successful industry in every branch of human action in our Colonies, we find in the Mother Country the most abject poverty, the greatest disparity of class, and the natural and growing bitterness of dissension between those who have and those who have not. Surely, when we look on the infinite fields of labour offered in our Colonial Empire, and the absolute dearth of employment at home, it is a sad but pointed reproach to our statesmen that in the richest and most civilised country on earth no means can be devised for

EQUALISING THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE

here with those existent in Canada, Australia, or the Cape. Ignorance on the part of Englishmen of the resources of the Empire is the principal cause, and if there be one reason more potent than another for Federation, it may be found in the assurance that it would rapidly lead to such mutual and concerted effort in the direction of emigration as would transform the excess of population, which is now a danger and weakness to the Mother Country, into a source of safety and strength in the Colonies.

While it is contended that the Federation of the Empire must commence at its centre in the British Islands, and be gradually enlarged to include the self-governing Colonies, there are yet several most important

POINTS UPON WHICH IMMEDIATE ACTION MAY BE TAKEN, and which, while involving no serious difficulties in adoption, will unquestionably tend to hasten the moment for a complete and perfect union.

The defence of the Empire has hitherto been the exclusive

duty of the British Islands. The navy is built and manned there; the army is recruited from their people; the expense is wholly borne by the Imperial Exchequer; and yet the duty and responsibility is equally the part of the Colonies. Their commerce is protected by the British fleet; their fortresses are garrisoned by British soldiers; their security is maintained under the Imperial ægis. In the infancy of the greater Colonies this was, no doubt, absolutely indispensable; but now circumstances have changed, and the time seems to have arrived for a fairer distribution of the burden of defence. With every nation in Europe armed to the teeth, and counting their soldiers by millions, Great Britain should utilise the bold and willing forces of her Colonies; her ships should be reinforced from the hardy fishermen of North America, who are now reckoned by tens of thousands; her armies by the volunteers who have already shown their readiness to fight under her colours.

THE COALING AND REFITTING STATIONS,

which are essential for the security of the commerce of the Empire, should be—at least in part—at the charge and in the hands of her subjects on the spot; and if the cost of defence be for a time necessarily in large measure borne by the more wealthy Mother Country, there can be no reason why, within certain prescribed limits, the Colonies and India should not contribute. If the principle be once adopted, that every British subject is bound to defend his common country wherever and whenever required, Great Britain might look with indifference upon the efforts of any and every rival nation to overawe her.

With regard to

COMMERCIAL UNION,

while it must be admitted that in an Empire of such diversified resources it is impossible to establish perfect free trade, having regard to the fiscal methods by which revenue must be raised, it is surely not too much to expect that the interchange of commodities amongst the different sections of the same nation should be conducted on terms more favourable to each other than to foreigners; and that, while sharing the duties and risks of a common citizenship, we should not, on the one subject of our trade, declare by our action that we have neither sympathy for nor interest in the success or failure of our own people. On this subject I may point to the singular neglect with which it has been treated. There is scarcely any insignificant foreign state with which British statesmen do not stoop to negotiate some treaty of commerce, and yet as regards her self-governing Colonies, with whom her trade is nearly equal to that of all Europe, it has never been thought proper to make even an attempt to regulate the mutual conditions of commerce. It is scarcely credible, but it is not the less true, that the only interest shown by the home Government has been in interfering to forbid such conventions between the Colonies themselves as were designed to give them mutual advantages over their foreign neighbours. Certainly it is high time, when we are discussing the question of closer union, that the attempt should be made by negotiation with the great Colonies to obtain and grant mutually such concessions as will tend to foster and develop the national interchange of the products of our respective industries; thus to extend and open up new fields for capital and labour, and remove the surplus population in town and country here to new and happier homes elsewhere under the British flag.

In conclusion, I submit to the members of the Imperial Federation League that the first most important and practical step is to secure

THE CONFEDERATION OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES.

That simultaneously, and even irrespective of this political question, the basis should be laid for the joint and mutual defence of the Empire by sea and land. And that the commercial union of Great Britain with her Colonies and India should be undertaken and pressed upon the people, both at home and abroad, with one leading principle in view, of treating British industry as entitled to peculiar favour, as contra-distinguished to that of foreign nations.

With these three great questions satisfactorily adjusted, we may look forward to the early admission of the Colonies to the Federal Parliament at Westminster, and to the thorough union and consolidation of the British Empire—promoting through its unbounded power and influence in every part of the world the blessings of Christianity, peace, and civilisation.

A. T. GALT.

THE LAW AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—Those who regard any practical Federation of the British Empire as a chimera, should not forget that an administrative link between the Mother Country and the Colonies already exists, and works in a manner most satisfactory to all interested. A few days ago the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave judgment in five cases affecting important private and public rights in India, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the North American Colonies. When the citizens of every state in the Empire are content voluntarily to submit their disputes to the arbitration of a single Court of Appeal—and that court exclusively English in its composition—the formation of a single Imperial authority dealing with common interests is hardly outside the range of practical politics.—*Law Times.*

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

A paper read by CAPTAIN J. C. R. COLOMB, M.P., at the Conference of the Imperial Federation League, July 2nd, 1886.

THE subject I have the honour to briefly introduce for your discussion may be resolved into three main questions:—

1st. The nature of the work to be done?

2nd. The means required to do it?

3rd. How and by whom are these means to be furnished and applied?

In dealing with these three issues here it would not be fitting to introduce either technicalities or details. The great object of this Imperial Federation League Conference is to examine broad facts and to determine plain principles vital to the safety, honour and welfare of our "Great World State." Citizens of one Empire, subjects of one Queen, members of one great League, whether we come from Canada, Australasia, South Africa or West Africa, the East Indies or the West Indies, the United Kingdom or elsewhere, we have banded ourselves together "to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire," in order to provide for "the maintenance of common interests and to adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." I shall therefore exclude all details and all technicalities. I shall limit my brief observations to administration.

In the first place, what we term Imperial policy is not, in the matter of defence, either the policy or the practice of the Empire, but the

POLICY ADAPTED TO THE VIEWS OF THE ELECTORATE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ONLY,

which, as regards provisions for defence, are very variable.

The annual statements of successive ministers at the head of the Admiralty and War Office, and the annual Navy and Army Estimates, furnish a series of proofs that the policy to which we are trusting the arrangements for the defence of our Empire in war is the policy of the chameleon. If the examination of these proofs be carried back for fifty years, it will appear that there is an ever-increasing tendency to subordinate Imperial interests to the exigencies of political parties at home. During these fifty years, however, Imperial interests have grown enormously.* British enterprise and industry have accumulated and extended responsibilities and duties of defence on every continent, ocean, and sea in the world. While we have been thus engaged in peaceful and almost universal progress, other powers have advanced their military posts and pushed war fleets into seas where their commercial interests are practically insignificant. Their naval and military policy is consistent and a continuous development, while their national aims are by no means indistinct. While, therefore, on the one hand the material and internal growth of our own Empire and the action of foreign powers both combine to render essentially necessary a wider, more settled and systematic policy of "Imperial Defence," we have on the other the increasing influence of purely local politics at home tending to diminish, change or arrest arrangements upon which the safety in war of the whole Empire depends.

It is notorious that

DISCUSSIONS ON THE DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE EMPTIES THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On one occasion I was rather struck by the unusual number of members present when the naval policy of the Empire was officially expounded by the Admiralty representative; I actually counted thirteen, but observed that most of them were asleep. Had it been a motion respecting a labourer's allotment, or a tax on beer, the House would have been crowded, and every member wide awake, eagerly watching to catch the Speaker's eye. The reason of this is obvious. The constituencies of the United Kingdom are interested in allotments and in the price of beer; they are intensely proud of the Empire, they heartily desire to preserve it, but the pride and the desire is too abstract to excite even their curiosity as to such practical matters as arrangements for its defence. The House of Commons reflects the constituencies, and our political parties are the puppets of the House of Commons. So long as

LOCAL CONCERNS AND IMPERIAL AFFAIRS ARE INTERMIXED, and discharged by one and the same body, so long will the safety and interests of the whole Empire become more and more subordinated by the so-called Imperial Parliament to the purely local interests of the people of the United Kingdom. There is an increasing tendency on the part of Parliament to look at purely local concerns with a magnifying glass, and to view Imperial affairs through the wrong end of a telescope. The demand is now for politicians, not for statesmen. This may seem a digression from the purposes of this paper, but I venture to think it would be wrong not to point out at starting one of the chief difficulties to be overcome in arranging for the organised defence of our Empire. It is our civil departments, and not the Imperial Government, which have

* See the Diagrams of Growth in Special Number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE JOURNAL.

A CONTINUOUS POLICY.

These departments—such, for example, as the Treasury, Admiralty, War Office, and Colonial Office—pursue the even tenor of their way undisturbed and uninfluenced by the rise and fall of ministries. The traditions of these departments rule administration, for the real power of administration lies with them. They all run in their own separate grooves, and are naturally disinclined to depart from their traditions. These have come down from the time when the United Kingdom was virtually, and in fact, “the Empire,” with some outlying posts beyond sea which some departments regarded rather as inconveniences. India belonged to a company, and practically lay outside their reach. All beyond sea is now changed. India is an Empire, and we have in Canada, Australasia and South Africa great self-governing communities growing rapidly in influence and power. Nevertheless, the traditions which guide departmental action remain much the same. The system under which the common affairs of the Empire are administered has not been materially altered.

THE FUNCTION OF IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

seems to be now more legislative than administrative. It partakes more of the character of an incubator for hatching out local legislation than of the driving wheel of Imperial administration. Local affairs and local legislation, which only concern the internal condition of the United Kingdom, so absorb the time of the political heads of departments that they have but little leisure to spare for the business of their departments. The common affairs of the Empire, such as defence, are thus fast becoming departmental preserves. I cannot stop to quote examples and illustrations of this unsatisfactory, if not dangerous, state of things. I may, however, remind you that a London penny afternoon newspaper forced the Admiralty to do in December what it had declined to do in the preceding spring. The Government declared in the spring that we had sufficient naval means to defend the maritime interests of the Empire; in the late autumn the same year it declared we had not. Colonial Governments might inundate the Colonial Office with representations of defects and deficiencies in arrangements for defence: they would be civilly answered, pigeon-holed, and put away. The great self-governed communities all combined do not possess the same power or influence in the councils of the Empire, in respect to its defence, as a single penny London newspaper. Can any rational system of common defence be formulated and developed under these circumstances? Can we expect to find safety in war under such a system?

The published correspondence between the several departments respecting a question of vital and cardinal importance to each and every part of the Empire—namely, the defence of coal depôts—is proof that great reforms are needed if practical results are to be produced. Months are wasted in correspondence between departments, and very little comes of it.

I need hardly recall to the memory of Australasians how the offer of Victorian gunboats for service off the coast of the Soudan resulted in an unseemly dispute about the colour of the flag they were to hoist.

At this moment an offer has been made which, if accepted, would greatly strengthen the

NAVAL AND MILITARY POSITION OF THE EMPIRE WHERE IT IS WEAKEST,

z.e. in the Pacific. I refer to the proposal to connect by a line of steamers the Pacific end of the Canadian Pacific Railway with Hong-Kong and India, and with Australia. The Imperial advantages of giving effect to this proposal are acknowledged—no one disputes them. In this matter the opinions of successive Ministers for the Colonies and those of Canadian Ministers are in accord. The responsible Ministers of the Crown, both in Canada and at home, agree that as a matter of high Imperial policy this step should be taken, in order to promote the interests of the commerce of the Empire in peace, and in order to add to its naval and military security in war. The only thing necessary to attain this desirable object is a small annual payment for the carriage of mails by that route. That is a matter for the Post Office department to arrange—a subordinate detail involving no Imperial principle. But such is now the confusion between principles of Imperial policy and departmental details that the whole question, whether the Empire is to be benefited or not—is referred to a departmental committee. In the old days departments were regarded as the necessary machinery to carry into effect the policy of the responsible Ministers of the Crown; but now it would appear that the advisers of the Crown are to adapt Imperial policy to the views and wishes of departments. It is an historical fact that when any official enquiry has been held in recent years to investigate the administrative system concerned in conducting expeditions and wars, the report has never been favourable to that system. We have not for nearly a century known what defensive operations mean. All we do know is, that in little wars made, so to speak, at our leisure, our departmental system has not proved to be a success. Scares and alarms of war have always found our supply system unable to meet

promptly the sudden but small increased demands for ordnance and war stores.

This matter of administration lies at

THE ROOT OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

I therefore draw your special attention to its consideration. It is by no means to be understood that your discussion is to be confined to administration. It is the general question of Imperial defence which is to be debated. Yet we must all remember that upon administration depends system, and upon system depends successful defence.

Federation for common defence is, I believe, essentially necessary for Imperial safety. Twenty years' study has convinced me that any such Federation primarily involves a change in the system of administration which our Empire has entirely outgrown.

In conclusion, permit me to say it appears to me that the first step to take is a very simple one. My suggestion is that

A BRITISH CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CALLED,

to examine the facts of our position and to fix the principles which are to guide our arrangements for defence. Such a Conference composed of representatives appointed by all the different Parliaments of the Empire, but called together by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, would, I believe, not separate without formulating a system of Imperial defence adapted to our common necessities, modern requirements, and upon which we could rely.

J. C. R. COLOMB.

EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION.

A Paper read by MR. J. G. COLMER (Secretary of the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada), at the Conference of the Imperial Federation League, July 2nd, 1886.

EMIGRATION is just as necessary to Great Britain as immigration is to the Colonies. It is the present condition of trade, and the working classes, in the Mother Country, the prosperous position of the Colonies and the promise they afford of future greatness, and the urgency, particularly for commercial and defensive reasons, of uniting more closely the different parts of the British Empire, which gives the question of Imperial Federation the importance it assumes to-day; and, further, it is the rapid progress in the development of the Colonies which is calculated to solve the difficulties that surround the matter sooner than many people anticipate. Indeed, I do not think I should be far wrong in stating that had emigration received the attention in years gone by that it deserved, Imperial Federation would have been much nearer a solution than it is, even if it were not now an accomplished fact. The chances are that Australasia and the Cape Colonies would both have been Federated long ago, after the example of Canada, and hardly any one will venture to say that this would not have expedited that greater and more important Federation which it is the object of the League to bring about. Emigration has been, during the last century, a necessity for Great Britain, in consequence of her limited area and rapidly-increasing population; and it is the cause of much regret that its value and importance were not earlier recognised. It is not too late now to profit by the mistakes of the past, and to take it in hand boldly and courageously, in order that the Empire may derive as much benefit from it as possible. But, before discussing the methods by which this can be accomplished, I must say a few words about the past, in order that we may fully realise, from an Imperial standpoint, what has been the

RESULT OF THE INDIFFERENCE WITH WHICH THE MATTER HAS BEEN TREATED.

Since 1855 about 3,500,000 emigrants of British origin have left Great Britain for the United States, and about 1,500,000 for Canada and Australasia. If the Colonies have progressed as they have done by means of this comparatively small immigration, and if the wonderful advancement of the United States arises from its larger share of the movement, it is only reasonable to suppose that if a greater part of the 5,000,000 of emigrants could have been directed to the Colonies their population would have been more than double or treble the present numbers. It follows, also, that their resources would have been more rapidly developed, that their trade and commerce, and British trade and commerce, would have increased in similar if not in greater proportions, and that the distress in Great Britain and the danger of social difficulties would have been much lessened. Let us consider for a few moments and endeavour to estimate, very roughly, how much money the emigration that has gone away from the Empire in these thirty years represents. The capital value of an emigrant is generally estimated at from £200 to £250, and, taking the smaller amount, it may be said that such a person pays to the revenue of the country in which he lives, in the shape of taxes in one way or another, about £10 per annum. This is exclusive of contributions to the wealth of the general community as a producer and consumer. At this computation, therefore, the emigration to the United States represents a loss to the Empire of capital to the extent of £700,000,000, and

a yearly revenue of £35,000,000. In addition, it must be remembered that apart altogether from the actual money taken by the emigrants to their new homes—calculated at from £20 to £30 per adult—they must, at a low estimate, have an average annual turn over—receipts for wages and expenses of living—of about £40, or a yearly circulation of £140,000,000. These statistics become rather bewildering, but I must point out that they only include the actual emigration as it left Great Britain, and do not take into account the natural growth of the emigrated population, which must have doubled, at least, in the last thirty years. Consequently, to calculate

THE LOSS TO THE EMPIRE,

the figures must be multiplied by the increase that has taken place since the arrival in the United States of the 3,500,000 emigrants referred to above. To illustrate this increase, it may be stated that, since 1853, about 2,000,000 persons of Irish origin alone have proceeded to the United States. Their last census returns show about 10,000,000 of the population as having been born in Ireland, or as being of Irish descent. The whole of this increase is not connected with the immigration since 1853, as there were probably about 1,500,000 persons of Irish origin in the States in that year, but it is strong evidence in support of my statements. Then there is the question of the value of an emigrant as a consumer of British products—and I have no difficulty in proving that our Colonies are better customers than the United States. In 1884, Canada imported such goods to the extent of about £2 3s. per head. The Cape and Natal about £2 15s., and Australasia about £8 6s. Averaging these figures, the result is £4 7s. per head. The United States imported British goods, in the same year, to the value of 13s. 1d. per head. As to the general growth of British exports to these countries, I may say that Canada, Australasia, the Cape, and Natal, imported from Great Britain goods of the value of £11,000,000 in 1855. In 1884 the amount was £41,000,000, an increase of 270 per cent. The United States imported in the two years named £18,000,000 and £32,000,000 respectively, an increase of 78 per cent. only. It will be observed that I omit any reference in these calculations to India, and to the smaller Colonies, and to foreign countries excepting the United States. I do this because my paper is only intended to deal with those parts of the world which attract the bulk of the British emigration. Apart altogether from other reasons, the figures I have placed before the meeting must make every one wish that a larger proportion of these 3,500,000 emigrants could have been induced to remain within the Empire. How Parliament and the people of Great Britain can have been so blind as to treat the matter so lightly, it is difficult to imagine. It has been left to take care of itself very much, although no subject more important could have occupied the attention of our statesmen in modern times. If the direction of emigration had been taken up years ago there would be no difficulty in regulating the movement now, as it would have flowed naturally in the channels prepared for it. Measures have, it is true, been passed from time to time, ensuring to emigrants a certain area of space on board ship; they have also been protected against dishonest steamship agents; and they are required, as a protection against disease, to be examined by a doctor before leaving port. These things have not, however, helped to keep them under the old flag, and it is

A STANDING REPROACH

that little or nothing has been done by successive Governments to bring about so desirable an object. I firmly believe it is owing to this apathy, and to the consequent want of knowledge of the advantages the different parts of the Empire offer—and they do offer, in addition to sentimental considerations, advantages of a material nature equal to any the United States possess—that has caused so much valuable emigration to flow away from us. The Colonial and Indian Exhibition is likely to bring about a desirable change of feeling in this respect, and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales deserves the gratitude of the Colonies and the Mother Country for his efforts in organising this splendid collection of the products of the outlying portions of the Empire, which, as an educational medium, cannot be surpassed. The series of conferences now being held will also be particularly valuable for the circulation of authoritative information on Colonial subjects, if the reports are properly and widely disseminated through the press and otherwise, as I hope they will be. I must not forget also to pay a tribute to the valuable work that is being done by the various emigration societies. In every European country emigration is made the subject of legislation, and had they possessed what Great Britain can claim, viz., the largest, fairest, and most habitable portions of the earth as Colonies, there can be no doubt that it would be under still greater control. The Blue Book recently published, relating to the organisation of an Emigrants' Information Office by the Government, bears out all that I have said as to the apathy with which the matter is regarded. If the

ESTIMATE OF THE TREASURY OF THE IMPORTANCE OF DIRECTING EMIGRATION

is to be judged by the money they have agreed to vote for the

purpose—£625 per annum, equal to the capital value to the Empire of three emigrants—they cannot be accused of thinking very highly of the proposals. However, it is a step in the right direction; and there is the consolation that the work and usefulness of the Office must extend and increase if properly directed, and be especially valuable in conjunction with any scheme of colonisation that may be arranged. It is only right I should add that the Colonial Office has shown every desire, in the correspondence that has taken place, to establish the Office on a more satisfactory basis; and there is a general feeling of regret that its recommendations have not received more support. If Great Britain has not done much for emigration, it can truly be said that the Colonies have done a great deal. In addition to the millions they have spent upon actual emigration (Canada alone in the last ten years must have spent three-quarters of a million sterling), they have expended over a hundred and fifty millions in developing their resources. Take the Dominion, as an instance. In the last twenty years she has spent twenty millions sterling in constructing a railway to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific, and it is now happily completed, the first through train having left Quebec for the Pacific coast on Monday last. Not only is this railway valuable from a Colonial, but from an Imperial, point of view. It is a contribution to the defence of the Empire; it opens up a new trade-route to Australasia and the East; and it has made it an easy matter to remove any number of settlers to Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The millions of acres these most fertile districts contain would not have been accessible without the railway, and instead of farms and homesteads, golden cornfields, and large herds of cattle—now to be found there, and which must increase to an incalculable extent in the future—the country would have remained the "illimitable wilderness" which Lord Beaconsfield described it to be many years ago. The expenditure on the Canadian Pacific Railway is only a small part of the money spent by the Dominion in opening up the resources of the country. In Canada, as in all the other Colonies, the entire public debt is a record of developments having the same object in view. It may truly be said, therefore, that the emigrants who have gone to the Colonies have been secured largely by the exertions and at the expense of the Colonies themselves.

THE NECESSITY OF ORGANISING A SCHEME OF COLONISATION

on a large scale has been much discussed of late years, and is rapidly becoming one of the most pressing questions of the day. The matter is not an easy one to deal with, I am open to admit, but that is no reason why it should have been constantly relegated to the background. That the distress now existing in this country is unusually great is an admitted fact. It arises partly from the stagnant state of our trade with foreign countries. There is practically no more trade now than ten years ago, and many more people to do it. Official statistics show that this branch of our exports in 1875 was of the value of £204,000,000, and, in 1884, £207,000,000. On the other hand, the trade with the Colonies is progressing in a rapid manner; and it is to the advantage of Great Britain to foster it. Not only is there a large and ever-growing army of unskilled labourers in the cities and towns, caused, many people think, in addition to the reasons given above, by the cessation of the practice of apprenticeships that formerly prevailed, and the absence of any general system of technical education, but its ranks are swelled by the continuous flow of labourers from the agricultural districts. It is these classes, who at the best of times obtain only a precarious living, that form the unemployed and distressed population, for whose benefit the cry for a large assisted emigration movement is being raised. But it is necessary to consider the power of the Colonies to absorb them, and to bear in mind that the only capital these men possess are strong arms and an earnest desire to obtain work. It must be apparent that the Colonies can only take such a number of mechanics and labourers as they can find work for. If more were sent, dissatisfaction and distress would arise, and emigration would become, under such circumstances, a mere transfer of the existing difficulty from Great Britain to the Colonies. The more or less crowded state of the labour market in the various Colonies confirms what I say. Capital and labour must go together, if emigration on a larger scale than the ordinary movement is to be carried out. I do not say for a moment that the people to whom I have been referring are unsuitable as emigrants. What I wish to emphasise is the necessity of adopting some scheme of colonisation, instead of emigration pure and simple. In other words, the Colonies have plenty of land, but not the means to cultivate it. The Mother Country has the means for cultivating the land—namely, capital and labour; but not the land. Colonisation would bring the two together with mutual advantage. I believe that this

CAN BE DONE ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS,

in a manner conducive to the interests of the Mother Country and the Colonies, and with little or no responsibility to the Imperial Government. If a scheme of colonisation could be prepared, containing the elements of financial success, which I

think is quite possible, there would be no difficulty in finding the necessary money. If colonisation cannot be made to pay it is too large a matter to be carried out philanthropically. The difficulty in starting such a company lies in the fact that the shareholders would get no return for their money for three or four years, and this is where the Imperial Government might, with advantage, step in, and guarantee a dividend, for say five years, to be treated as a loan, until the advances made by the company to the settlers began to be repaid. Three per cent. upon a million sterling for five years would not amount to a large sum, and I do not think that Parliament would refuse to entertain a proposal of this kind to enable emigration on a large scale to have a fair trial, if a satisfactory scheme were placed before the country. A similar application might also be made to the Colonial Governments. There is one point that would have to be considered carefully by any company that might be formed. The people who now emigrate pay their own passages in whole or in part, and often have a little money besides. To do this they must have worked hard, have shown energy and thrift, and have proved themselves to be the sort of immigrants the Colonies like to have. On the other hand, the classes left behind, and for whose benefit the endeavour is made to organise a scheme of emigration, are the unemployed and unskilled labourers, who, for some reason or another, cannot obtain regular work, and do not save money. The question may be asked—Is it reasonable that men who have failed here, even though it may not be their own fault, should be aided with advances of money to enable them to commence as farmers with a small capital in the Colonies, while their fellows who emigrate on their own account are left to plod on their way without any such encouragement? However, the difficulty could be overcome by making advances to men with a little money wishing to emigrate as well as to those who had none. All advances made would be secured upon the land occupied by the settlers, and the increased value of the holdings, consequent upon the surrounding settlement, would prevent the possibility of any loss to the company, and the capital invested would be reproductive. The interest collected, and the increased value of lands reserved in the neighbourhood of settlements would, I am sanguine, ensure

A HANDSOME RETURN UPON ANY AMOUNT OF CAPITAL

that might be subscribed. Such a plan as I have mentioned has been tried on a small scale in the Canadian North-West with successful results by Lady Gordon Cathcart and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, the latter with families from the East-end of London. There are millions of acres in Canada available, and the same remarks will apply to Australasia and South Africa. I believe the Colonies would cordially lend their co-operation to such a scheme, if they had a voice in the selection of the emigrants, as it would enable them to add to their populations without disturbing the labour markets, and to more readily develop their great resources. It may be said that the people who form the unemployed and distressed classes are not suitable for colonisation, but I am not of that opinion. With a judicious selection, and a careful leavening of agriculturists, and some slight supervision, I am sanguine that they would soon fall into their new mode of living, and that although their progress might not be rapid at first, it would at any rate be certain and satisfactory. There is much more that I might say, but the time at my disposal has only allowed me to touch the fringe of the subject, and I have prepared this paper more with the view of throwing out some leading points for discussion than anything else. I have endeavoured to show the importance and value of emigration to the Mother Country and to the Colonies, the inevitable tendency of the growth of the Colonies to bring about Imperial Federation, the mistake made in the past in leaving emigration to look after itself, the commercial value of emigration to the Colonies compared with the United States, and the desirability, even now, of moving in the matter, upon a commercial basis. Commercial unity and consolidation for defence are two most important branches of the Imperial Federation question, and the settlement of those matters cannot be better accelerated than by the organisation of a scheme of colonisation on a large scale.

J. G. COLMER.

The *Kennel Review*, in testifying that IMPERIAL FEDERATION still keeps "well up to the mark," and that "it is doing much good," remarks:—"We may be wrong, but we fancy it cannot be obtained at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition; we, at any rate, saw no signs of it there. Surely, at this place of all others, IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be brought before the public." We thank our contemporary for its kindly interest in us, and would take the opportunity of saying, for the information of all concerned, that we have done our best to get IMPERIAL FEDERATION, particularly FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS, our Special Number, sold in the Exhibition, and also at the Railway Stations, but Messrs. Willing & Co., who have the exclusive right of selling publications in the Exhibition, have repeatedly declined our application, as also have Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son. The wisdom and public utility of these monopolies are open to question.

PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES AT THE LATE ELECTION ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

At the beginning of the recent elections we sent out a circular to candidates, asking them, in view of the fact that events have of late, both at home and in the Colonies, forced the question of Imperial Federation into the greatest prominence, to favour us with their views on the subject. A considerable number courteously complied with our request. We fear we cannot, either in this or a subsequent number, publish all the replies we have received. We, however, make a commencement by printing the following, taking those first which are at the top of the file.

From Dr. G. B. Clark, M.P. for Caithness-shire:—

In reply to your circular I may say that I am strongly in favour of Imperial Federation; I have lectured and spoken in favour of the movement in Great Britain and the Colonies. In my address to the electors of Caithness last year I said: "Colonial questions require more consideration than they receive at present, and the time is now approaching when we must either draw closer the bonds that unite us with our children across the seas, or the rising nations that are growing up so fast will separate from us. I am in favour of closer union. I desire Federation with our Colonies and an Imperial Parliament, in which they will have representation." The above extract still expresses my views.

From Col. R. H. Paget, M.P. for the Wells Division of Somersetshire:—

I readily comply with your request to be furnished with my views on Imperial Federation. I regard this question as one of the highest national importance. The matter is, however, of extreme delicacy, requiring most careful and diplomatic treatment. It does not admit of hasty conclusions, and might easily be marred by rash or inconsiderate projects. At the same time I cannot doubt that it is the duty of every Statesman to endeavour to promote a settlement which shall have the effect of strengthening the links which bind England to her Colonies, and, as far as may be practicable, with due consideration for the want and wishes of all, to weld into one whole the scattered portions of our great Empire. I may add that the conspicuous loyalty of our Colonies, of which we have frequent evidence, appears to point to this present moment as exceptionally favourable for the careful consideration of this great question.

From Mr. George Dixon, M.P. for Edgbaston Division, Birmingham:—

In reply to your printed circular asking my opinion on Imperial Federation, I beg to say that the scheme sketched out in the paper read by Sir George F. Bowen, before the June meeting of the Colonial Institute, seems to me to have much to recommend it from the point of view of the Mother Country. At the same time I doubt whether the Colonies will ever consent to contribute their full share (on the basis of population) towards the gross expenses of the defence of the Empire, and I also apprehend that if the foreign policy of the Empire were to be directed by a council or executive Government representing equally all parts of the Empire, there would frequently be weakness, if not paralysis, arising from the indisposition of the Colonial representatives to any foreign policy which might result in increased taxation, or to any steps being taken which would involve them in costs for such military undertakings as have of late years been sanctioned by successive Governments in Zululand, Afghanistan, Egypt, and Burmah. I should not myself object to such weakness or paralysis, for it is my opinion that we interfere far too much in the affairs of other nations and are too eager to acquire new possessions. But I cannot hide from myself the fact that the ruling classes in this country do not take the same views that I do as to the advantages to be derived from an aggressive and spirited foreign policy, and therefore, I should expect dissensions in such future Federative council of the whole Empire as it is proposed to create, and that when Australasia or Canada found itself powerless to resist the action of the said council, and so found itself involved in expenditure for objects to which it was indifferent, or which it entirely disapproved of, the result would inevitably be withdrawal from the Federation.

From Mr. J. G. A. Baird, M.P. for Central Division of Glasgow:—

In answer to your circular inquiring as to my views on the subject of Imperial Federation, I beg to say that I have not as yet studied the question to any great extent, having paid more attention to what are called domestic politics. I may say, however, that I am favourable to the general principle of Imperial Federation, and hope that some feasible plan may be found by which the principle may be carried out.

From Sir John Swinburne, M.P. for the Lichfield Division of Staffordshire:—

I am quite in accord with you on the subject of Federation as expressed in your letter. The closer we can unite the Colonies to us in heart and sentiment, as well as with more material matters, the stronger will be the Empire, and this is what Gladstone has endeavoured to do with Ireland.

From Mr. Samuel Hoare, M.P., Norwich:—

I am strongly in favour of Imperial Federation, and I shall endeavour to do all I can in Parliament to further it.

From Mr. W. F. Lawrence, M.P. for the Abercromby Division of Liverpool:—

I am distinctly in favour of Imperial Federation if it is practicable. It must, however, be a matter of growth, aiming at first for purposes of consultation, then for defence, and finally, I hope, for fiscal arrangements.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

All who are interested in the movement can become members by sending in their names and One Shilling, as Registration Fee, which must be renewed year by year.

The annual subscription of members is One Guinea, and upwards, which entitles those who subscribe it to receive all the publications of the LEAGUE free.

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The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

AUGUST, 1886.

OUR SPECIAL NUMBER.

WE are glad to find that our Special Number has given so much satisfaction, and that it has already borne good fruit. We beg to thank such of our friends and readers as have sent us kind communications in reference to it, and to say that the offer made in a previous issue still holds good, namely, that copies of *Fifty Years' Progress* will be sent to all who will undertake to post them to their friends at home and in the Colonies, or otherwise suitably place them.

THE CONFERENCE AND BANQUET.

THE Conference and Banquet came off on the days fixed, although in consequence of the General Election it was seriously debated for a time whether they should not be postponed. The arrangements, however, had proceeded too far for postponement, and friends of the League have no reason to regret that the original and announced dates were adhered to. The Conference was as well attended as could have been expected; but for the elections, indeed, its success would have been of the most unequivocal kind. Many well-known leaders were away fighting electoral battles, but even as it was, the debates were *ad rem* and well sustained. In spite of the absorbing public interest in the great issue which was before the country, and the way in which the columns of the papers were crowded with election news, the London dailies devoted considerable space to reports of the meetings, and to leaders on the subject. The *Times* commenced a leader with these words:

"The Imperial Federation League meets this year amid circumstances of peculiar interest. It is no exaggeration to say that the Colonial and Indian Exhibition has done more to give body and substance to the federal conception than all the discussion in the world could have done. It has advanced Federation from the region of the abstract into

that of the concrete. It has compelled men to ask themselves, not whether Federation of the Empire is desirable or feasible, but how can it be accomplished. This is in truth an immense advance. The idea of Federation now holds the field to the utter exclusion and repudiation of everything that savours of disruption or separation."

Agreeing with MR. GLADSTONE that "LORD ROSEBERY is destined to exercise a commanding influence on the political future of his country," it regarded it as "a happy omen for the cause of Imperial Federation" that his lordship was one of its staunchest champions.

The Banquet was an even greater success than the Conference. It was a success in point of attendance, the character of the oratory, and the fine spirit of patriotism pervading the gathering. Australasians, Canadians, and other British from over the sea, vied with their British brethren of the Old Land in expressions of loyalty and devotion to the Empire. It gives us great pleasure to be able to present our readers in this number with the papers *in extenso* which were read at the Conference, and in the supplement issued herewith, with full reports of the speeches both at the Conference and the Banquet. These papers and speeches have already effected much, and doubtless in their printed form will still further advance our great cause.

A SUPREME IMPERIAL COURT.

THE Supreme Court of the United States occupies a unique, and an essential, position in the civil and political organisation of the Great Republic across the Atlantic. As is well known its most important function is to settle all points of a doubtful or disputed character which arise in the working of the federal institutions of that country. No tribunal with precisely similar powers exists in the British Empire, though we are reminded every now and then that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council might easily become such a tribunal. In Canada there are federal institutions which, in their broad features, are not unlike those of the United States, and occasional, though only occasional, difficulties arise in the administration of them; that is to say, occasional differences of opinion have arisen between a provincial legislature and the Dominion Government as to the precise limits of their power. These differences of opinion whenever they have arisen have, as Sir Charles Tupper has recently pointed out, been referred, generally by test cases, first, to the local courts, then to the Supreme Court, and, if necessary, from the Supreme Court to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, whose decisions are final. For example, by the Canadian constitution all questions affecting trade and commerce are left to the Dominion Government, which passed a law regulating and restricting the issue of licences for the sale of drink. The provincial legislatures, while not questioning the supreme authority of the Central Government, respecting trade and commerce, held that it belonged to the local legislatures, and not to the Dominion, to place restrictions upon the retail sale of drink. The question was a nice one, and ultimately came to London for decision, by the Judicial Committee, which decided in favour of the local government. Other decisions have been made, some favourable to the Dominion Government and some favourable to the provincial legislature, but in every case they have been final, and recognised as such.

The details of a very interesting but somewhat different case, referred by the Queensland Legislature to the Judicial Committee, have been made known by the issue of a Blue Book by the Colonial Office during the past month. This Blue Book contains the "Correspondence respecting the Powers of the Two Houses of the Legislature of Queensland in respect to Money Bills." To put the case shortly, a conflict arose between the Legislative Council, or Upper House, and the Legislative Assembly, or Lower House, about a financial measure passed by the latter. Twice the Assembly passed "a Bill to provide for the payment of the expenses incurred by Members of the Legislative Assembly in attending Parliament," and twice the Council rejected the

Bill. The right of the Council to reject this particular Bill the Assembly did not deny or dispute. Bent upon its object, however, it resolved, in 1885, to accomplish it in a different way, and included in the estimates for 1885-6, under the heading of "The Legislative Assembly's Establishment," an item of £7,000 for "expenses of members." The Council, determined not to be circumvented in this way, amended the Appropriation Bill containing the item by striking the £7,000 out, and returning it so amended to the Lower Chamber. The Assembly declared that the action of the Council was *ultra vires*, and invited the Council to concur in the appointment of a Joint Committee of both Houses "to consider the present condition of public business in consequence of no supplies having been granted to Her Majesty for the services of the current financial year." The Committee was appointed, and advised the reference of the question to the Privy Council, which was accordingly done. The Judicial Committee in due course considered the case, and in the end decided the whole question in favour of the Legislative Assembly. The decision commends itself to common sense, and is fully in keeping with the now never questioned and exclusive right of the English House of Commons to control supplies, and sanction, or otherwise, all measures of a financial character. The chief interest of the case, however, lies in the fact that the episode makes still more clear how large, how essential, and how useful a place the Judicial Committee might and possibly will occupy in our future federal system. Here is a Court of Appeal, already existing, which is at once and instinctively recognised as the proper and competent tribunal to settle all matters in dispute between either a provincial legislature and a federal government on the one hand, or the two chambers of the parliamentary system of a self-governing Colony on the other. The problem of how to work an Imperial Federal system is working itself out, and an answer is being given, which before long will show itself triumphant, to the cavillers who say the difficulties are insuperable.

THE OLD FLAG.

It has been a sore point with the Colonies that they have not been allowed to fly the white ensign on those of their vessels which are employed in the Government service. Mr. Froude, in relating the conversation he had with Mr. Dalley, on the subject of Imperial Federation, records that the Premier of New South Wales referred to this subject with bitterness, saying with emphasis, "We must have the English flag again." "The Australians," Mr. Froude adds, "do not like a bar sinister over their scutcheon, as if they were bastards and not legitimate; and surely of all ill-considered measures in our dealings with the Colonies the indignity of forcing upon them a difference in the flag was the very worst. No affront was, of course, intended. The alteration originated, I believe, in some officialism unintelligible to the ordinary mind, and was taken up and insisted on as a part of the separatist policy. By our poor kindred it has been taken as an intimation, flaunted perpetually in their faces, that we look on them as our inferiors and not as our equals. Those who are talking and writing so eagerly now about a Confederated Empire, should insist at once, and without delay, that when any Colony expresses a wish to fly over its ships and forts the old flag of England, neither childish pedantry nor treacherous secret designs to break the Empire into fragments shall be allowed to interfere with a patriotic and honourable purpose."

With the sentiments expressed in the foregoing it is impossible not to sympathise. Mr. Froude, however, has been a little hasty in concluding that there was no other reason for withholding from the Colonies leave to "fly the old flag of England" than "some officialism unintelligible to the ordinary mind." Sir Thomas Brassey, in his paper read before the United Service Institution on the 12th ult., touched on this point and said: "It was to be remembered that the Admiralty had no voice in the selection of the officers for the command of the Colonial vessels, and the Admiralty might reasonably have hesitated to allow their flag to be hoisted on ships not under their own control." It is easy to see from this that something more than "un-

telligible officialism" determined the action of the Admiralty in this matter. Herein a reason is given—and, we venture to say, a reason not destitute of reason—a reason which probably most of our readers had suggested for themselves without needing to be told of it. The matter constitutes another argument for the unification and consolidation of the Imperial and Colonial forces, in other words, for Imperial Federation. When the Admiralty, reconstituted if necessary, to meet the altered circumstances, controls the Colonial ships, that is, when these form part of the Imperial navy, then there will be no difficulty about flying the white ensign.

Meanwhile, Sir Thomas Brassey made a suggestion in his paper "with a view of meeting the difficulty." He thought that "the difficulty would be met by entering for the Navy cadets to be nominated by the Colonial Governments, sufficient in numbers to supply the requirements of Colonial naval service. The Colonial naval cadets could receive their education in a school on shore which might be established at Sydney. The curriculum should be identical with that approved for the *Britannia*. From this school at Sydney the cadets should pass into the naval service afloat, and be appointed to serve the Australian stations, and they should be eligible by examination to pass into the regular line of naval duty when their training ashore and afloat was completed. Thus they would be available for the service of the Colonies to which they belonged. By the carrying out of some such plan much would be done towards the consolidation of the Colonial and the Imperial Navy." Sir Thomas's suggestion is good so far as it goes, but it does not fully meet the difficulty; in fact, no half measures can adequately meet it. Nothing short of the "welding into one Imperial whole" of the Imperial and Colonial navies, as well as confederating politically will do so. Until then, however, inadequate measures, which are good as far as they go, are better than none at all. The old proverb is homely but true—"Half a loaf is better than no bread."

A NEW BRITISH COLONY IN AFRICA.

ONE of the events of the past month has been the sanction given for creating what has been called "a new East Indian Company in the heart of Africa." The Company has been incorporated as the National African Company. Large tracts of territory have been ceded to them by the kings and chiefs of the Niger Basin. They have got a charter from her Majesty, which, on the precedent condition that they honourably fulfil the terms specified in these acts of cession, guarantees them British privileges so long as they respect other obligations. These rules have been drawn with great wisdom and liberality. Except the provisions that the corporation must remain British in character and in domicile, and shall not alienate any part of its property without receiving authority from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, there is no semblance of selfish narrowness about them. The promoters are bound to discourage slavery in every shape and degree. On the other hand, they are prohibited from forcibly interfering with the religion of the natives, except for the prevention of cruelty. In administering justice the laws and customs of the tribe or nation concerned are to be followed, unless where they are inapposite, and obedience would thwart the cause of right. There is to be no differential treatment of the subjects belonging to any Power as respects settlement, or access to markets, aught like a monopoly being forbidden. The only customs duties to be imposed, the only taxes to be levied, are such as shall be requisite to defray the expenses of the Government, while statements of revenue and expenditure are to be periodically laid before the Secretary of State. Here we have probably the beginning of great things. It is practically the founding of a new dependency, which may be destined to play a great part in the future. The first thing the National African Company should do is to make its territories and their resources known.

THAT great and increasing band of patriots who long to see the Queen's domains welded into one vast whole, are doing good service to their cause in the pages of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.—*Western Morning News*.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A COMMERCIAL UNION.

It is proposed to form a Colonial Commercial League between the self-governing Colonies, to which the United Kingdom and the Crown Colonies and India might become parties.

The principle to govern the terms of the League to be:—

1st. Perfect freedom to establish any tariff of customs duties.

2nd. Agreement to grant an established rate of discount on the duty on any article imported, on proof of origin in a country party to the League.

The result being the exchange of the industry of the contracting countries on terms more favourable to each other than to foreign nations, and even to such portions of the British Empire as might not enter the League.

As the principle suggested is that of a reduction of duty, it would not affect the Free List, and would meet the objection of the Free Trade school, that commercial union means the imposition of duties by the United Kingdom on food and raw materials.

It is further suggested that if the United Kingdom joined the League it might be provided that discount on duty should only be allowed when importations were made in British ships.

This plan would certainly tend to develop the inter-Colonial trade, and, it may be hoped, would in the end lead to other and more direct favour being shown to British industry throughout the Empire.

(Signed) A. T. GALT.

London, 19th July, 1886.

HERE AND THERE.

SIR P. CUNLIFFE OWEN has, I believe, at the request of the Society of Arts, undertaken to prepare a series of reports on the Imperial aspects of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and is now busily engaged upon the work.

At the farewell banquet to Mr. Murray Smith, Lord Granville made reference to Mr. Froude's statement that Australian Federation was favoured by the officials of the Colonial Office to save themselves trouble, and remarked that he was sure that Mr. Murray Smith, who had witnessed the arduous labours of the Colonial Office officials, would, on his return to Victoria, be able to say that the Colonial Office "is not exclusively hard at work to save itself trouble." The *Sydney Morning Herald*, in noticing the incident says:—"Mr. Froude has been on the spot. He has seen the forces that are making for Federation, and those that are causing mutual repulsion, and having previously been on an official mission to South Africa to try to promote Federation there, he was not in a bad position for making his observations. He knows the Colonial Office, and he has made acquaintance with the Colonies, and what he says is the result of a wider knowledge than Earl Granville himself possesses. Federation will come some day when the time is ripe for it, and when it does come it will save the Colonial Office trouble. But it will not come for the sake of that. There is no wish here to plague Downing Street, but our national growth must take its own line and its own time, and the officials in London must not be impatient."

THERE is an expression which is frequently on the lips of Federationists and others which I cannot say I regard as a very felicitous one. "To draw together the bonds which unite the Colonies to the Mother Country," has become now pretty well stereotyped, but the phrase is not a happy one. As the Marquis of Lorne has said, it always puts me in mind of tight lacing; and a tightly laced lady always produces in me a tendency to gasp when I see her. As I understand it, what we want to do is not to "draw the bonds tighter," but to make them stronger and to make them permanent, as well as to create such new ones as may be necessary. Freedom as well as strength, and the possibility of indefinite expansion as well as cohesiveness, we wish to secure.

THE Prince of Wales has been invited to visit Australia next year on the occasion of the opening of the Adelaide Exhibition. The *South Australian Register*, in a long and loyal article on the Queen's birthday and the relations of the British people to

the throne, says: "Here in these Colonies, with our self-governing institutions, and far from the immediate influence of the Court, it might be expected that the sentiment of loyalty would be relatively feeble, but such has never been the case. The visits of scions of the Royal Family are eagerly welcomed, and accompanied by displays of fervent enthusiasm. Should the Prince of Wales be able to carry out the intention, which we know has been his long-cherished wish, of paying a visit to these Colonies, he will assuredly receive a right royal reception. Not that our feelings are dependent on such direct contact. We are proud to belong to the British Empire; we glory in its progress and rejoice in its prospects; we cherish diligently patriotic sentiments; and we pray with a sincerity and fervour that is not exceeded in any part of the realm

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."

It is to be hoped that the Prince, who has visited so many parts of the wide dominions he will, if spared, one day reign over, may find it possible to accept the invitation of our kinsmen and loyal fellow-subjects at the antipodes.

It is no secret that the Prince of Wales has for a considerable time been anxious to see established a Colonial and Indian museum, in which the resources of the Empire should be permanently illustrated. I understand that the Prince's wish is likely at last to be fulfilled, and that much of what is now seen at the South Kensington Colinderies will probably form the nucleus of the proposed collection. It is said that the Prince will not now move actively in the matter in consequence of his connection with the present Exhibition, and that the first advances must be made by the Governments over the seas. Some of the representatives of these Governments have, however, expressed themselves in favour of the project, and would be only too glad to receive instructions to co-operate with His Royal Highness in carrying it out. The proposal has been not a little canvassed of late, and it is surprising how the discussion of a thing *in nubibus* tends to its realisation on *terra firma*. The Colonists, I understand, are in favour of a site being found for the museum, if it should presently be established, on the Embankment.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* has shown itself as capable of appreciating the great question of Imperial Federation as any of the London dailies; and, perhaps, even more so. It has repeatedly shown its sympathy with the movement, and revealed the fact that it has "ideas"—I use the word in the sense in which a Frenchman would understand it—on the subject. It ought, therefore, to know better than to speak of the High Commissioner for Canada as a "Colonial ambassador," or to tacitly endorse the phrase when employed by its interviewers. An ambassador at the Court of this country is the representative of a foreign Power, and the Colonies are not foreign Powers. The *Globe* did well the other day to rebuke some of the speakers at the recent conference of the Chambers of Commerce for referring to the Agents-General as ambassadors; the distinction between an ambassador and the representative of a Colonial Government needs to be borne in mind. It may be true, as Sir Saul Samuel has said, that the style and title of Agent-General needs to be amended, as it is too much, in Sir Saul's view, like general agent; but the title of ambassador most decidedly is not the title to substitute for it.

CAPTAIN W. CLARK, a Canadian volunteer at the present time in England, is reported by a contemporary to have spoken, in an interview with one of its correspondents, as follows:—"We all look forward to Federation of some kind, and we should esteem it a high honour and a thing to be proud of if we were incorporated as integral parts of the British Army; though we hold our commissions from the Queen, through the Governor-General, we are not as yet absolutely recognised as, and included in, the British Army. If we, with all other Colonial forces, were knit together as the British Army, the bond of union would be invincible, and together we could stand shoulder to shoulder against the rest of the world in defence of Imperial interests. This is a climax only to be reached by time, and it requires an education of a generation at least before so desirable a result can be brought about; but that it will, I do not for a moment doubt."

IN reference to the Canadian team and the competition at Wimbledon, Captain Clark said: "Of one thing I feel absolutely certain, that they will carry back to their homes in the Far West most pleasant and lifelong memories of the hospitality and brotherly feeling always extended to us Canadians when we revisit our dear Mother Country, England a hospitality and generous cordiality which I personally vouch for to be met with nowhere to a greater extent than here."

SENATOR MACINNIS, of Hamilton, on returning lately to Canada, was interviewed by a representative of the *Mail*. He testified to the marked effect which the Colonial and Indian

Exhibition was having on public opinion in Great Britain, and contrasted the feeling now existing in regard to the Colonies with that which existed some twelve or fifteen years ago, when the loyalty of Canadians was pronounced by one of the leading newspapers of Great Britain to be troublesome. He found, he said, the subject of Imperial Federation freely discussed both in public and private.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, in an article in the July number of the *Nineteenth Century*, says :—"So far as Canada is concerned Imperial Federation is a dream. The Canadian people will never part with self-government." We admit that if Imperial Federation meant that Canada, or any of the self-governing Colonies, should part with their self-government, it would be a dream; but it does not mean that. The Imperial Federation League has been most emphatic in affirming that "no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs." What a pity it is that learned essayists should not trouble to acquaint themselves with the facts relating to the subjects on which they write!

WE have been reading almost every day of the public dinners, and entertainments of various kinds, which have been given in honour of our Colonial visitors. But what about the private dinners and entertainments which have been given in their honour, and which have been even more numerous than those of a public character? I venture to think that some of these are doing as much good as the larger and more pretentious gatherings; perhaps even more. I had the pleasure of being present a few evenings ago at one, which did not a little, I feel sure, for the cause of Federation. This, indeed, was the object which our kind and genial host, who, I need scarcely say, is a good friend of the League and of Federation, on this occasion had in view. He would not like me to reveal his name, but I may say that the dinner took place at Bailey's Hotel, South Kensington, and that among the guests were several officials of the League and representative visitors from the Colonies. Aided by coffee and cigars, a lively discussion was carried on after dinner on the commercial aspect of Federation and the tariffs question. Opinions were freely interchanged, more freely than they would be in a public conference, and ideas of a useful kind were elicited. It became clear, as the discussion went on, that the majority—and nearly all the English guests were on the side of the majority—were for the different members of the Empire extending to each other more favourable terms than to foreign nations.

FEDERALIST.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

No fewer than seventy-four of the members of the new House of Commons are members of the General Committee of the League, which has every reason to be satisfied with the progress the question of Federation has made during the course of the Elections.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee with the delegates from the branches of the League in the Colonies, held on the 17th ult. at the offices of the League, a resolution was proposed by Mr. McGoun, the secretary of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, which was supported by Sir Alexander Galt and others, and, after discussion and amendment, was unanimously adopted as follows :—"That a deputation of the League shall attend upon the Prime Minister or Colonial Secretary, urging him to call a Conference, or to appoint a Royal Commission, to be composed of accredited representatives of the United Kingdom and of each of the self-governing Colonies, for the purpose of suggesting some practical means whereby concerted action may be taken, (1) for placing upon a satisfactory basis the defence of the Ports and the Commerce of the Empire in time of war, (2) for promoting direct intercourse, Commercial, Postal, and Telegraphic, between the several countries of the Empire in time of peace—and any other means for securing the closer Federation or union of all parts of the Empire." It is proposed that the deputation shall wait upon the Prime Minister as soon as a new Government is in office, and already a large number of influential gentlemen have consented to be members of it.

AUSTRALIA, DUNOLLY.—The members of the Dunolly Literary and Debating Society have been discussing the subject of Imperial Federation. The president of the society (Mr. Williamson) introduced it in a paper, of which an abstract was afterwards published in the *Dunolly Express*. The essayist dealt with the various phases of the question, and from a

Colonial point of view strongly advocated it. On the conclusion of the paper most of the members spoke, but very briefly, owing to the lateness of the hour. Regret was expressed that the subject could not fully be discussed, as members had been prepared to speak freely on it. It was suggested that it should be brought on for further discussion at a future time. There was, however, a unanimous and thoroughly cordial expression of opinion in favour of a scheme of Imperial Federation, the speakers, without exception, agreeing with the views enunciated by the essayist.

CANADA, INGERSOLL.—At a recent enthusiastic meeting a branch of the Imperial Federation League was formed at this place. It was resolved : "That in the opinion of this meeting closer relations should be established between the Colonies and the Mother Country, with a view of preserving the integrity of the Empire." "That the meeting accepts and approves of the resolutions passed at the Conference held in London, on June 29, 1884, and re-affirmed by the Montreal Branch of the League at a meeting held on March 3, 1885, and especially the following one :—"That any scheme of Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." The meeting comprised several gentlemen of local influence, and among them the mayor, who with the secretary was elected to represent the branch at the general meeting of the League.

CANADA, MONTREAL.—At the annual meeting of the League in Canada, lately held, a resolution was unanimously passed requesting Mr. McGoun, the secretary, when in England during the summer as the delegate of the Branch League, to ask the Imperial Federation League to send out a deputation to Canada for the purpose of disseminating a wider knowledge of the question.

In an able address the president stated that no movement was ever carried without enthusiasm, and if this movement was to extend in Canada a wider interest must be created. To many at the first flash Federation seemed a dream, a Utopian scheme too visionary to be within the range of practical feasibility. On the contrary, however, the question was an eminently practical one, and must soon assume definite shape, otherwise the Empire would go to pieces. It was utterly impossible for human wisdom to keep it together with the Imperial Parliament overburdened with the details of minor legislation to the neglect of the wider and more momentous interests of the Empire. He was speaking to a gentleman the other day who objected to Federation on the ground that he would then have to support the Imperial army and navy. He (the president) asked him what he would have. The gentleman replied, "Independence." But independence meant the creation and maintenance of an army and navy and diplomatic corps, and a constant anxiety as to the chances of safety, while the Federation of all the parts of the British Empire would be a guarantee for safety and peace and for ample protection if the need arose. Each part of the Empire having its own autonomy, the Imperial Parliament would be enabled to watch over those larger interests which were at present neglected. As the English language, the dominant speech of the world to-day, was becoming more and more wide-spread, the federation of the English-speaking people all over the world partook not of the character of a Utopian dream, but of the nature of an eminently practical and vital question which sooner or later must find solution in the manner indicated by the League. There were other speeches to a similar effect by those present.

EXETER.—Mr. J. Rae writes to the Secretary of the League, saying, that he thinks he will be able to establish a branch in Exeter. We wish him all success, and trust that he will take definite action soon. Now that the General Election is over, and everybody is talking about the Colonies and Federation, the time is exceptionally favourable for the friends of the League to attempt the extension of its organisation.

HASLEMERE.—Mr. J. Stanley Little's lecture has borne excellent fruit at Haslemere. He has enrolled forty members of the League there, and at the last meeting of the executive committee this branch was affiliated to the main body of the League in London. The movement has appealed to all classes of society at Haslemere and to all political parties there. Mr. Stanley Little desires to make the Haslemere district a centre from which he can spread the movement all over the conterminous parts of the counties of Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire. He hopes to lecture at Guildford, Godalming, Dorking, Petworth, Midhurst, Pulborough, Arundel, Horsham, Cranleigh, Aldershot, Farnham, Alton, Selborne, Portsmouth, and Winchester. In some of these towns Mr. Stanley Little has resided, and he is well known in the district which they embrace. Patriotic gentlemen who believe in the permanent unity of the Empire who may happen to be residing in the respective towns above named, should they desire to assist Mr. Little in his laudable enterprise, cannot do better than put themselves in communication with him, at Houndless Water, Haslemere; and Mr. Stanley Little will also be glad to receive, at as early a date as possible, the names of gentlemen (whether resident in Haslemere or

elsewhere) who may desire to enroll themselves as members of the League.

Mr. Little intends shortly to call a meeting of members of the Branch League and others, when he will set forth his plans for the future. We may add that the total amount (namely, £5 14s. 6d.) has been transmitted to Mr. L. Sergeant. Subjoined are the names of officers of the branch: President—The Lord Tennyson: Vice-Presidents—The Earl of Egmont, the Earl of Winterton, the Hon. St. John Brodrick, M.P., the Hon. Hallam Tennyson, Ellis D. Gosling, Esq., G. B. Buckton, Esq., F.R.S., James Simmons, Esq., J.P., and John Tyndall, Esq., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S. Just over forty residents have paid the subscription qualifying for membership. Subjoined are their names, given in the order in which the members joined the League:—C. Pannell, W. J. Fogden, F. S. Fowler, Mrs. Fowler, J. Clark, John Charman, Hori Hale, J. H. Meadows, E. Eley, C. Charlwood, Hugh W. Wooberry, A. Softley, A. Berry, W. G. Deas, Peter Aylwin, A. Williamson, J. W. Broyd, Dr. R. W. Winstanley, Dr. Frederick Pearce, Rev. S. Etheridge, W. H. Thomas, C. G. Roberts, Mrs. Thomas, Rev. G. H. Purdue, W. Gibbs, G. Leon Little, J. S. Edgeler, W. Furlonger, G. E. Berry, W. Older, George Fulk, J. C. Hook, R.A., E. Clement Wallace, C. Bridger, G. B. Buckton, F.R.S., Turner Bridger, William Heather, Ellis D. Gosling, the Earl of Winterton, James Simmons, J.P., W. Smithers, and John Tyndall, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.

LONDON, CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE.—The long anticipated Conference of the League was held on July 1st and 2nd, in the Conference Room, at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. We have the satisfaction of being able to present our readers with full reports of the proceedings in the present number.

LONDON, CONFERENCE OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.—On Tuesday, July 6th, in the Conference Room at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition the delegates sent from Chambers of Commerce in various parts of the Empire discussed the question, "How best to bring about the Adoption of a Practical Working Scheme for the Federation of the British Empire." The subject was introduced by the Marquis of Lorne. A report of the Conference will be found elsewhere.

LONDON, KENSINGTON.—On Wednesday, July 28th, Mr. G. R. Parkin, of New Brunswick, delivered a lecture in the Town Hall, Kensington, under the auspices of the Kensington and Paddington Branches of the League, upon the subject of "Our Empire." The chair was taken at 8 o'clock by Mr. Edmund Routledge, F.R.G.S., supported by Mr. Horne Payne, Q.C., Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Mr. Edward Arnold, Mr. P. V. Smith, Mr. Freeman Murray, Colonel Ross Innes, Mr. Labilliere, Mr. A. H. Loring, the Editor of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*, and others. The lecture, which was very interesting and able, was extemporaneously delivered, and was much appreciated by the audience. A hearty vote of thanks was given to the lecturer at the close. We hope to give some of Mr. Parkin's facts and arguments in our next.

LONDON, ROYAL UNITED SERVICE INSTITUTION.—Colonel Sir Charles H. Nugent, K.C.B., late of the Royal Engineers, delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation on Wednesday, June 30th, at the Royal United Service Institution. The Earl of Carnarvon presided, and there were present many Colonial visitors as well as eminent military and naval officers. The lecturer said the objects of Federation were defence, external policy, extension of territory, international communication, regulation of commerce, prosecution of justice, extradition of criminals, patent and copyrights.

LONDON, ST. PANCRAS.—The question of Imperial Federation is making progress in this part of the metropolis. Mr. R. Ready, of the Working Men's Conservative Association in the Western Division has been interesting himself in the movement, and has distributed literature on the subject. A lecture, not in connection with this Association, but quite independent of party, is to be delivered on August 10th, which is not unlikely to be followed by the formation of a branch of the League.

THE AGENT-GENERAL FOR VICTORIA ON THE EMPIRE.—Sir Graham Berry was one of the speakers at the banquet given by the Mercers' Company on the 14th ult. to representative gentlemen from the Colonies. Responding to the toast of "The Colonies of the British Empire," he said it was quite clear that if England desired to raise the real position of the Empire she should organise it on a larger scale than she had hitherto done. There was no desire for aggression, but for the defence of all they held dear it was necessary that all material force should be organised, and that the grounds upon which this great confederation of the Empire took place should be thoroughly understood. Englishmen should thoroughly understand the Colonies and appreciate the fact that, if the connection with the distant portions of the Empire was to be anything more than nominal, the heart of the Empire must beat in unison with the farthest extremities."

AT THE CONFERENCE.

It was with some misgivings that, on the morning of July 1st, I started, with the Conference Hall at the Exhibition for my objective, to attend the much-anticipated Conference on Imperial Federation. My misgivings related to the attendance, for, as every one knows, we were in the thick of the elections, and, although the number of M.P.'s on the General Committee of the League attests the interest which a very considerable number of those who were in the last Parliament take in our movement, these gentlemen were now scattered all over the country engaged in a fierce battle for their seats, and could not be expected to leave the theatre of war to be present at the meeting at South Kensington. Moreover, other members of the League who had not been in the old Parliament were in some instances candidates for membership in the new, and they also, like the men in the parable, had with one consent been making excuse. They were wooing the constituencies, and, therefore, could not come. It certainly seemed as though our late premier had succeeded—without intending it—in doing the cause of Federation no small disservice by bringing things to a crisis, and involving the country in the excitement and turmoil of a general election, at the very time fixed upon months before by the League for a conference which was to command public attention far and near. It was, therefore, with much satisfaction that when I arrived at the Conference Room I found so many gathered together, and that the numbers went on increasing for some time after the meeting was opened, until there was quite as good an attendance as the Royal Colonial Institute with its large membership, and more favourable opportunity, had been able to command when considering the same subject some weeks before. In fact, it was perfectly clear that but for the election the Conference would have been a success beyond the most sanguine expectations of its promoters.

Lord Rosebery, in his opening speech, spoke with his usual clearness, deliberateness, and force. Professor Seeley, in his paper on "The objects to be gained by the Federation of the Empire," was a perfect model of brevity and, if "brevity is the soul of wit"—of wit, too. Short as his paper was, it was full of good things, as, indeed, was to be expected, and as readers of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION* will doubtless be able to see for themselves. If any one had asked for a definition of Federation in one sentence he would, probably, have been told by ninety-nine Federationists out of a hundred that the thing was impossible, it could not be given. Yet the professor was equal to this feat. "Federation," said he, "is, in one word, the calling into existence an organ of discussion and legislation for affairs common to the whole Empire, and this in such a way as not to interfere with the liberty and self-government of the parts." The definition should be taken note of.

In the debate which followed I thought the speaking good, and the discussion well-sustained. Mr. Parkin, of New Brunswick, was particularly happy and forcible. Clearly he has oratorical and debating gifts of no mean order, and is qualified to render excellent service to the cause. His remark that Canadians thought England should "edge" on the Trade Question, and that "they in Canada would have been crushed if they had allowed free-trade principles to rule them," brought up a free-trade Colonist in the person of Mr. McMillan, of New South Wales, who said that he "raised his voice with no uncertain sound against any system of Federation which has not a free-trade basis." In this we had an illustration of the divergent views which Federationists have to reconcile, or, it may be, an evidence that they have to accomplish their object in spite of divergent views.

In the afternoon this same question of "Free Trade v. Protection" was again touched upon. Sir Alexander Galt recognised the fact that "in an Empire of such diversified resources it is impossible to establish perfect free trade." While that was the case, he thought it "not too much to expect that the interchange of commodities amongst the different sections of the same nation should be conducted on terms more favourable to each other than to foreigners"—an opinion which seems to bear common sense on the face of it, and certainly was extensively endorsed. In this paper, I would point out, Sir Alexander Galt was at issue with Lord Rosebery on one point. His lordship had expressed the opinion that "the Mother Country having set the movement on foot, the next movement must come from the Colonies." Sir Alexander was thoroughly convinced "that the movement for Imperial Federation must commence in Great Britain itself, and the corner-stone be laid here before the admission of the Colonies can be seriously undertaken." Which is right I, of course, could not say, but I have an opinion on the subject—an opinion my readers would probably not care to be troubled with.

On the Friday, the energetic and gallant Captain Colomb was "to the front" on the subject of "Imperial Defence," leaving Bow and Bromley and electioneering matters for the nonce to take care of themselves. Sir Charles Nugent, who carries his geniality and courtesy wherever he goes, and makes pleasant thereby both his presence and his speeches, spoke well; but when Mr. Parkin rose and began to speak, the meeting, as on the preceding day, was fairly taken by storm. Mr. Parkin was full of his subject and bubbling over. Knowledge, good sense, sound argument, and fervid patriotism, characterised all he

said. Captain Colomb was not present the day before, and it was something to mark the radiant delight expressed by his countenance on the discovery that he had such an ally. When the speaker descended in glowing periods on the magnificence of the Empire, and declared that "a twopenny-halfpenny Irish question" paled into utter insignificance in comparison with the question of Federation, the meeting was fairly carried away.

MR. J. G. Colmer did good service to the cause we all have at heart in a paper read by him in the afternoon of the day. The address on "Emigration and Immigration" was an eminently sound and a well reasoned one, concluding with these pertinent words: "Commercial unity and consolidation for defence are two most important branches of the Imperial Federation question, and the settlement of those matters cannot be better accelerated than by the organisation of a regular scheme of colonisation on a large scale." Due emphasis was given to one of the most fruitful causes of the distress unhappily existing among our operatives, namely, the cessation of the practice of apprenticeships, and the absence of any large system of technical education. Mr. Colmer plainly demonstrated that to meet this, the real difficulty under which we labour at home, we must look to systematic colonisation rather than to desultory emigration. The fact, repeatedly attested by Lord Brabazon and others, that the unskilled labourers from the East-end made the best emigrants in Manitoba, cannot be too sedulously engraved upon the tablets of the memory. There is no use in blinking this matter; the Imperial Government must take colonisation in hand sooner or later, or be prepared to see the whole social and political edifice, which we have built up with so much care and labour, crumble into fragments. It is the only antidote to socialism, by which we mean anarchical socialism, not the merely academic and innocuous variety. Moreover, Lieut. Smith, R.N., was quite within the truth when he said that the National Debt was but as a drop in the bucket in comparison with the loss to the nation which has accrued from the emigration of our citizens to the United States instead of to our Colonies.

One of the most notable features of these Conferences has been the lively interest and support they have evoked from visitors from the Colonies. Among these several Canadian gentlemen have especially distinguished themselves, and at the meeting in question one of these, formerly of British Columbia, gave expression to certain extremely loyal and promising sentiments. He truly said that Sir John Macdonald had contributed enormously to the solution of the Eastern question by the splendid genius and energy with which he had carried the great Canadian Pacific Railway project to a successful termination.

At this same Conference a very useful suggestion was made by the Rev. Styleman Herring, who advocated the institution of emigration clubs in all the towns and villages of the kingdom; and valuable speeches from Mr. Labilliere, Sir Rawson Rawson, and others brought to a close a most important meeting. MULTUM IN PARVO.

CURRENT PRESS OPINIONS.

THE *Natal Mercury*, in a special issue on June 1st, contained lengthy descriptive accounts of the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and also a significant editorial on "Imperial Federation." In this editorial it referred to the large acceptance which now obtains of the principles of the Imperial Federation League, and said:—

"We heartily congratulate its members on the good fortune which has at last dawned for them. The year of grace, 1886, is likely to be a red-letter year in the annals of the British Empire. The Colonies, their present condition and future lot and aspirations, will occupy a very large share in the thoughts of our friends at home during the coming months; nor is the quickened interest likely to be of an ephemeral nature, for the foundations of that interest have been carefully and laboriously laid. It is the firm belief of many that the dawn of the twentieth century will see also the dawn of a mighty pan-Anglican Empire—an Empire the like of which the world has never seen. The party of disunion is dead—in the Mother Country at all events. Twelve years ago, or even less, the party which boasts Mr. Chamberlain, Professor Bryce and Mr. Joseph Cowen as its distinguished ornaments would have stood aghast at the uncompromising Imperialism of those notable men. Now, it would seem, the extreme Radical out-does the most ardent Conservative in the robustness of his faith in England's Imperial destiny. The shoe has pinched in the right place at last, and the stern and ominous lessons taught by the trade returns have done more to enlighten the masses as to the true value of Colonies than a whole library of books, full of appeals to reason, patriotism, or sentiment. The poets and essayists have 'to take back seats' when the statistician's wand is produced. The English people are eminently practical. Nurtured on figures and beef-steaks, they revel in facts and their pound of flesh. A nation of shopkeepers, they are beginning to learn that the Colonies are their best customers. It is absolutely impossible for home-resident Englishmen to dispute the fact that the Colonies are a priceless heritage. Nor can it be gainsaid that England is an incalculable help and support to the Colonies. We do not propose to go into the fruitless question as to which is the greater gainer by the connection—England or her dependencies. It is

altogether an unbecoming subject for speculation. We are near and dear friends. If we choose to rob friendship of sentimental considerations we should generally find that there remained a solid and potent substratum of mutual benefit. Nevertheless, two friends—a father and son may be instanced—would not only consider unnatural, but positively indecent, any attempt to determine the relative benefit which each received from his close association with the other. So let it be with us. England is on the eve of offering her Colonies full and unreserved partnership with herself in all matters as affecting the corporate well-being of the Empire. That she will offer fair, perhaps even generous, terms, there is nothing in her past history to induce us to doubt. For our part we do not hesitate for a moment to say that the Colonies will meet the Mother Country in a like spirit. The potentialities which open up to the vision of even the most sluggish imagination when England and her Colonies shall be finally cemented into one great bond, are so pregnant with hope and with promised blessings to the whole human family, that the mind becomes perfectly bewildered in the endeavour to follow out the complex strain of thought which it has conjured up. The disasters which might be expected to follow upon the disruption and dismemberment of the Empire are so momentous and of so irreparable a nature that we turn away from them with dread. Local consolidation and Imperial centralisation are the order of the day. Prince Bismarck has decreed it; England alone would be nowhere; the Colonies as units would be impotent in the face of the great Teutonic and Slavonic concretions. The Anglo-Saxon race, if faithful to its palpable destiny, could dominate—peacefully dominate the world. If, on the other hand, parochial-minded counsels prevail, the Anglo-Saxon communities will fall an easy prey, one by one, to the Teuton or the Slav. Between the last-named races a great death struggle is imminent. It may break out any day. Should the British Empire fall to pieces this great conflict cannot be averted, for both nations will look upon the disjointed Empire as their natural prey, whereas a really united British Empire would be all-powerful enough to stand between the would-be combatants. The issues involved in the settlement of this great question of Imperial Federation, which, like Aaron's rod, swallows up all other questions, are so momentous that it behoves every true loyalist, every true lover of his fellow men, to do his utmost to ensure the speedy triumph of the principle."

The *Port Elizabeth Telegraph* says:—

"The Federation of the Empire is a subject which always excites the enthusiasm of Colonists, and the growing prominence given to the question involved in that idea is a proof of the hold which it exercises on the minds of Englishmen. Connected as we are with the Mother Country by ties of blood, language, old associations, and memories, we at a distance, perhaps, feel more strongly than the average Englishman at home the desire for unity. And no matter how we may affect to disparage many of the prejudices of the England of to-day, we nevertheless feel that we have very much more need of her than she of us. If the Colonies were politically lost to her to-morrow her position among the nations of the world would be far less impressive and imposing than now, but materially speaking she would be invulnerable. With the splendid public spirit of the people, and the matchless resources of the British Islands, with her ever-victorious army and the unrivalled navy, with the impregnable insularity of her position through which she is in Europe, and yet not of it, Great Britain would still be the most powerful nation in the world. On the other hand, what would be the position of such a Colonial group as South Africa. Riven asunder by intestine dissensions, continually threatened by native foes, without even a gun-boat or a torpedo for the defence of our vast coast-line, we should fall an easy prey to the first European Power ambitious of forming a South African Empire and careless about the amount of expenditure requisite for accomplishing such a purpose. In this country we have two paramount duties tending to self-preservation. The first is to unite as closely as possible with England, and the next is to unite as closely as possible with one another."

The *Deal and Walmer Telegram*, remarking on the fact that the Colonial and Indian Exhibition has had the effect of evoking unionist sentiments among representative men from different parts of the British Empire, proceeds to discuss the question of Imperial Federation, and says:—

"If we are to have a comparatively small Federal Council representing the whole Empire, the British Parliament will have to surrender to such body its own present control over foreign affairs, peace and war, and military and naval expenditure. If, however, the existing home Parliament is to be reinforced by representatives from the Colonies, that body will have to delegate to a merely local legislature, or to several local legislatures, much of its present authority and work. Canadian and Australian representatives would be utterly out of place in an assembly which had to discuss a 'local option' measure for county Durham, or a railway scheme for connecting two petty English towns. In a word, effective Imperial Federation would involve more change in the home than in the Colonial form of government."

The *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, in a leader on the Conference of the League, expressed its opinion that "the keynote of the deliberations was admirably pitched to secure general acquiescence in the objects for which it exists." Referring to Sir Alexander Galt's paper, and the views enunciated in it, it says:—

"What the Canadian Nestor says is, if you want Federation, begin at home. Get local Parliaments established in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, with an Imperial Parliament in which all are represented. Then, when the Federal Board has been constituted, the distant, and at present receding, members of the Empire will be attracted towards it. The logic of the demand that the United Kingdom should break up in order that the Empire may be amalgamated is not so obvious as it might be. The suggestion is, however, of value as

showing how the problem of Federation is approached by a shrewd Colonial politician."

The *Bury Press* is of opinion that the bond of brotherhood between England and her Colonies and between the Colonies themselves, should be strengthened. Speaking of the Colonies it affirms:—

"They have common interests as dependencies of the British Crown, and it is not unreasonable to look for their union for the common defence of the British Empire. A scheme of Colonial Federation has long been advocated, and there can be little doubt that events are tending in this direction. Much, of course, would depend on the terms of Federation, but some form of it for great national and Colonial purposes would seem to be desirable. The Imperial Federation League, which has been holding its conference in London on Thursday and yesterday, under very influential auspices, has inaugurated a movement which will inevitably be developed. Colonial defence has long been a matter of serious importance to the British taxpayer, and it is certain that our Colonies do very little to aid us in this respect compared to what they might reasonably be called on to do. Our Colonies are continually developing in internal strength, in population, and in importance, and we are continually being burdened by more and more heavy taxation. In plain truth the Colonies ought as far as possible to defend themselves, and certainly they ought to do much more towards this than they are now doing."

The *New Zealand Herald*, in a long and interesting article on "Great Britain and the Colonies," suggested by the Exhibition, declares that "it might be said that there are dearer and closer and more enduring bonds existing between every part of the British islands and the Colonies than there are between the several counties, and provinces, and kingdoms of the United Kingdom itself," and affirms that "a rupture between England and her Colonies would in very truth be now more fratricidal than a civil war between Northern and Southern Britain." It proceeds:—

"While these relations have been growing up, the Imperial Government has shown a generous trust in the true instincts of British citizenship, and, in conceding absolute liberty to Colonists to govern themselves as they please, has grafted on the family affections that bind the Colonists to friends at home, a reverence for the Throne and Constitution which has resulted in a passionate loyalty which is more than loyalty, and to which the history of all time affords no parallel. The idea of 'cutting the painter' never now suggests itself in the most fervid utterances of the wildest demagogue. Colonists love and reverence the connection, and would shed their blood for it and for the maintenance of the prestige of the Empire; while from end to end of Britain the feeling has lately swept like a wave, that in these young and rising dependencies is the hope of England's future, and that they should be drawn closer still, and cherished as the 'Greater Britain' that is destined to maintain till the end of time the predominance of the all-conquering race."

Fair Trade is of opinion that:—

"Had it not been for the General Election, much more attention would have been given to the conference and banquet of the Imperial Federation League last week. As it was, in spite of the pressure upon space, our leading newspapers were compelled to give somewhat copious reports, and the interest taken in Federation naturally invited several important leaders. None know better than those, who, amid the greatest obstacles have been pushing the Fair Trade cause during recent years, how deeply-rooted is the feeling in the English mind in favour of the actual, as well as nominal, Federation of the Empire. When the arguments of the most practised orators in favour of the reform of our fiscal policy, have apparently failed to overcome the prejudices engendered by habit and education, any reference to the policy by which the commercial interests of the Empire are to be knit together has been certain to elicit applause."

In reference to the views enunciated by Sir A. Galt, *Fair Trade* says:—

"Sir Alexander Galt, on the other hand, whose mind has for years been given to this subject, at once touched the root when he said that 'the commercial union of Great Britain with the Colonies and India should be undertaken and pressed upon the people both at home and abroad, with one leading principle in view—of treating British industry as entitled to peculiar favour as distinguished from that of foreign nations.' This is so precisely the view—and, we venture to say, the only practical view—of the question which Free Traders have ever specially enforced since the Fair-Trade policy was promulgated, that we cannot too strongly insist on the importance of this opinion of the late High Commissioner for Canada. It is true, as we have already observed, that all reference to the only means by which such commercial union can be adopted—namely, the imposition of general, though moderate, import duties against foreign, as distinguished from Colonial, products—is studiously kept in the background. Among others, intelligent men like Sir John Lubbock, who presided at the second day's Conference, are apt to shrink from the bare mention of Customs taxation. Even some of the supporters of our creed are content to believe that such policy will follow, instead of being, as we think, the corner stone of the edifice, since, however strong may be the Federation sentiment, and however powerful the feelings of kinship, motives of mutual self interest must ever be the foundation for such policy. In a word, it is by the food custom which the Mother Country has at her command she can only hope effectually to bind her growing Empire together. At present that custom is absolutely given away without thought, whereas if judiciously expended—and it is only by establishing a preferential market it can be utilised—it would buy the goodwill and hearty co-operation of every citizen of the Empire."

MR. STEPHEN BOURNE ON THE POPULATION QUESTION.

IMPERIAL Federation, view it in whichever of its many aspects we may, is a question of supreme importance alike to the Mother Country and every portion of the Empire. So long as Britain had undisputed command of the markets of the whole world, and was laying every country with which she came in contact under contribution for the sustenance of the trade by which she became enriched, she could afford, however foolishly, to think slightly of her Colonial possessions, or to view them simply as accessories to her greatness—contributories to her luxury, instruments of her aggrandisement. But now that those Colonies have expanded, or are in a fair way to achieve important positions in the world of nations, and other nations profiting by her experience and following hard in her footsteps, are supplying their own wants, and retaining the wealth of their own creation, the mother must take her children into partnership, and accord to them the position of fellows rather than dependents. Nevertheless, a premature assertion of independence, or a belief that it is for them to dictate the terms of future relationship, or still more, in anticipation of succession to the power and influence which some of them would fain persuade themselves to be dropping from the parent's grasp, will but retard the fulfilment of their hopes, and is as unnatural as it is impolitic. The interests of both are closely bound up together; and if the Empire is to withstand the fierce competition to which it is exposed, or fulfil its mission in the spread of civilisation and the diffusion of Christianity, it must be by the closest union and the most perfect accord. The objects whose attainment is to be sought are so numerous, and the ways and means by which their possession is to be gained so complex, that one alone may suffice for the present occasion. *That* one is the migration of the population from the densely to the sparsely tenanted portions of the Empire, the distribution of its inhabitants more evenly over its surface.

In a paper, which had the honour of finding a place *in extenso* in the proceedings of the British Association for 1877, I strove to prove that the growth of population was, not as some would assert, "a burden to be borne," but, as many believe, "a source of wealth to be prized." In another, read two years later before the Colonial Institute, I sought to maintain that "Extended Colonisation was a necessity to the Mother Country," and that it was "equally a necessity to those possessions that they should be fully colonised." In an earlier paper, to be found in the Statistical Society's Journal for 1876, "On the Growing Preponderance of Imports over Exports," I had said in the concluding paragraph, "I firmly believe that Britain now stands tottering on the eminence to which she has attained, and that it rests entirely with her sons whether a farther rise or a rapid fall is to mark her future history." The subject, therefore, is in no sense a new one. The present condition of our commerce and manufactures requires no reprobation of the views expressed in either of these versions, and though it is always a thankless office to speak of coming evil, now that we are in the midst of a crisis of which no one sees the outcome, it is some satisfaction to have raised the warning voice, and to have done so is some justification for attempting again to treat of what appears to me to be the most hopeful means of extrication from surrounding perplexities.

If we go back to the census of 1871, we shall find the population of the United Kingdom to have been 31·57 millions; in that of 1881 it had risen to 34·93; and, unless any extraordinary disturbance shall have marked the past year, the Registrar-General's estimation for 1886 will be probably 36·70. There was thus a growth in the first decade of 3·36, and in the subsequent half decade of 1·77—a tolerably even rate of increase, notwithstanding the emigration which has taken place, and but for which, the rate being a percentage upon an increasing total, would have been relatively greater. The numbers have thus, in the interval of fifteen years, increased by one-sixth, or 16·25 per cent. During that same period, however, our imports of food to supply the wants of these additional eaters have risen in value, notwithstanding the extreme depression of prices, in fully as great a degree; whilst the increase in quantity has been from 40 to 50 per cent. This has been occasioned partly by the decreasing production in our own country, and partly from the increasing average of consumption by its inhabitants. This latter would be of no economic importance, if there were a security that prices of imported produce were to continue as low, were it not that such a continuance would still further destroy the raising of home produce, and that it is accompanied by a far greater diminution in the proceeds of our export trade, to which we must look to pay for the imports we have to purchase. These exports of the articles we produce for sale to foreign nations and our own Colonies have fallen between 1872 and 1885 from the value of £236·26 millions to £213·03, the difference between the two being £43·23, resulting from the selling of an additional quantity, which may be measured by £65·57, at a diminution of price to be estimated at £108·80 millions.

One more illustration and I have done with statistics. If we divide the value of our British exports by the industrial numbers of 1871, that year would average £50 per head; whilst for 1885, taking only the numbers of 1881, which are doubtless greater now, the average is only £33, showing that each manufacturing hand produces for sale out of the kingdom but two-thirds in value which he did in the earlier year. Such a condition of affairs demands some radical change. The question for consideration is, whence is it to arise?

Three several courses find advocates. One is to restrain the increase of population; another, to diminish the expenditure of each member of the present and future numbers; the third, to promote the migration of our people to other lands.

The propriety or the possibility of adopting the first of these suggestions cannot, for many obvious reasons, be discussed on the present occasion, but this is to me no matter of regret, for I am here to maintain, as I have ever done, that it is wholly unnecessary. The second of these methods is one which, in the face of the extravagant outlay upon drink and other demoralising expenditure, would in itself be productive of the highest moral, social, and religious gain, but will, whether we like it or not, be forced upon us by the pressure of adversity. But neither it nor the former could be of any avail beyond that of arresting our downward progress. To stop short of continued advance, whilst other nations are increasing so rapidly in material advantages, would be tantamount to a sinking in rank amongst other races, at which the soul of every Englishman revolts. The third is the only feasible course to adopt, and, happily, it is the one which thoroughly comports with the theory of Imperial Federation. How it may be carried out is the all-important and difficult problem our statesmen have to solve.

Our present system is wasteful in the extreme both within and without the United Kingdom. Here we breed a population from parents weakened by dissipation, insalubrious dwellings, and oftentimes insufficient food. We employ a large portion of the father's earnings and the mother's care in struggling to rear for a time the many who drop off before they have arrived at an age to repay the expenditure upon their birth and training. We appropriate one-tenth of the nation's productive power to the creation and distribution of the strong drink—the consumption of which absorbs all the power of at least another half-tenth, and we are raising up an army of impaired workers, perhaps one-fourth of whom are unable to find the means of earning their own maintenance, and so help to drag down the three-fourths who do obtain sufficient employment. On the other side we make roads, lay down rails, build houses, and erect cities, which are but half utilised, because the population is too limited to make the full use of the advantages which are thus provided. We put fiscal barriers between the Colonist and the markets from whence his necessary supplies may be drawn, and thus enforce the employment of more labour than is needed to provide these things from the home stores. We thus violate the great economic principle that the first efforts of new settlers should be directed towards developing the natural resources of the country itself, rather than waste them upon competition with those possessed of facilities for growth and manufacture. Our Colonies, too, must aim at being in these matters, semi-independent kingdoms, rather than portions of one great Empire. Any system of true Federation must abolish all these selfish separations of interests, and let each of its units freely enjoy all the advantages which others of its members possess, in the unfettered exchange of the products raised by each according to its special fitness for the joint participation of all. What we want on this side is not to restrict the natural increase of the species, but to send forth so many as may serve to lessen our surplus here, and furnish employment for the remainder in ministering to the necessities of those who have gone forth to produce the food which may support those at home, and procure the raw materials which have to be worked up for use both at home and abroad. Under such conditions as these, every additional child brought into the world would be a source of wealth, rather than a consumer of that which his ancestors have accumulated or his contemporaries may create.

With the mouths here wanting to be filled, the backs needed to be covered, and the hands fitted to labour in procuring food and clothing, whilst elsewhere there is the land waiting to be tilled, the mineral resources to be dug out, the vast supplies of animal and vegetable products to be cultivated, there is surely something radically at fault in our systems or their working out which keeps the two apart, and every year of neglect to set things right adds to the difficulty, wasting instead of economising the means we have to meet it. It is not only state funds administered in relief of pauperism which absorb some £8,000,000 or more per annum, but the far greater amount of private benevolence devoted to the same end, which though impoverishing the nation, and crippling the means of the charitable, is thus being wasted. Take for instance the recent Lord Mayor's Fund, which amounted to nearly £100,000, all just so much thrown in to stop the gap, which ought never to have been left open. Had but one-tenth of

it been devoted annually during the last ten years, to settling, as it would have amply done, 100 families per year in the North-West of Canada, the relief at home would have been far beyond anything which is now being effected. A thousand families might be living in comfort, and able to have before now begun to pay back the advances, and so to keep helping others forward in the footsteps they themselves have trod.

THE THIRD OF MARCH.

"THE Third of March!"—our pulses thrill

As at a trumpet's note,
That bids each coward heart be still,
And hush'd each craven throat;
Let that proud day, all days above,
Be calendar'd with white,
That prov'd our brethren's loyal love
And sent them forth to fight:

To fight—for that Old Country, seen

Thro' the blue mist of years,

To fight—for their beloved Queen,

As patriot pioneers;

One heart, belike, with grief was sore,

And one with hope beat high,

But each and all the purpose bore

To conquer or to die.

In pity half, and half in scorn

The nations stood at gaze,

Some sorrow'd o'er our plight forlorn,

Some mock'd our weak delays:

Would England's flag in shame be fur'd?

Her glories fade from ken?

Ask these—who taught a wondering world

They too were Englishmen!

H. F. WILSON.

THE "CANADIAN CRITIC."—A special number of this excellent Canadian weekly, specially prepared for circulation at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, has been published. It contains a mass of information, and is designed to furnish a brief and reliable account of the extent and variety of the natural resources of Canada, and the social, moral, and religious condition of its inhabitants.

GREAT BRITAIN'S DEBT.—There are some who with a light heart would add to our national debt a sum equal, as Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out, to the enormous indemnity demanded by Prince Bismarck of France at the close of the war of 1870—an indemnity which, at the time, made Englishmen exclaim against Germany's cold-blooded cruelty. To such we would commend for attentive study a return ordered by the House of Commons of the amount of the National Debt on the 31st of March, 1886, which has been issued during the past month. This return sets forth that the Funded Debt, including the Three-and-a-Half, Three, Two-and-three-Quarters, and Two-and-a-Half per Cent. Annuities, and the debt to the Banks of England and Ireland, amounted on that day to a total of £638,849,693 12s. 10d.; Terminable Annuities to £85,829,917; Exchequer Bills to £5,162,800; Exchequer (Suez) Bonds, £3,359,000; Exchequer Bonds (Cape Loan), £400,000; Treasury Bills, £8,681,000; and deficit to savings' banks and friendly societies' accounts on the 20th November, 1885, £2,133,497 18s.; making together with the Funded Debt, a gross total of £744,415,908 10s. 10d. Deducting £27,769,954 for loans recoverable, and £3,532,040 for nominal value of Suez Canal Shares, the net value of the debt is stated at £713,113,914 10s. 10d.

NEW GUINEA.—A despatch embodying the scheme of the Governments of Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria for the future administration of New Guinea has been forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for Her Majesty's consideration. The despatch concludes:—"If Her Majesty should be pleased to approve of these proposals this Government will be prepared at once to ask the Legislature to pass the necessary Act for the permanent appropriation of the agreed sum of £15,000 without waiting for any similar Acts to be passed by the Legislatures of New South Wales and Victoria. This Government wishes, however, that it should be stipulated as between Her Majesty's Government and the Colony of Queensland that if from any cause the agreed contribution should not be paid by New South Wales or Victoria, Queensland should have a first charge upon any surplus revenue of British New Guinea for any amount which she is called upon to pay under her guarantee beyond the agreed proportion of one-third. Your Excellency will observe that the term for which it is proposed that the guarantee should be given is five years. This term was agreed upon after full discussion. I do not think that the other Colonies would be disposed to join in a longer guarantee, and they prefer that the guarantee to be now given by Queensland should be for the same term for which they are willing to contribute. I have no doubt that before the expiration of that period many of the uncertainties now surrounding the matter will be removed, and that there will be no difficulty in entering into such fresh arrangements as circumstances may then show to be most expedient. With respect to the proposed initial contribution from the Imperial Government, no fixed amount has been asked for. Nor is it likely that a very large amount would be required immediately. It would, however, be necessary to provide buildings of various kinds in different places, and probably also, during the five years, to purchase a steamer and other vessels or boats. It has been suggested that a contribution should be made of the same amount as was made in the case of Fiji—£100,000."

IMPERIAL FEDERATION—NAVAL AND MILITARY.

The second part* of a paper read on Monday, May 31st, before a distinguished audience, including H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who was in the chair, at the Royal United Service Institution, by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, formerly R.M.A.

I MUST now briefly and broadly refer to—

DEMANDS OF A NAVAL AND MILITARY CHARACTER NECESSITATED BY GROWTH.

Seeing the enormous extent of geographical, strategical, constitutional, commercial, and naval and military ground the whole question covers, it will be obviously impossible here to do more than faintly indicate its salient features. To attempt a detailed survey in the time would be useless if not absurd. Each ocean district and our territories they include have varying characteristics, influencing naval and military considerations. I shall now only attempt to touch lightly upon main principles of general application, and try and illustrate them by reference to the Pacific and Indian Seas.

For clearness of such illustration we will treat the Indian Seas district as a great quadrilateral; its north side being chiefly British territory, and its corners commanded by Aden, the Cape, King George's Sound, and Singapore, the first two dominating two of the three routes connecting one hemisphere with the other. Likewise let us regard the Pacific Ocean as another parallelogram with a huge preponderating proportion of our territory in the south. King George's Sound, Port Hamilton, Vancouver, and Cape Horn at its corners, and commanded by Sydney, Vancouver, Port Hamilton, and the Falkland Islands, the latter position dominating the third water route from the other hemisphere to this. To make divisions so enormous may appear impractical, but it must be remembered that science has and is overcoming the obstacles of distance in the practical work of the world; that our trade is with all the world, and that the helpless ships we must arrange to protect in war do from 70 to 80 per cent. of the carrying of the world's trade, and that the British sea trade to be guarded is, roughly speaking, in value alone *one-third* that of the whole world's interchange by land and sea. That is the general result of our growth, and if we are to meet the naval and military demands of growth we must not be frightened by their geographical dimensions.

Taking, then, these two great quadrilaterals, there are right places and there will be times when the defensive organisation of the Empire must produce the right forces, both naval and military, for the defence of our interests within them. It must not only get the forces there promptly, but be able to sustain them so long as may be required. It will be understood that I now limit my remarks to considerations respecting the naval protection of the high seas and the military security of naval bases, they only refer to the ocean quadrilateral, not to the Indian territories. These considerations I group under three heads:—

War ships.
Garrisons, &c.
Ordnance and stores.

Taking these in reverse order, let us glance at the necessities of defence in these quadrilaterals in war. It is only by a careful examination of such facts we can arrive at a conclusion as to whether Federation for defence is necessary for common safety, and if so on what principle should it be based. Where and how are we to begin?

ORDNANCE AND STORES.

For powder and shot, guns and gun-carriages, and all ordnance stores, our fleet and garrison depend on Woolwich and Elswick. Every shot and cartridge used by us in these two great areas must be replaced from thence. British forces in Australasia, a garrison at Port Hamilton, or our frigates off the Horn, at present must rely for these things on workshops on the Tyne and on the Thames. When an extra amount is wanted in the Pacific it will also be wanted in the Atlantic. Pressure, therefore, from all quarters of the world on the outbreak of war will be brought to bear on these establishments simultaneously.

Next comes the—

QUESTION OF TRANSPORT.

Munitions of war cannot be exposed to risk of capture or destruction so long as hostile ships are at sea. Precautions must be taken to ensure the sea transit of war stores, hence they must either be escorted by war-ships or sent unconvoyed by the very fastest merchant steamers. If escorted by war-ships, naval force must be reduced elsewhere in order to furnish convoys. In this case the transports must adopt the speed of the convoys, but if the fastest war-ships are so employed, then the general protection of commerce must be left to the slower war-ships. If, however, slow war-vessels furnish the escort, then time will be lost in the delivery of stores. Supposing we rely upon speed without escort; then we are taking from our

merchant marine a proportionate part of its best element of safety—speed—and so forcing an increased amount of food and other freights into slower ships, and adding to the risk of capture.

There is an economical question involved even in peace by the facts here referred to. To the cost of production must be added the cost of delivery—the farther the destination from the factory the greater the expense. These considerations point more or less all one way, and may be shortly summed up by saying that the artillery requirements of the British positions, maritime and territorial, would be more certainly, promptly, and perhaps more economically met by our having A FACTORY FOR PRODUCTION OF WAR *matériel* IN THE PACIFIC. Australasia, and the western provinces of Canada both offering natural resources necessary.

Such extension of local power of producing war *matériel*, whether situate in Australasia or Western Canada, would be in peace of mutual advantage to us and the Colony in which established; and to the whole Empire a source of incalculable strength in war. Self support of supply of war stores in the Pacific quadrilateral appears to be a first principle on which arrangements for Imperial Federation for defence should be based. It is simply a question of business-like practical co-operation between the Government of her Majesty at home, and her Majesty's Government in one or other of these Colonies. Proximity to the Indian seas seems to point rather towards Australasia than Canada as the site for such an establishment. Great things must have small beginnings, and the real danger is delay. If it is argued that this is too big a business to undertake, the reply is the business to be done in war is bigger. Canada has recently made a small advance in this direction by the establishment of a Government cartridge factory in Quebec; and when trouble came in the north-west, this infant factory turned out in "two months over one and a half million ball cartridges."

GARRISONS, ETC.

Beyond the defended seaports of Australasia and the partially secured ports of India and of Canada, there are many others in these two great quadrilaterals of infinite importance to our fleet in war. About the most dangerous programme for any nation to adopt would be that which would provide for naval bases, armaments, and works, but which did not provide either the number of trained men necessary or the organisation required to ensure their being at their posts when wanted. The defence of such ports involves, of course, three arms—the torpedo, the gun, and the rifle. The greater the advance in science, the greater the skill required in the use of weapons. Skill is a matter of training and experience; both cost money and time. If the many isolated ports in these two great areas, and elsewhere, upon which the freedom of our fleet depends have not, on the outbreak of war, the artillery, torpedo, and small-arm force required, the fact of their having works and armament only adds to naval danger. That danger can only be met by the expenditure in peace of money and time for the maintenance and training of the force required to garrison and defend the keys of our sea empire in war. What proportion of such forces may be active or reserve is a question of detail; that there shall be such forces and that they shall be at their posts when wanted is a principle vital to the security of the commerce of the Empire.

The first point is to get the men.

Second, to train them.

Third, that they shall be available for service *where* wanted, and when wanted.

These three conditions bring us to considerations as to the

DISTRIBUTION AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE.

Numerical distribution is roughly as follows: $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole is in the United Kingdom, $\frac{1}{4}$ being beyond the sea. Of the population of the outlying Empire, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total is located in the Dependencies, only $\frac{1}{3}$ is in the Colonies. As regards the Dependencies, out of a total of 206 millions, 200 millions are in India; the six millions being distributed amongst the West Indies, West Coast of Africa, and isolated possessions in various other parts of the world. To whatever extent the huge numerical strength of Indian population might or could be used to furnish garrisons where necessary in the Pacific or Indian Seas, the question of artillery and torpedo service is not a question of numbers but of natural characteristics. It needs no argument, it is an obvious fact, that these arms demand, as a rule, the best talents and peculiar qualities of our own race. Assuming that such infantry force as it may be necessary to distribute for the defence of naval bases and ports in the Indian Seas and Pacific might possibly be raised in India, the question of artillery and torpedo corps remains for consideration.

Where a naval base or coaling station is situated in our Colonies, local population offer the raw material for creating torpedo or artillery corps. At such places it is simply a question of numbers, inducements, and training. I will not stop to examine to what extent the means thus at hand have been

* The first part appeared in July number.

made use of at the chief ports of Australasia or Western Canada. The important consideration is the provision for artillery and torpedo service at ports thousands of miles away from either of these seaboard, and where our own race cannot be, or is not, localised in sufficient numbers to furnish on the spot such corps. It may be accepted as a first principle of British sea defence that there must be an artillery and a torpedo corps and infantry available for general service at coaling ports, &c., throughout the Empire, and sufficiently strong for their needs. If this principle be not fully satisfied by the arrangements of the Empire for its defence, it is not one part of that Empire that will suffer alone, but all. It is a common necessity for the security of our common commerce. In the safety of the Pacific and Indian quadrilaterals, the commerce of our Colonies and Dependencies is first and chiefly concerned. Comparing Home and Colonial populations to areas, it is evident

THE UNITED KINGDOM MUST BE THE CHIEF RECRUITING GROUND

for the rank and file of such corps. It does not follow that for the defence of our ports in the Pacific and Indian seas this Island in the Atlantic is a suitable position for trained reserves for service in the Pacific. The argument as to time and transport referred to in the case of war stores here points again to Australasia and Western Canada as the proper situation for training schools and depôts of forces intended for such service in those seas. The arrangements for the maintenance of such a force involve joint action and co-operation between the Mother Country and the Colonies, in order to bridge over the chasm in the system of the Empire's defence which purely local forces cannot fill. If it be said when war comes there will be plenty of volunteers in the Colonies and at home for general service abroad, I think the answer is—there will be thousands ready to join the Army in the field, but probably a pinnace would hold all the volunteer gunners, or torpedoists, or infantry that would earnestly desire to go to the Falklands, Diego Garcia, Port Hamilton, or Fiji. We cannot trust the keys of security of a thousand millions of sea commerce to patriotic sentiment; its safety in war will depend upon an organised defensive system.

To examine this military kernel of the naval nut would now take too long. The permanent strength of the artillery and torpedo corps necessary for our naval security is not so very great, but for reasons I gave in a lecture here "On the Use and Application of Marine Forces," its organisation, I venture to think, would require to be very elastic, and capable of absorbing in itself Colonial as well as Home resources.

Lastly, its Colonial depôts should keep touch with each other, with their outlying detachments in Dependencies, and with headquarters in the Mother Country, forming one force, circulating by periodic reliefs, and interchangeable between the Colonies, the Dependencies, and the Mother Country, by a tour of duty round the world.

The efficient maintenance of some such force suggests itself as an imperative necessity of our growth, in the satisfying of which all parts of our sea empire are equally concerned. The establishment of depôts and training schools, and the maintenance of a nucleus of a force available for general service at our out-ports in the Pacific and Indian seas, is surely not more than obvious necessity demands. Some 35,000,000 tons of shipping annually entering and clearing our ports in that water area illustrates the interest the Colonies and Dependencies alone have in their defence. In view of the magnitude of such port-interests, Imperial Federation, naval and military, asks for that necessary, business-like co-operation of the Mother Country and the Colonies which can alone provide and maintain military guarantees for their security in war, for the common interests and the common good.

WAR VESSELS.

To do full justice to this branch of the subject would require very lengthy consideration. It is only possible now to sketch roughly its boldest features.

Both as to numerical strength and description of vessels, requirements of the police duties of our fleet in the other hemisphere in peace are wholly different from those to be fulfilled in war. It would be a waste of power and of money to employ in peace ocean cruisers to discharge the minor but necessary duties of superintending the interests of British trade at the mouths of rivers, and at the multitude of small ports in the Pacific and Indian seas.

The officers and men employed in such duties in peace are available of course for service on the ocean in war, but the vessels are not. If therefore the vessels suitable for ocean service in the Pacific are held in reserve in our Home ports in the Atlantic, the outbreak of war will lock up in vessels which cannot keep the sea a very large proportion of naval *personnel* in the Pacific. War cruisers despatched from Home must, during hostilities, have full complements of officers and men, and thus the arrival of such vessels in the Pacific some two months after they are required will do nothing at all to make available for ocean service the naval force locked up in our Pacific ports. The net result of this system would be, that

while the Mother Country parts with naval reserves in order to despatch war cruisers to the Pacific, an equivalent portion of the regular naval forces will remain bottled up in our ports in that ocean district, because they have no ships. On the outbreak of war, the simultaneous and prompt conversion of our naval arrangements from a peace to a war footing will be of the utmost consequence to our commerce in every ocean district of the world. The commerce of foreign Powers is so small compared to our own, that we have practically to "police" international trade in peace, at a sacrifice of naval efficiency for war. Hence it is that in distant seas foreign squadrons are more ready and are better adapted to purposes of sea attack than are ours for sea defence. It is just as much in the interests of the trade of our Colonies and Dependencies as it is the Mother Country's, that this necessary police work should be done. It is equally their interest that every precaution should be taken to insure that what adds to commercial prosperity in peace shall not be a fruitful cause of the absence of adequate protection for our common sea trade in war. Here, again, co-operation is needed to secure that end, and at Colonial ports in the Pacific should ocean cruisers be held ready in reserve for war service in those seas.

AS TO RESERVES OF SEAMEN,

it is on the United Kingdom and the Atlantic provinces of Canada the Empire must, for many a day to come, chiefly rely. But it is to be remembered that science is increasing the demand for sea-going, sea-keeping fighting ships, while reducing the number of men required to fight them.

Such, then, would be the chief requisitions of a naval and military character made by the Empire's growth. The underlying principle common to all is a recognition of the practical difficulty of providing protection for our Empire's interests in the other hemisphere by the single-handed efforts of the population and resources of our Island in this. The difficulties are increasing, and the need for honestly facing them is very great. They can only be met by combining the resources under our flag by a comprehensive system "for the maintenance of common interests and the organised defence of common rights." No such system on a settled basis is possible without co-operation between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Without a defined and arranged basis of joint action, no settled system can exist and no plan for effectual defence can be carried out. The Mother Country and the Colonies have really now to choose between some form of Federation for mutual defence, or reaping with the Dependencies a harvest of difficulties and dangers, if not great disasters, in war.

What Imperial Federation, naval and military, really means, is not "spread-eagleism," not a declaration of "defiance" to the world, but

BUSINESS-LIKE ARRANGEMENTS

between the Colonies and the Mother Country for the discharge of the responsibilities and the duties of "defence." It is a duty we all owe not only to ourselves but to the two hundred millions of people in the Dependencies, for whose present interests and future safety we are each and all concerned.

To some, I fear, it will be disappointing that more has not been said in respect of Home and Colonial military forces being amalgamated for service in the field. Looking, however, at the present distribution of population, and to the rates of wages at home and in the Colonies, I find myself driven to the following conclusions:—

That for some time to come no such portion of the population as could add appreciable numerical strength to a British army in the field can be withdrawn from the Colonies for service in a prolonged campaign. The cost to the Colonies, owing to the necessarily high scale of soldiers' pay, would be out of all proportion to the force produced in the field. Practical difficulties might arise from the fact that men sent from the Colonies received more pay than the men sent from Home, though doing precisely the same duty. It is by no means certain that when a British army has to take the field, Colonial forces may not have plenty of work to do to defend interests near their homes, or to seize and hold naval bases established by an enemy in the Pacific or Indian seas.

The amalgamation of Home and Colonial forces for *field* service does not urgently call for co-operation between Home and Colonial Governments. Preparation for the coming time when present relative economic conditions have somewhat changed can be by other means sufficiently met. Such means may be described in a few words. By offering every possible facility, by breaking down every bar or hindrance or custom which tends to prevent or obstruct our fellow-subjects in the Colonies from having the same opportunities and advantages of entering and advancing in the public services of the Crown, be they naval, military, or civil, which we at home enjoy. Further, by a readiness to facilitate in every possible way the training of field forces in our Colonies, and at all times when offered assistance in the field by Colonial Governments to accept such proposals with prompt gratitude where and whenever possible.

Such are the germs which, if planted now, will produce the ripe fruit, in the form of Colonial field forces, in due time. That time will be hastened as population is attracted from

Great Britain to the Colonies, and their great areas of fertile lands now lying waste are peopled and cultivated by our own kith and kin.

Numerical strength for the British Army for field service must be drawn from the United Kingdom and the Dependencies, not sought for in the Colonies. Officers and non-commissioned officers of Colonial forces should, however, be employed where possible with the army whenever and wherever it takes the field.

It has not been possible to do more than indicate some broad principles, and illustrate them by reference to general naval and military requirements of large areas. They cover, however, a variety of

SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS

which merit the greatest attention. I can now only briefly refer to one.

Since 1851 the stream of interchange between this side of the world and the other has been turned into a new channel. The Suez Canal has complicated our maritime position, and while giving us certain military advantages—so long as we can hold our own at sea—it has added to military responsibility in supporting the operations of our fleet. I would point out that such weight as may attach to my observations on ordnance and garrisons, and war vessels for the Pacific and Indian seas, is not in the least diminished by the assumption that the Suez Canal will always be open to us in war. If, however, the probability or the possibility of the canal being closed to us be admitted, the facts come home to the mind with accumulated force. The possibility of such an occurrence it is not reasonable wholly to ignore. The consequences to maritime security in the other hemisphere will depend upon how far we have developed to an adequate extent the resources the Empire possesses in the Pacific. The results to our position in India will be wholly determined by the precautions we have taken to provide for the most rapid and ready transit of troops by alternative routes.

The Empire's answer to

A "BLOCKED" SUEZ CANAL

has been given by Canada. The influence which the "Canadian Pacific" can exercise on our naval and military position in the far East is immense. On this point I have said so much during past years that it is only now necessary to add a few words.

Now that the railway *has* been built, the facilities it offers as a means of reinforcing India sooner and more certainly than by the Cape are generally understood. Successive Ministers holding the seals of the Colonial Office have publicly testified within the last few months to the opportunities and advantages to the whole Empire this alternative route presents. Under our existing arrangement, however, it appears that our naval and military policy to provide for our common safety must be influenced by, if not subordinated to, the department of the Post Office. There never was a stronger proof that some sort of Federation for defence is necessary to enable naval and military authority to develop in peace a settled plan for the defence of our Empire in war. When that war comes we surely shall think more of the speed and certainty with which we can throw troops into India than of the past profits made on our own letters by the office in St. Martin's-le-Grand.

As regards the sea extension of the Canadian Pacific by subsidising a powerful line of steamers to join Port Moody with India *via* Hong-Kong, and with Australasia *via* Fiji, the facts as to the saving of time in communication with Hong-Kong, India, and Australasia, *via* Vancouver, are before the public, and need no comment here. The advantages that route offers as a military road do require some special remarks.

In the first place, whether the Suez Canal be opened or closed to us in war, troops *en route* to the East must pass along and close to the Atlantic sea-face of Europe. If the canal is open, the line of route will continue along the major axis of what is practically a European lake. Just in proportion to the nearness of our sea-lines to hostile or to neutral ports, so are its dangers. The more numerous the nationalities possessing commercial or war ports, the greater, under the provisions of international law, are the facilities afforded to our enemies' cruisers for coaling and supplies. Their original power of continuous attack on our sea-lines is greatest where the war or commercial resources of sea-boards are most developed, and the nationality of such ports is most varied. The north-east Atlantic district presents to us the maximum of these dangers.

For these and for other reasons a military transport steaming from Liverpool or Galway to Halifax, north of Ireland, would not be exposed to the same risks in war as crossing the Bay to Gibraltar or passing from Gibraltar to Port Said. The remarks made as to the transport of munitions of war during hostilities applies with tenfold force in the case of troops. So far, then, the route from here to the Atlantic terminus of the Canadian and Pacific line offers, as regards security, superior advantages to all others during any war with a European Power. There are more fast ocean merchant steamers employed on the lines

between the Mother Country and North America than on any other. It is from that quarter of the globe we must wholly rely for wheat in the event of a blocked Suez Canal, or other circumstances cutting off our Indian supply. The safety of our food supply in war will largely depend upon the speed of the vessels available to carry it. The safety of troopers will be more or less due to the same cause. The adoption of the Canadian Pacific route would not, therefore, dislocate our food supply arrangements. The fast ocean steamer which landed troops at Halifax or Quebec, could take a return freight of wheat there, or in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, trusting to the Cape route alone as the *one alternative* military road to India, must deprive the North-West Atlantic service of a very large proportion of its best and fastest steamers at the supreme moment when for national reasons they will be most required there.

Turning now to the North Pacific—if the Sandwich Islands coal-stores are watched—the period of a fast steamer's danger, running from Vancouver to Hong-Kong, or to Fiji, is limited to the few hundred miles measured from the terminal point at both ends of the lines. There are practically no bases which would enable steamers without great staying powers keeping the sea anywhere over more than about half of the line. The expanse of water is so vast that by a slight but constant variation of the course of our steamers, we could reduce the likelihood of a hostile vessel of equal speed and staying power falling in with our steamers to the merest chance.

Besides purely military considerations in respect of India, and others specially relating to communication in war with Australia, there is another standpoint from which the question of establishing *new* lines of

POWERFUL STEAMERS FROM VANCOUVER TO HONG-KONG

and Australasia should be regarded. In the first place the establishment of such a line would naturally and at private expense develop means of naval repair and refit in the waters of British Columbia. These would be available to Her Majesty's ships in war. In the next place it is material we should place ourselves in a position to promptly reinforce naval forces on the American side of the North Pacific, as well as in China and Australasian waters. If war cruisers are held in reserve at Vancouver, as well as at Hong-Kong and an Australasian port, this can be done, provided we have the necessary high speed steamers to "mobilise" the naval *personnel* on the spot. It cannot be done if we have not localised lines of such steamers connecting Vancouver with Hong-Kong and Australasia. They would enable us to distribute officers and seamen to war cruisers at such places, and to supplement them with Naval Reserve, drawn from the Mother Country or Eastern Canada in a few days.

If these conditions be fairly considered side by side with the advantages the Canadian Pacific route offers as to time, the gravity of the Imperial question referred to a departmental committee will be more fully understood.

From the time of Sir Francis Drake to that of Sir John Franklin, England spent millions of money and sacrificed freely some of her noblest sons in the vain hope of discovering for her own advantage a natural North-West passage.

Steam and engineering science, the foresight of Canadian statesmen, and the resources of the Canadian people, have given to England and the Empire all the advantages for common defence which nature denied.

Drake, three centuries ago, failing to find it, sailed from the neighbourhood of British Columbia, eastward, on the famous voyage round the world. It is quaintly told by the historian that before departing from the American continent he set up a plate nailed to a "great faire post," whereon he engraved the name of Queen Elizabeth, as a monument of "our being there," as also of Her Majesty's "right and title to the same." In our own time the descendants of the men who with Drake encompassed the world, and defeated and destroyed the "Great Armada," were able to telegraph from these same regions to another Queen of England that they had set up a great iron way which joined two oceans, "as a monument of their being there," as also "Her Majesty's right and title to the same."

After all the lives and treasure we have thrown away in trying to find a road to the Pacific through Arctic ice, are the advantages which Canada offers for our common defence to be weighed against some departmental difficulty concerning a twopenny-halfpenny stamp? No stronger argument than this is it possible to produce in favour of Imperial Federation for Defence:—The want of some executive and administrative machinery which would raise an Empire's safety above the level of political and local party strife, and make continuity of naval and military arrangements for the defence of the Empire possible, and secure the development of a settled plan.

The people of the United States love peace as much as the Colonies and we ourselves; they maintain a regular naval and military force as a ready nucleus in case of war. With a revenue only double the aggregate revenues of our self-governing Colonies, the United States spend thirteen times as much on preparation for war as our whole Colonial Empire. The sea

trade of the whole United States in annual value is only some 75 per cent. in excess of the aggregate trade of British self-governed Colonies alone. Only a small proportion of the trade of the States is carried in American bottoms; most of their ocean-carrying business, and practically all that of British Colonies, is carried by British ships. When we are at war every British ship will be an object for attack. The States, however, with such small mercantile marine interests, spend over £3,000,000 a year on naval precautions. On a seagoing force the British Colonies spend nothing at all. If the cost of naval volunteers here and there in the Colonies can be considered as "naval expenditure," in that case the last remark must be correct by stating that the United States spend seventy-five times as much on preparations for maritime war as all our Colonies put together.

These are facts very germane indeed to the question of Imperial Federation for Defence, but upon them I can here offer no further remarks.

The Colonies showed the old spirit when across the waves our fathers ruled came offers of help, and Colonial volunteers to the Soudan. The native Princes of India then, and not for the first time, gave proof that, though not of the same race, they were swayed by the same sentiments. The movement of Indian forces to the Mediterranean and the Nile illustrates, however, not merely the force of sentiment, but the value and possible extension of outlying organised power. If science has increased and is increasing difficulties to Old England and her offspring, it also offers to her and to her children as a united Empire the means of escape from them if we will.

We have ceased to wonder that cricket matches are arranged by telegraph between Australia and England, or rifle matches fixed between the marksmen of Canada and marksmen at home. It comes in the natural course of daily events that very soon after Canadians score "bulls'-eyes" at Wimbledon, the Australians bowl us out at Lord's. Are the gifts of science to be only applied for purposes of the cricket field and rifle range? Are they to remain neglected and unused for want of such an Imperial system as can combine British power for British protection in war?

I commenced this paper by illustrating growth of commerce and of population, growth of shipping and of revenue. I cannot close without drawing attention to another sort of growth—the growth of war.

At the opening ceremony of the Great International Exhibition, 1851, a thanksgiving was offered up "that nations do not lift up the sword against each other, nor learn war any more." This expressed the hope of the civilised world in those days. Now, in the thirty-five years which have since elapsed there has been twice as much bloodshed, and more than double the money spent in war by civilised Powers, than during the sixty-five years which preceded the offering up of that thanksgiving. Such is the teaching of a century: such the vanity of human hopes.

However, therefore, we may earnestly desire peace, however much we may lament the growth of war, it is time the citizens of our "great world State" should band themselves together by Imperial Federation for Defence, if they are determined to preserve not merely by sentiment, but by sacrifice and system—that which our fathers won for us—an Empire and the freedom of the sea.

LITERATURE.

"Imperial Federation: Home Rule and Imperial Parliament." By Major S. Flood-Page. Second Edition: with additions and omissions. London, McCorquodale & Co., The Armoury, Southwark.

THIS is the work of a soldier, an administrator, and an organiser. It is more than this. The author has not only visited every country in the world, but he has resided in every, or almost every, Colony of the British Empire. The voice of such a man is entitled to be heard. Especially do we welcome this voice, because in writing upon the subject to which we are all pledged, heart-whole pledged, the gallant author recognises the great underlying vital principle which alone must ultimately determine the issue, "to be or not to be," of this Empire. Self-interest goes a long way, but it is not only an article of our religious belief, it is a scientific fact, that the longer the way it goes the more certain is it to defeat its own object. Thus, mere combination for commercial purposes, &c., useful and healthful as they are as subordinate factors to a more important combination, would be utterly useless, in the long run, as motive powers in binding the Empire together. They are grounded in selfishness alone—and lacking the essential oil of sentiment which antidotes the corruptible tendencies of all selfish combinations an ultimate break-up could not be avoided.

"It is the little rent within the lute
That by-and-by will make the music mute."

Major Flood-Page points the road to that more excellent way, that only way to accomplish the consolidation and preservation of our Empire. Love, "which makes the world go round," must be the foundation stone, and the sensible worker in the cause of Imperial Federation, while accepting all other material to complete his edifice, must bear in mind that the only sound foundation for him to build upon is that of which we have spoken. The words of the Chelsea Sage should never be forgotten. This is his saying: "How were

friendship possible? In mutual devotedness to the good and true; otherwise impossible; except as armed neutrality, or hollow commercial league. A man, be the Heavens ever praised, is sufficient for himself; yet were ten men, united in love, capable of being and of doing what ten thousand singly would fail in. *Infinite is the help man can yield to man.*"

There is a virile Imperialism about these pages. Thus, in speaking of a federated English-speaking people, the writer goes on to say: "What a force, what a power! united as brothers, one common tongue, one common Bible, one common inheritance, the English-speaking people working together for Christianity and civilisation. Blessed, indeed, would be the men who brought about such a consummation, and God's blessing would, I doubt not, rest upon them." The Major contends for "a real actual heart-to-heart Imperial Federation," and in the matter of the machinery necessary to secure this Federation, he is too practical and sensible a man to rely upon a mere loose and easily-broken moral bond. He argues with great force and intelligence in favour of Imperial centralisation combined with an extension of the principle of local autonomy. In speaking of the so-called Imperial Parliament as it exists, our author remarks that "the action of the parliamentary heart is weak, the circulation slow and the system generally is that of a worn-out, senile man. Not until we remit all private and local business to the places from which they spring, and to which they belong, shall we restore to the Imperial Parliament time and opportunity for dealing thoughtfully and successfully with the pressing social and other questions which will drag this country into the abyss, if they are not dealt with properly and promptly. We shall die of centralisation if we do not decentralise." He goes on to animadvert on the mischief of party politics and the baneful effect they have wrought upon our national life. It is remarkable how many men of light and leading are leaving the sheep-pens of party and forming that new national and Imperial party of which Colonel Paske speaks. It must be confessed, however, that a little later on the very fiend Major Flood-Page would lay seems to have got hold of the gallant gentleman with a fairly tight grip.

The gallant Major sets forth his views on the Irish question, and it cannot but be allowed that these views have a bearing on the policy of Imperial Federation. This extract may be given in proof: "Hence, when we come to apply the principle of Home Rule, I would allow Ulster, with a population nearly equal to that of New South Wales and Victoria combined, to have a separate Assembly if she wished; and if Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Middlesex, each with a population about as large as the six Home Rule governments of Australia, wish to govern themselves later on, I would allow them." The Major does not seem to favour a federated Australasia, but we think his fears as to an outcome inimical to the Imperial connection proceeding from such a movement are confuted by the case of Canada. There are some very excellent and practical suggestions regarding the convening of a Colonial and British Imperial conference; the Queen to nominate the Home members and the names to be submitted to Parliament, and the Queen requesting the respective Colonial legislatures to approve the selection made by Colonial governors.

Our space will not permit us further to discuss this suggestive little work. We are fully in accord with its concluding words, which set forth that if we drift into passivity on this question of Federation England as a Power will become a matter of history. Let us see then, that "*Troja fuit*" is not written over our portals.

England's Future. By R. R. S. (W. Culver James, M.D.). Second Edition. London: Harrison & Sons, St. Martin's Lane.

THIS is a pamphlet on the fruitful topic of the relations, now and in the future, of England to her Colonies and Dependencies. It maintains that the burden of power and responsibility, constantly increasing, in connection with the far-stretching Empire of Great Britain, "can only be successfully sustained by co-operation and united action." It points out the way in which, in the author's opinion, such co-operation and sharing of responsibility may be secured, and advocates the sending by the Colonies of their own chosen representatives to the Imperial Parliament "in precisely the same manner as each county and borough in the United Kingdom furnishes its members." He suggests the formation of a Colonial aristocracy, and that the sons of the Sovereign should add to such titles as they already possess others "derived from Colonial cities, towns, or Provinces, and by virtue of such titles the bearers would be entitled to take their seats each in the Upper House of that Colony of which they might be peers. Thus H.R.H. the Duke of Melbourne would sit in the Victorian House of Lords, and H.R.H. the Duke of Quebec in the Upper House of Canada." Other subjects are dealt with, such as the best means of providing for the defence of the Empire, and the national debt and taxation. Without endorsing all that the author has written—believing, indeed, that some of the things which he recommends are impracticable, even if they were desirable, we nevertheless unhesitatingly say that Dr. James's pamphlet is worthy of an attentive perusal, as being the production of a man of education who clearly thinks about, and is anxious for, the welfare of the Empire. The price is sixpence.

Why Ireland wants Home Rule: A Handbook of Parliamentary Statistics, Speeches, and Writings of Eminent Englishmen (Past and Present), &c. By J. A. Fox. National Press Agency, 13, Whitefriars, E.C.

This is a sixpenny pamphlet full of facts and fallacies.

[WE have lying on our table the following, reviews of which, we regret to say, we are obliged to postpone:—"The Cruise of H.M.S. *Bacchante*, 1879-1882, compiled from the Private Journals, Letters, and Note-Books of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, with Additions by John N. Dalton"; "Greater Greece and Greater Britain," by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D.; "Burma: As it was, as it is, and as it will be," by J. George Scott; "Cape Colony and Natal," by J. J. Aubertin; &c., &c.—EDITOR.]

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."

That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

SUPPLEMENT TO Imperial Federation:

The Journal of the Imperial Federation League.

LONDON, AUGUST, 1886.

FULL REPORTS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE CONFERENCE AND BANQUET.

THURSDAY MORNING.

IN connection with this League a two days' Conference was commenced in the Conference Room of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on Thursday, July 1. The Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the League, occupied the Chair, and amongst those present were the Marquis of Lorne, Lord Stratheden and Campbell, Sir Rawson Rawson, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Agent-General for New Zealand, Sir Harry Verney, Sir H. Barkly, Sir A. Galt, Sir George Bowen, Governor of Hong Kong, Colonel Sir C. H. Nugent, Mr. Frederick Young, hon. sec. Colonial Institute, Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, and a considerable number of delegates from the branches of the League throughout the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: We are placed in a position of some little disadvantage at this moment, owing to the fact that we have assembled to hear a paper by Professor Seeley, and Professor Seeley has not yet arrived. I do not doubt there has been some difficulty in his case, and that very shortly we shall have the pleasure of welcoming him amongst us. Unfortunately, I myself have got to leave on official duty, and, therefore, I think it well that I should commence the proceedings of the League, and then, if Professor Seeley does not arrive by the time I have sat down, I should suggest that the paper which has been contributed by Mr. David Wark, Senator of the Dominion, be read, and by that time I have little doubt Professor Seeley will have arrived. I have also to read a letter from the Hon. J. Service, as follows:—

PALACE HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO,
May 18th, 1886.

My DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with yours of April 19th, and am much obliged by your invitation to attend the Conference to be held on July 1st and 2nd, at the instance of the Imperial Federation League.

It would have afforded me much pleasure to be present on so interesting an occasion; but my arrangements will not permit my reaching England before end of July, or beginning of August.

I hope the Conference will give an impetus to the movement, although under present political conditions in the United Kingdom, it would seem that there is no room for any subject in the public mind but that of Ireland!

I join you in deploring the great loss the League has sustained by the untimely death of Mr. Forster.

I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you soon after my arrival in London. I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,

JAMES SERVICE.

Frederick Young, Esq.

His Lordship continued: As I shall have to leave immediately after the reading of the paper, I hope you will allow me to say one or two words on this Conference. It is the first occasion that I have had the honour of appearing in the official capacity to which the League was good enough to elect me on the lamented decease of Mr. Forster. No one knows better than myself that it is impossible for me to fill Mr. Forster's place in this League. Mr. Forster had a rare combination of qualities, not, I hope, unique amongst British statesmen, but which we greatly value. He was a man of great experience, wide sympathy, and what I think in these days is almost more to be valued than any other quality, of great independence of character. He belonged to the party to which I myself belong; but he never allowed party allegiance to subordinate his own private opinions and his strong individuality, or to weld them into a common mass of homogeneous opinion. Mr. Forster, at a very early period of this movement, saw the importance of it; he had to call attention to it long ago; and it was his work to set this League on foot, and not merely to set it on foot, but to see its recognition in every part of the Empire. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I think it is a good sign for this country that in the midst of the stormy and exciting political movements of our time, there should be found men of light and leading, to use a familiar term, without reference to external conditions, to discuss the great Imperial question which underlies all politics, and which must continue to exist and be supreme whatever party may be dominant. With regard to our special occasion, to-day, I would say one word, and only one. I believe that so far as the Imperial Federation League is concerned, it has, to a great extent, gone, for the present, as far in the path of action as it is advisable for it to go. I am one of those who believe that the Mother Country having set the

movement on foot, the next movement must come from the Colonies and Dependencies of the Empire themselves. If you do not keep that great truth in view, you will be liable to the reproach, the greatest reproach almost to which any movement can be subjected in the Colonies, of attempting to dictate to and advise the Colonies on matters regarding which they can use their own discretion. I believe that every part of the Empire is now aware that there is a strong wish in this country for the nearest and closest relations between the United Kingdom and the Colonies; and they are also aware that there is no party such as existed twenty-five years ago, in this country, that has the courage to go and appear on any platform throughout the length and breadth of the land, and advocate the doctrine set on foot by Professor Goldwin Smith twenty-five years ago for the dismemberment and disruption of the Empire. That doctrine is dead. We are met to-day to bury it; and I trust that not merely is it dead and buried, but that the very locality of its grave will be forgotten. (Applause.) I shall not further detain you from hearing the eloquent speaker who is to read the first paper. We all owe a great deal to Mr. Forster, and we shall never forget what we owe to him. We owe an immense deal to Professor Seeley, who has done more to spread the movement of Imperial Federation than almost any other speaker or writer. I hope he will long continue his service to this League, and receive the heartiest welcome of its members.

PROFESSOR SEELEY, who had entered the room during his lordship's speech, hereupon rose and read the paper, which will be found in the first part of this present month's issue.

HIS LORDSHIP having vacated the chair, a vote of thanks to him was agreed to, and his place was taken by SIR A. GALT.

A discussion on Professor Seeley's paper was opened by SIR FRANCIS DILLON BELL, who said:—In obedience to your command, Mr. Chairman, I will say a very few words with reference to two points which Professor Seeley has brought before us to-day. What Lord Rosebery said when he took the chair was right, that the proposals relating to Imperial Federation must come from England, in the first instance, but can never have any real fruit unless they receive the cordial assent of the Colonies themselves. There can be no doubt of the most hearty co-operation and assent on the part of the Colonies, to the two principles which Professor Seeley has laid down, namely, that we must have Imperial defence for our Imperial trade, and some Imperial regulation of the exodus of emigrants from this country. I have always said that it is in vain to suppose that Imperial Federation will be attained unless at the same time as we claim the privilege of common citizenship with the Mother Country, we are prepared to take our part in the fulfilment of Imperial duty accompanying the Imperial privilege. I have always thought it a matter for surprise that when a question of such vast importance as this one of the connection between England and her Dependencies is really at stake, so little has been done on the part of either the Imperial Government or the Colonial Governments, to approach the principle of co-operation which is absolutely necessary to Imperial defence. Upon this question we, in the Colonies especially, are in the condition of complete ignorance. We have nothing like a system of defence; we have been left almost until to-day without any guidance whatever from the Imperial Government. In Australasia we have been working in what I cannot help saying is a spasmodic and extravagant way, without any guidance, without any principle, without any common action, without any knowledge even of what we are going to do for the defence of our coasts. It was only the other day that anything like a scheme was even considered between the Imperial and Colonial Governments; but I hope we are destined to see in a very short time an approach made to some really effectual system by which the dangers of future wars shall be averted, and by which the Colonists shall bear their part in the question of Imperial defence. It ought to be the privilege and responsibility of a conference of this kind to have some definite suggestions. I altogether object to the discussion of merely abstract proposals. What is it you mean in England by the question of Imperial defence? Now I will say to you in a very few words what I think should be done in that direction. So far as Australasia is concerned we don't call upon you for military defence. But we desire to know what England will do for our naval defence, and what the Colonists are expected to do for themselves. In New Zealand we answered that question years ago, in our native war. We built ships, we raised an army of our own, and we had as many as 5,000 troops of our own, in association with something like 10,000 Imperial troops; and we took our part in the defence of our country. But we don't ask any longer for Imperial aid in our military defence. What we want to know is what the Imperial authority will do in the way of naval defence, and what we are required to do for our part. We do not refuse to bear

our fair proportion of the cost of the defence which we ask the Imperial Government to give us; and we should be ready to do our part if we only had it pointed out to us as to what our part is: but what I complain of, is, that we are beating about the bush, and we have no really practical proposals; and the result of it is that at this moment we do not know what you call upon us to do, on the question of Imperial defence. The first thing the Imperial authority has to say is what they will do; and the next, what they call upon *us* to do; and when we have reached that point of Imperial co-operation, I have not the slightest fear but that we shall be ready to fulfil whatever duties that we are called upon for.

ADMIRAL SIR SPENCER ROBINSON: As a naval officer, I should like to say a very few words, but I shall have to leave almost immediately, because I have an engagement elsewhere. As a naval officer of some standing and experience, I wish to say how gratified I am at the progress made by this League since I attended the first meeting. I observed the efforts made by the man whose name will never be mentioned without expressions of the greatest respect, Mr. Forster; and I have listened with interest to what Lord Rosebery has said, and to the eloquent paper which Professor Seeley has given us. I wish to say something about the naval defence of Australasia. Far be it from us to wish to treat the Colonies in any pretentious or in any condescending manner with respect to union between the Colonies and Great Britain. I speak of their entire equality. There will be amongst all the subjects of the British Crown a feeling of affection for their fellow countrymen in every part of the Empire. I apprehend that many of our Colonists are present, and are participating in the exhibition of the wealth and the industry and ability of the Colonies. Now, as to naval defence. I am perfectly persuaded that the question of naval defence is an Imperial question beyond all others; and we ask for co-operation. I know very well, and anybody who has been long in public life will know, the extreme difficulty that besets one who seeks to change a well-established institution; and I am sorry to say that the Colonial authorities and representatives too, very often and very long knocked at the doors of the Colonial Office without obtaining the attention which their proposals and schemes deserved. In every Colony of Great Britain there should be a naval school for the education of young officers; that is to say, when they have passed through the examination they should be admitted as cadets, on the same terms as those by whom it is now commanded and without any distinction such as at present exists, that they should have the same position as the British naval officers, after which they rise to be captains and commanders, the importance of which I need not dwell upon. It should be precisely the object and aim of this scheme for the defence of the Colonies that no distinction should be made between the island in which we live and the vast Colonies across the frontier. I am convinced that the Colonies will not ask for, nor require, *military* defence. They are quite willing to defend themselves. There is one other point we must attend to. In order to enable our ships to defend our Colonies, we must have coaling stations; to this various appliances will be required to enable ships that require coal to take the coal in safety. I should certainly advocate that, both at the War Office and at the Admiralty, and knock at the door until that is decided, and say what it is you want insisted upon. I am sure there are many gentlemen in this room much better acquainted with this particular question; but still that should be urged day and night on the authorities till the desired effect is produced.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON: As a member of the council, and as a member of Parliament for the last ten years, I should like to say a word on this question. I quite agree with the writer of the paper that it would not be desirable to carry out any hurried scheme. I quite agree with the noble lord who presided, that we want proposals from the Colonies, from those who are here to-day or in London now, who are speaking on behalf of the Colonies. We had an intimation from the last speaker that some suggestions should be thrown out, and thrown out at this conference, and thrown out to-day, for the consideration of those who come from the Colonies. I am not satisfied, speaking as one who has had some little to do with the Government and its administration—I am not satisfied with doing nothing. I think, when proposing anything that can be called a scheme, the time has come for us to say and do something; to say what we believe will draw the Colonies and the Mother Country nearer together. And no better opportunity has occurred to us, or occurred to those present, for ventilating the need of great changes in many directions. We have a number of Colonists in London this year, and we have had the great development, if I may so call it, the great epoch, namely, the entrance of the Australian troops into Egypt, standing shoulder to shoulder with the Imperial troops. I think this is the proper time to make some proper step of advancement. I am going to suggest for the conference the consideration of three points. I think we have a right to ask for one flag, and one fleet, and first commissions in the Royal Navy and the Army should be given to Colonial soldiers and sailors, especially to those who assisted in the Sudan war. They must be selected by the Colonial Governments with a full knowledge of their capacity. I throw out these three suggestions—one flag, one fleet, and first commissions; and that first commissions should not be limited to the Army, but should include the Navy. These are matters of detail; but this is the direction in which I am persuaded that we ought to go. In fact, I would propose and suggest that a positive representation to the Colonial Governments should be made to represent something distinct, and firm, and direct, so that this conference could act in the matter. There are other matters which ought to be discussed to-day, and which we ought to have something definite before us upon. I throw out these suggestions, and hope some gentlemen will speak for the Colonies and say they are right.

MR. PARKIN (New Brunswick): This is a question in which Englishmen in Canada feel a deep interest, and one which I believe every British subject ought to feel an interest in. It is a vast question, it is the greatest question, in my opinion, that Englishmen ever faced. (Applause.) We have had in the past generations great men who

have founded this Empire, and we now want great men to organise this Empire; and it is only by doing this that we can feel that we are doing justice to the great traditions which have been handed down to us by men like Pitt, and men before him; and if England cannot produce statesmen who can take hold of this question of organisation, and deal with the greatest problem of modern times, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves. (Applause.) We have got to face our national destiny. The question before us is a vast one, and we have got to look at it from different points of view. I find the greatest difficulty, in talking with Englishmen and Colonists, is to impress upon them the absolute necessity of the question. We, in Canada, stand in a peculiar position with regard to this question, and, living as we do beside a strenuous nation of 60,000,000 of people, we can see that if England trusts alone to her 30,000,000 of people and her accumulated capital, in the struggle for commercial supremacy, she is going to fail. (Applause.) Therefore, the first great question is one for commercial supremacy. The next great question is that of military supremacy, for if we have the United States on the one side we have Russia on the other. We are going to rise to the situation. We know this, that nothing but courage and power of organisation and strength of energy is going to face the great problems we have; and unless we face them, we shall see what will follow. Our chairman stated the fact that a very distinguished man, now, I believe, a distinguished Canadian, Professor Goldwin Smith, had been the opponent of this movement of Federation, yet in a recent paper Mr. Goldwin Smith said that if anything touched the delicate machinery of commercial and manufacturing prosperity on which England rests, there would follow ruin such as the world has seldom seen. I believe he is right in this, and if England is going to enter on anything like fair terms with the United States for commercial supremacy, and on fair terms with Russia for military supremacy; I believe she has got to "hedge" a great deal more. We, in Canada, think you should hedge on the trades question. We believe in Canada that we should have been crushed if we had allowed Free Trade principles to rule us. I say we know that from absolute practice, and we think you will have to re-write some of your principles of political economy rather than hold to abstract theory. I say we think in Canada that you have got to hedge a little, and if we started from some trade basis within the Empire that it would be an enormous advantage. I do not believe in the question of absolute cheapness. I believe it is absolute nonsense in the abstract. (Laughter.) It is a vast question, and it is one that I can only touch a few points of. Some gentleman has suggested that Colonists should be admitted to the British Army and Navy on examinations less trying than the ordinary ones for candidates at home. Colonists, or at least Canadians, ask no such consideration. We are not afraid to enter any of your competitions on equal ground. I have conducted London University examinations in New Brunswick, and our candidates, in competition with the products of your best schools, were among the highest.

SIR RAWSON RAWSON: I should like to explain to Sir Baldwin Leighton, that long ago our Government gave first commissions to the Colonies. It is twenty years ago when I received instructions to bring before the Admiralty the names of young men who were prepared to enter into the usual examination; and I imagine, though I do not think the last speaker mentioned it, that our Government *did* give commissions in Canada to young men in the Army. Sir Alexander Galt bears me out in that, and the system already exists. The principle may be extended, and the Colonists rise in power, in education, fitness, in social position. Present opportunities may be enlarged, and we may be brought into closer and nearer connection. I would say one word with regard to what fell from Sir Baldwin Leighton. He said he did not quite understand how it was that we are so long in coming to a determination as to Federation and a closer approximation to our Colonies. I think I might suggest a reason, from my long connection with the Colonies, and with the Government. It is 42 years since I went out as Chief Secretary to Canada, and I know very well what my impressions were, and I believe it was the impression of every ordinary Englishman, at that time—that the Colonies had been acquired and maintained for the advantage of the Empire, and that they were very young and required a great deal of assistance, and a great deal of guidance, and a great deal of support. Now I don't know whether there are many Colonists who can speak of forty or fifty years past, but I think they will say that they found there very much the same state of things. There was immense ignorance of the condition of the Colonies; and the condition of the Colonies generally, of Canada certainly, was as different from what it is now as days as possible. It is of late years that the Mother Country has changed her policy towards the Colonies. It is no longer exile to go out and stop in the Colonies. It is now a grand opening for young men, for families, to go out and live amongst their countrymen there; not strangers. The Colonists were not looked upon fifty years ago as part of ourselves; but now, when a man leaves England and goes to the Colonies he goes to another county of England. We find institutions following the state of society, a mutual sympathy growing up which, if it existed, was not understood and appreciated; we make a new home in a new country; and this Federation question now agitating England is bringing together concentrated action upon the question of closer union; a union in which our children, when grown up into men, seeking the same grand aim, will unite with us in supporting the integrity of the Empire. It is under these circumstances that I believe that what we are now attempting could not have been done in previous days. What we are now doing, what the League is now doing, what this conference is doing, what the presence of our brethren from the Colonies is doing in this country, will, I hope, unite us in a closer bond, and bring us to that future Federation which, I trust, will ere long be accomplished.

MR. McMILLAN, Sydney, New South Wales: I did not intend to speak at this conference to-day, but the remarks of the gentleman who sat down a short time ago, representing Canada, gave me the impression that a great danger in connection with the movement was the premature discussion of details. I look upon this organisation as practically a Vigilance Committee with regard to the future Federation

of the Empire. I think, if I may presume to say so, that the duties of this organisation are more to see that no action on the part of the Imperial Government is antagonistic to the future union of the Empire, and that every possible thing that can annihilate the geographical difficulties which stand in the way of the union should be done. I consider that, although ten years ago there was the utmost ignorance regarding the Colonies, at the same time it is a wonderful re-action which we see at the present day; and the reason I rose to make a few remarks is this: that the gentleman from Canada said that as the basis of the future federation of the Empire, there should be some system of absolute Protection. Speaking as a representative of a Free Trade Colony, and speaking as one who feels an interest in the British nation, I should be sorry to see any Federation based upon such false principles as the principles of Protection. After all, sir, this Federation with the British Empire is with a view to the Federation of the English-speaking peoples of the world. I should be sorry to see any movement which should shut out any part of the English-speaking people from that universal Free Trade and commerce which should be the solution of the question of peace or war. Now, sir, with regard to the future Federation of the Colonies, I thoroughly agree with one gentleman who spoke here to-day, that the initial step is the matter of defence, because the whole of our trade and commerce is bound up in our defence; and whatever system of defence is adopted, it should be to a great extent under Imperial sanction. I think also, with regard to the Imperial Federation of the future, we must see a closer alliance between the different colonies of Australasia. We must not, on the one hand, attempt to force it, nor, on the other hand, show any want of sympathy with the feelings of the people in the Colonies. I think, further, in looking at this method of the Federation of the future, and looking to the great English statesmen with whom the solution of the matter will rest, we, as Colonists in Australia, and in Canada, feel that any political party of English people, whether Liberals or Conservatives, will be at one upon this great question of Federation; and the only question is by what means it is to be brought about. We must clearly recollect that all this must be based upon mutual interests. If you do not base it upon homogeneous principles, and upon the principles of true economical science, you will make a mess of the thing. And therefore it is, as representing the Chamber of Commerce in Sydney, in the congress which is to be held next week, that I raise my voice with no uncertain sound, against any scheme of Federation which has not a Free Trade basis; and we intend to teach those great principles of Free Trade, which are the latest heritage of Englishmen.

SIR HARRY VERNEY: During the fifty-three years that I sat in the House of Commons, there was no subject which gave me greater anxiety, and, I must confess, very often put me to shame, than that so little sympathy was expressed between the Mother Country and the Colonies. I always feel that our Colonial Empire was the most important of those many important interests which the Almighty has permitted us to govern; and I know it was with very great regret and some real shame that I observed that so little sympathy existed towards them, socially, I mean, to the Colonies. I have often felt shocked when I have seen some German baron, and other foreign persons of title, invited to feasts in London, and never saw any distinguished Colonials, to whom we are greatly indebted for the wonderful Empire which is united under our Queen. I think in our English character there is a very great deal of prejudice: I think we learn a great deal from our Colonial brethren. I am convinced that from the Colonies and from their institutions we have to learn a great deal yet; and by a closer connection with them, and by our national character being modified and improved by our connection with the Colonies, our whole Empire has greatly improved. Some years ago I took a great interest in that which has now just been completed, I mean the Atlantic and Pacific Railway. I think those means of uniting the countries, and of establishing railway communication, will add to the prosperity of the country. I think we are indebted to these great discoveries and improvements for the vast wealth of our country at the present day. I think we ought to endeavour to impress upon our Colonial friends that we ought to unite in one bond of spreading whatever civilisation we possess, and our common Christianity, for the benefit of the people. I have long believed that the Federation of the British Empire means the government of the world; not that I desire to interfere with the government of other countries. I was extremely interested in hearing from the treasurer of one of our local institutions—I was delighted to hear it—that there were some 300,000 people inhabiting the Rocky Mountains. When they go there it is not like going into a foreign country.

MR. ARTHUR MILLS, New Zealand, formerly an English M.P.: The greatest Federation or embodiment of Colonies that has taken place within our memories is, as we all know, the Federation of the provinces of British North America; and in the Colonies we must have a system of Imperial Federation which is to endure for their benefit. We must bear in mind that the Colonists themselves are grown-up men like ourselves, and have their own opinions, as we have, and they have their own ideas as to the way the Colonies should be managed. Now, we must bear in mind this point: that they have the power of enforcing their views, and that they should, to a certain extent, be their own provincial legislators. I would say one word in reference to the defence of the Colonies, and it is that the defence must be carried out by the Army and Navy alone. Professor Seeley said it was the only means by which we could protect the Colonies, and I think he is right; and we should thereby realise the benefit which it would be to our trade and commerce.

MR. MORETON FREWEN: I hope Professor Seeley will permit me to assure him that we all of us, whether citizens of Great Britain or citizens of Greater Britain, are immensely indebted to the author of the "Expansion of England." It is very satisfactory to note that the Professor has not in any way lost sight of this question of Federation, which, thanks very largely to his valuable book, has grown to its present dimensions, and has become a lively issue within the domain of practical politics. I will only venture to trespass very shortly upon the time of this meeting; but Professor Seeley has summed up in two lines of this paper what I have to say—"In the Colonies

there is land for all our people, in England there are hands ready to do all work which the Colonies may need." Now, this is actually the case, and it comes well within the scope of this Conference to inquire why our people who emigrate do not emigrate in greater numbers to our own Colonies. Less than ten years since I emigrated myself, and I settled in the United States, and I believe the reasons that induced me to settle in the United States are the same reasons which consciously or unconsciously attract others also away from our Colonies to the great Republic. The United States says to the emigrant, "Come to us; we offer you the largest market for all your produce. If you settle within our bounds, you can enjoy all our markets free of duty. If, on the other hand, you go to Canada, then you will be excluded from our market by a high tariff." In this way the United States has been able to attract the bone and sinew of this country, and this has been poured upon her soil, and has filled her waste places, and has been a factor of the first importance in securing for the States their phenomenal growth and prosperity. And if we are to confederate, England must profit by the lesson. England must say, in spite of any objections of dogmatic free traders, "Emigrate to one of our own Colonies, and we admit your produce freely into every English market; but emigrate to Ohio or Minnesota, and we meet your produce with hostile tariffs in our ports." And it may be asked, perhaps, what concern has the Mother Country in the direction which the emigrant takes when he leaves her shores? I can tell you in a few words. The *per capita* consumption of English goods in Australia is more than £10, whereas in the United States it is only 10s.; and Mr. Atkinson has recently pointed out in that invaluable work "The Distribution of Products," that of the entire sum of wealth produced in the United States, more than nine-tenths of the whole goes to the labourer, less than one-tenth to the capitalist. So that, assuming, as I think we may, that this ratio holds good when applied to production in England, we are forced to the conclusion that every emigrant to Australia pays yearly to the wage fund of the English working man about £9; whereas the same man, had he emigrated to the United States, would have paid to our wage fund only 9s. It is impossible to doubt that if we had properly distributed and directed the most valuable export trade we have, the export of the British emigrant, that then at the present time instead of depression in our centres of industry, every mill in Manchester and Blackburn would be paying high wages and working full time. And I am sure that when the new electorate have come to recognise that emigration can be controlled by proper fiscal legislation, and that when so controlled it will result in high wages and brisk demand for English goods, then any antiquated legislation that comes between them and this end will very speedily be wiped out of our statute books. There has been a great awakening in England as to the value of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and without for a moment desiring to depreciate the intense enthusiasm excited by the ready action of our Colonies in sending troops to fight side by side with us in Africa, I yet think it is the recognition of the cash value of the Colonies that has led to this great desire on the part of the Mother Country to Federate the bulk of her mighty Empire. We had, fortunately, by means of the statistical returns of our trade, come to recognise that our Colonies are by all odds our best customers. There is only one other subject to which I will briefly allude, and it is the large question of railroad development. I have read a very valuable paper in the *Fortnightly Review* of last month, from the pen of Mr. Charles Waring. Mr. Waring suggests that the time has come when the state should buy up the railroads and operate them, not for the sake of paying dividends to individuals, but for the benefit of the entire community. The railways are the links which connect each industry with every other industry, and on the face of it there is no more reason why they should be manipulated by private individuals for their own profit, than that such a method should be applied to our country high-roads. And though the proposal that the Mother Country should buy up not only her own railway system, but the railroads of the Colonies also, is a proposal of rather staggering dimensions, I can imagine nothing that would give so great an impulse to the desire for Federation. At present money is dear in the Colonies, very cheap here. What the Colonies require more than all else is cheap railroad transportation to the ocean, and this cheap transportation could be secured if they were operated at cost price by the money of the State. A friend of mine from New Zealand was talking to me a few days since, and said that the excessive freight charges of the railroads of that Colony were an immense tax upon the industrial development of New Zealand, and he told me also that the cost of carriage for a bale of wool for a distance of less than 50 miles to Dunedin from some point inland from his farm up country, was more than 9s.; and comparing this charge with a charge in the United States for a similar distance, I found that the railroads in the United States would have carried this bale of wool for 7d.! Such being the conditions of tariff legislation, and also of railway charges both in England and in the Colonies, it is a wonder only to me that our Colonies have made so good a fight against American competition. Professor Seeley appears to question whether the hour for Federation has yet come; and we have been warned from another direction not to be premature; but it seems to me, sir, that if we had formulated some project of Federation by a customs union ten years ago, the present acute crisis in Ireland would have been avoided. Depend upon it, when the freedom of the English market is made a binding condition of Imperial connection, neither Ireland nor any other belonging or Colony will make any attempt to cut loose from that connection.

SIR GEORGE BOWEN: A fortnight ago I read a paper on Imperial Federation, and I have not come here to speak, but to listen; I must, however, say that it has been a great satisfaction to me to find that all the speakers—Lord Rosebery, Professor Seeley, to whom *en passant* I may say the British Empire owes a debt of gratitude, have endorsed the principles I laid down in my paper. These interests were my interests, and their success and prosperity added to my reputation. I have only one or two remarks I should like to make upon this subject. First of all we ought to lay down clearly what we mean by the subject, and I think it cannot be laid down better than it was by my noble friend, the late lamented Mr. Forster, in whose death we all

feel that Imperial Federation has lost a valued supporter. Mr. Forster said, in words which I quoted in my paper; I adopted in substance Mr. Forster's definition of the object of Imperial Federation; namely, that the union of the Mother Country with her Colonies should be *one*, in relation to other states, through the agency of—*first*, organisation; and *secondly*, a joint foreign policy. I agree that the first object should be to have a joint common defence, and especially a joint common *naval* defence. I will just make one remark on the contribution of the Colonies to the Soudan war. There was a tangible proof that their loyalty was no mere sentiment, and it should be recollected, in view of the Soudan war, that the Colonies draw a great distinction between aggressive and defensive wars. The Soudan war was, to a great extent, an aggressive war; but still opinions were very divided upon it in the Colonies, as well as in the Mother Country. Still, the whole of the feeling of the Colonies was to stand by our fellow countrymen; and I need not say what enthusiastic support they accorded us. There is only one cry: "While the Colonies of the Empire last, England shall not perish."

PROFESSOR SEELEY briefly replied on the whole discussion, and expressed his pleasure at finding his views so generally accepted by all the speakers, and that none of them had ventured to assail the position he had taken up in his paper.

The CHAIRMAN accorded the thanks of the meeting to Professor Seeley, and the morning's proceedings closed.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

The Conference resumed its sittings at two o'clock, under the presidency of Sir John Lubbock, who had been requested to take the chair. He said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have met here this afternoon to hear a paper by Sir Alexander Galt on the means by which Imperial Federation may be carried out, and I think that most of you will agree with me that those who have organised this Conference have exercised a very happy selection, at any rate, to a very considerable extent in regard to our proceedings to-day. It was most proper that we should hear a paper this morning by Professor Seeley, who has done so much to help the movement; and it is extremely proper that we should this afternoon be favoured with a second paper by Sir Alexander Galt, the First High Commissioner of Canada, who is so well qualified to speak on the subject. (Applause.) Then I also think it was a happy selection that Lord Rosebery should have been asked to preside over our meeting this morning. But there, I am afraid, my commendation must end. I am not so sure that the Conference exercised the wisest discretion in asking me to preside over the meeting this afternoon. ("Yes.") But I felt that was a matter that rested with them, and I knew how much labour fell upon the Council in these cases. It was my duty, however, to place my humble services at their disposal, and I have, perhaps, just one qualification for taking the chair on this occasion, and that is that I only a few days ago had the honour of representing an Imperial constituency, the University of London. There can be no doubt that in the last few years this question has made immense progress. My friend Mr. Goldwin Smith was spoken of this morning as one of those who had entertained an opinion very different, I am happy to say, from what he holds now. M. Comte thought it would be a very great blessing for France, homogeneous as she is, if she could be broken up into eighteen republics. But it is doubtful whether any Frenchman would express that sentiment now. The whole question has undoubtedly made very great progress of late years, and we sincerely hope that these meetings may bring it to a nearer and practical solution. Now, take one little point: take the question of the Post Office. It has always struck me as an extraordinary anomaly, that if one wanted to send a letter to some portion of the British dominions it should cost less to post it in Paris than if you posted it in London. It is not too much to ask that this state of things should be put an end to. Then we heard this morning much in reference to the question of commerce, and I think a great deal might be done by assimilating our mercantile laws, identifying and unifying them with those of our Colonies throughout the Empire. But I am afraid that the suggestion made that differential duties might be established, would not be found to be a practical solution. It would be an immense advantage to the whole Empire to have a Customs Union, which would be by no means inconsistent with free trade. We have already a Customs Union between England and Scotland and Ireland, and different parts of the country. It would merely be an extension of that principle if it were possible to carry it out; if we could have a Customs Union, to the whole of our Colonies, or, at any rate, with such Colonies as may be disposed to adopt our system of taxation. As regards the question of defence: I must not take up your time any further, but allow me to say one word—that I think this is a peculiarly happy time to face this problem, and for this reason, that at the present moment there is no part of our dominions, not one of our Colonies which is more, so to say, threatened than another. If we wait until any one of our Colonies is engaged in intricate difficult questions with foreign countries, then there might be greater difficulty in getting other Colonies to contribute to the expenses connected with the army and navy, which at the time may seem to benefit some one Colony more than the rest. Any system like that would be not only of great benefit to the whole of the Colonies, but would be equally beneficial to the whole Empire. I do not know whether it would be Utopian, but I should look forward into a not very far distant future and wonder whether we might not go a step further. I have always thought that it was greatly to be deplored that the United States separated from us, and I cannot help hoping that one day they will Federate with us, and I cannot help hoping too that the time may come when the whole of the English-speaking race throughout the world may be united in one great prosperous and free community. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN here called upon Sir Alexander Galt to read his paper on the "Means by which Imperial Federation may be carried out," which will be found in the first part of this Journal.

MR. BOUSFIELD, London School Board, opened the discussion. He said: I feel a great disadvantage in following Sir Alexander Galt with his most able and comprehensive statement on this question. I

cannot help feeling that his paper in itself will advance the question to no inconsiderable degree, and if we could only, at the time when the whole of the newspapers are filled with speeches of candidates for Parliament, get this question really before the British people, I am sure we should advance much more quickly than I am afraid we are likely to do in the immediate future, because I am quite sure of this, that this question is very largely an English question. If we could only get the English democracy, that are practically the rulers of the British Empire, to understand the question, and take an interest in it, and feel how essential it is, especially for the working classes, that we should have some form of Federation for the whole of the Empire, then I believe the foundations would very quickly be laid. I have always felt that it is in the ignorance of the working classes of England as to what the Colonies are, and their relations to England, and the independencies of one part of the Empire and the other, that the great difficulties lie. I have been very glad to see lately, especially from the reading of geographical books which go into our London Board Schools, that our Colonies are more carefully treated than any other part of the world. That in itself shows that public feeling is in England on the right path. The readers of these books have certainly felt how important our Colonies are to us, and I am quite sure that any who have influence in England might do a great deal in constantly, whenever they have an opportunity, bringing this question of the Colonies before the English people. I am sure if those who are helping to give lectures in the country villages and in the large towns would, by all the means in their power, bring the Colonies before the working classes, the very greatest good would be done. With regard to the relations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to which Sir Alexander Galt referred, I also feel that this system of Federation would really be the next answer to the wants of Ireland, and I ventured in a book which I wrote on this subject ten years ago, even then to foreshadow that very answer to the demands of the Irish people. But I do not think it is necessary yet. I believe it is perfectly possible to have Imperial Federation, to have one central Imperial Government in which the Colonies are represented, without dividing England, Scotland, and Ireland. I should be sorry to see Scotland and Wales divided from England, and we shall, if possible, retain Ireland. I am quite sure the great mass of Englishmen would prefer to see Ireland represented in one House of Commons, than to see a separate parliament in Ireland. I do not think that the real development of this question depends on our immediately separating Ireland from England in this matter. (Applause.) Something was said this morning by several speakers as to the inadvisability of our looking forward as to any special means of Federation; it seemed to be thought by some persons that it was desirable there should be unity, but that we should not attempt to formulate any system by which the unity should be obtained. I do not agree with that. It is exceedingly desirable, if we are to have any real sound system in the future, we should all add our best to the discussion as to what are the best means. I have no doubt myself what those best means will be. This England and the Colonies are democratic, and it is only by some system of representation that we shall have a common unity of the Empire. I look forward to see Colonial representatives meet in London in an Imperial Parliament, and I do not believe that any system of Federation can be permanent, which is not based upon this line. There is no doubt, as Sir Alexander Galt said, that the headship of the Queen over the Empire is essential, and if we had been a Republic our Colonies would already have drifted away from us. The headship of the Queen, of course, must remain, but what we simply want in England at the present time is a knowledge of what the Colonies want in the matter of foreign policy. The foreign policy of England often depends on the circumstances of parties. The whole foreign policy of England may be changed, at any rate, on the cry, "Three acres and a cow," and it seems to me that it is degrading to the Empire that this should be the case. We want in England at the present time the influence of the Colonies and the power of the Colonies in deciding what our foreign policy should be. I myself believe that the great principle of foreign policy ought to be, in every way, to maintain the whole European race, and the most perfect amity with the United States. I shall be very glad to see some system of common representation between the United States and ourselves, and during the recent wars in the China seas I believe that an arrangement was made between the English and American Navy for the maintenance of the common interests of the two countries. If it is possible to carry out such an arrangement as that in the future then the common sympathy of the common race will bind the two divided parts of the race together. I feel that it is in educating our English democracy as to the value of our Colonies that we shall attain the solution we want, and I believe the most valuable influence brought to bear upon it is this Exhibition in which we are met to-day (applause), and such other things as are taking place. Every English family, every London family that sends out to the Colonies constitutes a tie, which helps to bring Federation nearer, and therefore emigration societies are an essential fact in the system. It was very wisely said at one of the conferences on emigration that we sent out Englishmen to maintain the relationship between the Colonies and the Mother Country; and as long as we continue to do that, we are sending out the Propagandists who are imparting to them the true spirit of the British Empire. I must apologise for taking up so much of your time, but I feel that it is perhaps, right that Englishmen, who have not been in the Colonies, looking at the question from an English point of view, should have their say as well as Colonists. (Applause.)

MR. MCGOWN, Secretary of the Imperial Federation League in Canada: I am sorry that I did not, previous to coming into the room, know that I should be expected to take part in the discussion on the papers read this afternoon; but I am glad to have the opportunity of taking part in the discussion of this very great and important subject. Looking at the thing from a Canadian point of view, I think that all the Canadians who are here present will find they have reason to be proud of the manner in which this question has been brought before the attention of the League

by one distinguished statesman of Canada. It is certainly difficult for us to view the question in its broad relations in the same way as those who look at it from an English point of view. We are accustomed to consider the Empire a very great thing and one of the greatest privileges that we possess. But at the same time we know, as a Colony comparatively small in numbers, we cannot be expected to devise a policy which is going to be accepted by all the other parts of the Empire. Such a policy must emanate from the centre, from the source which will be respected alike by all parts of the Empire, and which will be seriously entertained by those to whom it is submitted in every part of the Empire. I shall confine my remarks principally to the last suggestion contained in the admirable paper we have listened to; and I, therefore, will say a word upon the necessity of making the Colonies feel that the people of the Mother Country are disposed to treat them in the matters which are of most frequent, every-day occurrence, upon better and more favourable terms than they will treat foreign nations; and we may particularly consider the arguments that have found such currency in England, more especially against those foreign countries which have adopted, and which continue to adopt protective tariffs that are extremely injurious to all parts of the Empire. Even a Free Trader must admit that Free Trade on one side is less good than Free Trade on both sides, and if any policy could be adopted by which foreign protective nations would see it was to their interest to abolish their tariffs or reduce them so that the spread of Universal Free Trade might be brought about, then the aspirations of those who advocate Free Trade as well as who think the British unity is the most important thing, might be harmonised; I would say, therefore, when we come to approach this question, we must endeavour to keep in the foreground the cardinal principle, that British unity is what we have to contend for. We may be Protectionists, or we may be Free Traders, but when we come to the consideration of this Empire we must be prepared to modify any opinions which we may have with regard to this question, if it be found that in the opinion of the majority of the people in different parts of the Empire that those opinions should be modified. (Hear, hear.) I have been in Canada and have done what little I could to advocate the doctrines of Free Trade. I believe in Free Trade, but I am thoroughly convinced to-day that Free Trade in Canada is an impossibility. The reason may be this: That we exist a small country on the borders of a large country whose whole commercial principle is Protection, and that the people of our country, in defiance of any abstract reasoning, compare the condition of a large and prosperous country like the United States with what formerly existed in Canada, and they will naturally jump to the conclusion that this is due to Protection. But one thing is admitted by all Free Traders, and that is this, that in the United States, how mischievous may have been the results of their protective policy, however much they may have saved economically, from adhering to such a policy as that—and there is a difference of opinion as to whether they have or not—there is no difference of opinion upon this point, that the protective policy of the United States, combined with absolute freedom between all the different parts of the United States, has been one of the strenuous factors in promoting the strong national sentiment which distinguishes the people in these things. It is not from an economical, but from a national point of view, that I think it would be wise for them to believe in this soundness of Free Trade views, if they would consider whether it might not be worth their while to make certain concessions out of regard to the opinions which are formed by the inhabitants of the British Empire; whether it is not a greater thing to establish a strong national sentiment throughout all the different parts of the Empire, making them feel they have the same advantages, and whether it is not advantageous to promote such a sentiment rather than adhere detrimentally to the opinions we may hold on Free Trade and Protection. If they would consent to a cheap discriminating duty in favour of these Colonies, the Colonies would respond by making a reduction in their tariffs to a corresponding amount, and they would further, I believe, consent that the whole of the product of this discriminating duty should be devoted solely to the purposes of Imperial defence. This would enable us to share in meeting expenses of military defence, and it would enable us to do so by contributing in the same manner as we have become accustomed to contribute our own national resources. The whole national revenue of Canada is derived from customs' duty. There would then be a feeling within the minds of the people of different parts of the Empire that they are one, and that there is some advantage accruing from being members of the British Empire.

MR. RUSDEN, Victoria: I feel that if ever Federation or closer union can be brought about, it must be by preliminary stages. I must take exception to one paragraph in Sir Alexander Galt's paper, when he says that the members of the Imperial Federation League should make some practical suggestions. With regard to the Imperial Federation League, of which I have had the honour of being a member since its commencement, I may say that I think they were in the first instance extremely wise and sagacious in throwing out no proposed scheme, dictating to no person, but simply collecting information, and inviting opinions from all the Provinces. I think they were very wise in that. If we dictated to the forty Colonies, some of them would take exception. Therefore, we were bound to do all we could to make it a matter of enquiry and consideration throughout these islands and the Colonies, and I think we have succeeded fairly. There is a League in Canada, in Africa; there are Leagues in Australia; and I think we have succeeded. But, then, there began to be a feeling that something more was wanted. At one of our last meetings, under the presidency of our lamented Chairman, Mr. Forster—we all know how devoted he was to this subject—I think, shortly before his last illness, he had come to the conclusion that something was necessary to be done; and it is because I think I see a mode by which we may elicit the opinions of the Colonies throughout the Empire—it is because I think I see a mode suggested by what took place in the House of Commons, that I have ventured to address you to-day. You may remember that a question was put to Mr. Gladstone as to whether he would avail himself of this Exhibition—whether he would

avail himself of the gathering of the people together, in order to ascertain if anything could be done to facilitate the Federation of the Empire. But he thwarted that question, and only gave an evasive answer; and it remains for the friends of unity to call upon the Government now to ascertain from the Colonies what their opinions are, in an organised and effective manner. Now, supposing this Empire were to be Federated, in what way would it be done? We may look to the organisation of the German Empire. There are sixty-two members in the High Council, the Bundesrath, and those members have representatives on the committee which deals with the question of peace and war. Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony furnish thirty-one members, or half of the total members of the Bundesrath. Therefore, the bulk of the population of the German Empire is so far represented in these four powerful States, that they cannot be out-voted. It is clear that in asking the opinions of the Colonies, we should ask for it in such a way that we may obtain the opinion of the smallest Colony. Let us get this thing done in a formal and official manner. I agree with Sir Alexander Galt—"I am thoroughly convinced that Imperial Federation must begin at home." But I ask only that the invitation for a Conference should be the beginning. My proposal is only to press upon Her Majesty's Government the duty of convening a Conference composed of representatives in some such proportions as are observed in the Bundesrath. Supposing a Colony should not wish to do so, you cannot Federate it; if they send their representatives they are entitled to fair representation. If we got such a body established in that way, I think we should have a fair representation of every Colony, and I don't think if they can formulate a scheme that any Government can make light of or despise it.

THE HON. A. ROSS, Ontario: This is my first visit to London, and my first attendance at a meeting of the League. I have heard with a great deal of interest the discussion which has taken place on the paper. I observe that two views are put forward on this question. One is that for some time this matter has been treated in a sentimental way, and the other is that we should come to business. So far I am satisfied that it has been treated largely in a sentimental way; and I believe, speaking as a Canadian, that it has been largely beneficial. I believe the Empire as well as the Colonies have been benefited by the consideration of this subject. We have been enabled to express opinions, and convince those members of the Empire who are present to-day, that the Colonies have considered the matter very carefully. So far as I am concerned, this is a question which cannot be advanced much further. It would be impossible for us, as Colonists, not having any regular status in the gathering, to express an opinion. It would have no weight. We say for ourselves; and, speaking for myself, I say that any system or scheme of Federation that would bring the Colonies into closer connection with the Empire would be a benefit to all. Take the matter of education. In my own Province, representing nearly half of the Dominion of Canada, there are free schools where a girl of five goes to school until she is thirteen, and the whole expense is borne by the State. Then, again, the people of Canada have invested millions in canals, railroads, &c. These are all facts, which we know, and are willing to give you for nothing. We learn much in England, but you can also learn much from us. We in the Colonies would be prepared to remit a certain share of the costs of defence, and so make arrangements as to secure the Federation which we all desire. Then the navy must be largely increased. The question of defence is a very large one. It is our duty to get the protection of the navy. We are prepared to offer assistance at any time in the great matter of maintaining the British Empire and flag. There we have to raise money for the building of our canals and the development of our country. We spend £100,000 a year upon encouraging emigration. This you do not do here. If you add to that the expense of the defence which is necessary, you will then see the loyalty which is shown by the Colonies to England. We have not the accumulated wealth of centuries. Before we are prepared to join any scheme, we would ask, What would it cost? What would be the burden? What the cost of Federation, and the necessary expenditure for the development of the country? The development is of very great importance to us. I can only say that our relations with the Empire are somewhat strained in the matter of friendly feeling shown towards us.

MR. WESTGARTH, Victoria: I have for the last forty-six years taken a great deal of interest in this question. Some fifteen years ago I and others supported this question in the Royal Colonial Institute. It is most gratifying to see now that the whole country is thoroughly possessed with a loyal spirit. I have had great pleasure in listening to the statement of my friend, Sir Alexander Galt. He has had great experience on this question, and I am happy to say that I think I went along with him in almost every particular. I must say there are one or two points upon which I might speak. I quite agree with him with regard to the question of the Federation of the Colonies with the Mother Country; but there are great difficulties in connection with this question. But I am very glad that now it has been stated that we may go into particulars. We must maintain the unity of the Empire, and now has come the time for action. I cannot say that I agree with Mr. Rusden. I believe we get on better by looking to ourselves. We must go upon the old lines of our constitution if we wish to do anything successfully. There are two modes which have been suggested in carrying out Federation, and I shall go negatively to work. One of these modes is having some system—some permanent system. We shall talk about it until this time next century. Another plan is that we shall invite all the Colonies to send a portion of their representatives into the Imperial Parliament. I, for one, do not think they would agree to send so large a body.

MR. SHEPPARD, Queensland, senior wrangler at Cambridge in 1884, said: I only wish to make one or two suggestions in regard to this matter. At the same time we know distinctly that we must decide on some plan of action. The question of defence is one of the most important questions in regard to Federation. But there are other things required beside that in order to keep the whole of the Empire together—means by which the Empire when so federated will be able to exercise

its power and make itself more capable in the expression of its own opinions. Now, there are a great many things that we have to consider if we have this Council or Parliament, or any meeting together of a large body of representatives of the Colonies. We have to consider exactly the opinions which are put forth by that body; and there are many things besides defence and the means which Government has to decide about, and which this Council or Parliament would have to discuss. For instance, the question of education. Now, there are different methods pursued in different countries. In Canada free education; in England our own system; and there are different systems in all the different Colonies. The question of commerce seems to have been a great bar to the question of federation, but it is not really so. We have to compare the different methods carried on by each Colony. Germany has been put forward as rather a model for our Federation; but from what I have just said, and from what appears to have been said throughout the discussion, there are other questions besides that of defence which will have to be raised. I think it is important that we should consider what system we should adopt, and whether it would be one which a Council is likely to agree to.

COUNT STRICKLAND, Malta (now of Cambridge): I maintain that at the present moment the Colonies are governed by Parliament, and this being the case, we should look forward to meet in the new council where there would be a fair representation of the Colonies. The difficulties are no doubt great; and we hear very often that the supremacy of England must not be interfered with by the Colonies. But if the Colonies were to take their fair share of representation in the Imperial Parliament no injustice would be inflicted on England. I am perfectly sure that the representatives of the Colonies would give their convictions conscientiously as Englishmen, and also impartially, with regard to their Empire and their Queen. At the present time the claim for representation in the Imperial Parliament is not merely a matter of sentiment, but a matter of justice. Under the flag of England we place ourselves for protection. That protection has been most ample; but we have no representation. In Malta we have people from all parts of the Empire; very often those who live under the English flag; and yet they have no representation. In England even, in the Colonial Government office, there is no representation. This system was established in the olden times when our Colonies and Empire were not so bound together. There was no such thing as a system of nationality. We must make a change. Let us continue to hold by all interests. Let us have representatives on behalf of the Colonies. As to the sentiment of loyalty which has been spoken of, it is very firm and reliable in Canada, and true political liberty is maintained. Now is the time for action. There have been greater Empires than that of England. We have seen the Empire of Rome. It grew, and we shall grow if the Colonies are all placed on some tangible footing.

MR. WM. LUCAS, Toronto: I came here to-day as before to learn. I am very pleased to say that I hope I have learnt something that I shall not forget. I do not exactly agree with previous speakers. I believe this, we have got through the preliminaries of Federation. I believe Englishmen have been long thinking they have laid the foundation, but we must try to build, and the form of discussion should be of a suggestive, and then of a very prompt and active character. I think no preliminaries have been discussed as much as you can possibly discuss them, but you must have a conference on this question at a very early date, to consider the very fundamental principles which are to be submitted to the people interested in this question themselves, for, unless you take such action and submit those fundamental principles to the people themselves, the Federation of the Empire will be a mere myth. You may organise and issue your mandate, but this is what must be done. The question then arises as to this conference. I think the time has come when you should have a conference of those interested in the question. How shall you select your representatives, or how shall they be appointed? This must be done independently of party politics, for this is a very great question. The question arises as to who are going to be representatives at this conference. I know one way of doing it. I think we should have proper representatives from every province in the Dominion, and the question is, where are the men to be found, unless you get those entangled with political alliances, and engaged with political questions? The question should be submitted to the people, but you cannot submit anything to the people, unless a conference meets and affirms the fundamental principles to be brought before the people. I see nothing but for the League to formulate their work, and see that various leagues are formed in the different Provinces. Canada is the key-stone of this question, from the very fact that you cannot make this Imperial Federation without Canada; you cannot accomplish this Federation unless Canada is brought into it with a closer freedom. I believe the time has come in Canada when we are looking for a closer relationship with the Empire, and freer commercial intercourse with the United States. A gentleman who spoke this morning, from New South Wales, said he was very positive that Federation could not be accomplished so far as his Province was concerned, unless it was on a Free Trade basis. I maintain the very same ground. I will not trouble you any longer, but this conference must be made more active.

MR. H. F. WILSON: I feel less diffidence on this question from the fact that the question will have a great deal to do with rising generations. On behalf of the rising generation I say one word this afternoon. We have heard from Sir Alexander Galt of the immense ignorance on this question. That is very true. I think the question will never be solved except by an increase of knowledge and enthusiasm, and this combination will carry it to its proper issue. At Oxford a vigorous branch of the League has been started, and is carrying on a good work. A member of the London School Board has told us that in the primary schools great advances are being made to spread a knowledge of geography, by means of text-books. That is a great advance, but it occurred to me before to-day. I mention it now, that the great public schools of England have been utterly neglected in this movement, and, as a public schoolmaster, I say it is highly advisable that some steps should be taken to bring them to a knowledge of the question. Any-

one who has mixed with school children has not failed to find that their minds are, in regard to geography, remarkably open. The League would do well to form some sort of formal organisation, and storm the public schools on this question.

MR. LABILLIERE, a resident in Harrow, here stated that one of the first branches of the League was formed there, and the question was brought before the boys by the late head master and other masters.

MR. JULIAN THOMAS, Melbourne: We have not made up our minds with regard to Colonial Federation, and we are hardly prepared to take up the question of Imperial Federation. Knowing the people, I deny the assumption that they are somewhat backward in taking it up. The Federation of the Australian Colonies would bring nearer the Federation of the English Empire. The Empire has done much for the Colonies, but I think the people have done more. The Australian Colonies were not founded by the Empire, nor by Government, but by the people in defiance of the two. There is not a British soldier in all Australia except those who are lent to us by the British War Office, and who are paid by us. I shall be glad to see them all bound together by one common bond of race and speech; and I believe thoroughly that the day is coming when all the British-speaking race, not only of the Empire, but those beyond the Empire, will be bound together in one common sympathy. (Applause.)

DR. JOHNSON, Canada: My remarks will have a bearing on the practical means of getting Federation. I observe in Canada the term has been a matter of dispute. Every one forms the theory as to what it means; the people will not read the documents relating to it, and say Imperial Federation will never do. I was very glad to see Sir Alexander Galt bringing forward a point which struck me very strongly, and that was that first action must be taken by England. It is not the Federation of the Colonies that we are considering, but the Federation of the Empire of which England forms a large part. Federation must commence with the greater part of the Empire. Australia and Canada have no ready means of communication between one another, and a conference is to be called to consider the matter. When the conference is called the matter will be brought before the different Colonies, public opinion moulded, and a unanimous feeling shown in favour of Federation. Every one is agreed that defence is a necessity and must be attended to. The very first question is how to raise the taxes, and there must be representation for the different Colonies in the distribution of those taxes. That matter would belong to the conference. Personally I am a Free Trader, because I avoid paying taxes if I can avoid it, but at the same time I am not a political economist—I am willing to submit for the sake of the Empire.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time has arrived when I ought to bring this interesting discussion to a close, and move a vote of thanks to Sir Alexander Galt for his paper. I am sure we must all admit the thoughtful and philosophic spirit in which Sir Alexander has discussed the whole question, and we must all feel, in the midst of political excitement, what a great benefit it is to us all to have the matter brought before us in such an impartial spirit. It is not the first time that the Mother Country has derived help from following the support which has been accorded it in the Colonies. I will ask you to join with me in a cordial vote of thanks to Sir Alexander Galt.

This having been done, Sir Alexander Galt briefly replied, in the course of which he expressed his opinion that the Federation League had been doing a very good and great service.

The afternoon meeting then closed.

FRIDAY MORNING.

The conference was resumed on Friday morning, July 2nd, at 11 o'clock under the presidency of SIR HENRY BARKLY, K.C.B., in the absence of the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P.

THE CHAIRMAN said: I have been requested to take the chair on this occasion in consequence of the absence of Mr. Edward Stanhope, who was to have presided at the reading of this paper, and who is engaged on election matters which occupy the attention of very many of our eminent men at this moment; and in the absence of Sir Thomas Brassey, who was to have been present, but who likewise is engaged at electioneering. I am sorry on your account that the latter honourable gentleman is not here, because he might have told us something on the subject of the present state of our defences. He might have spoken to us about our coal stations, and also about what has been done to strengthen our Navy; but I will not enter upon these points on the present occasion. It is universally admitted, as Professor Seeley told us, that the most simple and practical step towards Federation that can be taken is in regard to the defensive union of the whole Empire for the purpose of protecting ourselves. I am sorry that the attendance is not so large as I should wish to see it to-day; but at the same time it has been thought by Captain Colomb that it would be better that he should read his paper, and hear any remarks from gentlemen present. And then, supposing there are not a sufficient number of speakers, that the further discussion of the paper be adjourned to some date to be fixed, when we know we can get the hall for the purpose. In addition to the elections, which are occupying so much of the attention of the country, there is the great review at Aldershot, to which so many leading Colonial visitors have been invited to go, who otherwise would have been present and taken part in these proceedings. Without further preface, I will call upon Captain Colomb to read his paper.

CAPTAIN COLOMB, before reading his paper, said his only object in reading it was to elicit discussion. It was of no real value in itself, but was merely to draw remarks from those who had come to discuss the whole question of defence.

The paper will be found *in extenso* in earlier pages of the present number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

The discussion on the paper was opened by

SIR CHARLES NUGENT, who said: Ladies and gentlemen, it occurs to me that I would like to say a few words in reference to the paper which Captain Colomb has just read to you; and although I am unknown to most people present, I may say that for many years I have been

officially connected with the defence of the Empire. For ten years I was a member of the administration which Captain Colomb has just been castigating, and although I agree somewhat with what he has said on this subject, yet I am not disposed to agree with him altogether. However, I will not raise a discussion on that point, as he said that although he read the paper, the point which he wished to discuss was defence. I do not think the defence of the Mother Country is a very difficult question, as to the measures to be adopted. The defensive measures which are necessary are very well known. Sir Henry Baker, a member of a Commission presided over by Lord Granville, entered fully into the question of defence, and that Commission took the opinion not only of the military and naval men in this country, but also that of many eminent Colonial officials. As Professor Seeley said yesterday—I understood him to say so—you cannot separate the commercial and the defensive questions. Defence is necessary for this Empire, and for the protection of trade. I may say that many of the papers read to the Royal Commission, of which our Chairman was a member, were prepared by myself. Without going further into the question, we all ask, what has become of the report of that Commission? Well, I feel that the Colonies have a great deal to answer for in this, because this report was burnt, and the official who burnt it is a pensioner of the Colonies, and therefore the Colonies are not altogether exonerated in this matter. I was rather struck yesterday, and I wish I could address you in the eloquent language in which the Professor did, when he said that Sir Baldwin Leighton proposed that the Colonies should have certain privileges given them. He said that the Colonies wanted nothing of the kind, and I thoroughly agree with him. There is no doubt that they can hold their own. There is one institution which a leading Colonist has supported in the Dominion of Canada, which is of the greatest service, I mean the military college at Kingston; and I have long hoped that in the Australian Colonies a college might be established, and that the cadets could enter the army on the same terms as English cadets. I believe that there is no better school than the regimental school, and that nothing so tends to increase the military feeling, and does so much real good. Well then, there are one or two points that perhaps I may touch upon. I would earnestly deprecate the commercial question as far as Free Trade and Protection have been introduced. One gentleman said Free Trade was the ruin of the Empire; another said the reverse. Either Free Trade or Protection must be right. We are getting on pretty well; jogging along pretty well as it is now, and no doubt whatever is right will eventually prevail. My view is that you need not stir the question now, but let it be; and rather concentrate your efforts on Federation. Sometimes I notice that there is a certain amount of impatience on the part of some in regard to our position. They thought the time had come when we should have some well-defined plan. Well, really I should like one; but I doubt whether the time has come. People say, "What has the League done? What are the fruits of the League? By their fruits ye shall know them." The fruits of the League are, to my mind, a great deal. It is not so many years ago when the question did not enter men's thoughts, but now it is within measurable distance of us. You have done another good thing; you have taken it out of the power of parties to a certain extent to thrust into office antiquated old fogies of diplomacy. We want men in the Colonial and the Foreign Office who will give up their time absolutely to it. I think, in doing that, that you have done a great service to the League. I think I need say nothing more.

MR. BUTCHER, a delegate from the Federation League, Newcastle-on-Tyne, said: I feel a great deal of diffidence in rising to speak on this subject. I have nothing to do with the matter, but I may be allowed to make one or two suggestions in connection with it that have occurred to me. I have read with a great deal of interest the admirable book of Captain Colomb, and in thanking him for his book I also thank him for his paper. It has struck me that the modern ironclad made to-day is a ship which, as he tells us, is very often required, and the result is that these ships have to be distributed at different points. It struck me that the present system is only a passing system, and that in a short time we shall see something definite. I may be allowed to take something from my experience in engineering works in reference to this system. It appears to me that the system is entirely experimental, and that both the naval and military authorities, however long their experience may have been, have not had a sufficiently practical experience. It has occurred to me that a ram, if really specialised as a ram, is a weapon that can carry more power on the high seas than anything else. And what I wanted to suggest is that if we could make such a ram we should get a weapon which would be a terribly destructive power on the seas. But it would be a weapon extremely short-ranged.

MR. PARKY, formerly of Hong Kong: We are rapidly drifting to the time when we must select certain Colonies which will stand or fall by us. I have felt also the inconvenience of being isolated and left alone at a time when our fleet was withdrawn and the Indian Empire threatened. We all feel that the time will come, though it is impossible to hasten events, when there will be some consideration shown to those far-outlying Dependencies and Colonies of England which to-day are brought so much nearer by steam and telegraph. Allusions have been made to the difficulty of getting correspondence on this matter considered, and my friend, the ex-member for Leith, was something like two years in getting a reply from the Colonial Office. That shows you the importance of having some consulting council. I took up yesterday the special number of the Federation League's JOURNAL before I looked at the paper of Captain Colomb, and his previous paper read on the 30th of May. It would seem that the whole of the Dependencies had not any real claim to Federation. The number of these Colonies and Dependencies given in this list is forty-three, and he supplements these by adding twenty-two other possessions. I ask you is it likely—as one of the speakers yesterday alluded to the necessity of bringing a sufficient number of representatives from the different Colonies, according to the number of population—is it likely that you will gather from all these various possessions persons willing to come so far to form a council which is so necessary? I think, in the aggregate, the population of the

British possessions numbers 350 millions. It is almost impossible, so it seems to me, to carry out anything like the idea of universal representation, and that we must rather begin at the principal Colonies. Then it occurred to me how the Australian Colonies would meet this matter of a defence fund; how taxation could be carried out. Most of the Colonies have no income tax, which, perhaps, would be the fairest mode of taxation. Land tax is out of the question, so I understand, with regard to the Australian Colonies; but there was a time, not long ago, when Australia was a little roused. In fact, a Russian scare was invented with the idea that the navy of Russia might take certain parts of Australia, and impose a taxation duty on spirits of 2s. a gallon, and 3d. a gallon on beer. It appears to me that such taxation as that could not be carried out. The feeling of our Colonies is this—that with all her faults they love old England still.

MR. MORETON FREWEN: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I feel that I am not qualified to discuss the military aspect of Imperial Federation, but Captain Colomb, in the most suggestive paper that we have just heard, makes mention of the desirability of the Mother Country subsidising the mail route to the East, which now, by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is complete to the Pacific on British soil. And in return for the magnificent project which has been carried out by Canadian enterprise, and very largely by Canadian capital—in return for the largest railway enterprise in the world, the least the Mother Country can do is to utilise and subsidise this road for the carriage of mails, and when at all possible, of munitions of war also, destined for India and the East. There is no department of the public service which requires radical measures of reform more than the Post Office department. The Post Office is now making a large revenue, and I make bold to say that the Post Office was never intended to secure revenue; at the very best it should only just be self-supporting; and to make great profits by the carriage of letters and papers, is to tax the freedom of commerce, and to discourage and diminish the sympathetic connection between one part of the Empire and another. In this respect other countries are so much more public-spirited than we are; who, considering our Colonial possessions, ought, of all people in the world, to aim at the diminution of postal charges. It does seem to me most unreasonable that in the United States I can send a letter from Maine on the Atlantic, nearly 4,000 miles by railway, into Southern California, for less than 1d.; or the whole distance from Puget Sound to the Gulf of Mexico for less than 1d.; and yet, if I want to send a letter from Liverpool to Quebec, little more than half the distance, and by the incomparably cheaper method secured by water carriage, I have to pay 2½d. These are extraordinary anomalies, and should be looked into. The day on which we can secure a uniform 1d. rate for distributing letters in any section of our Empire, will be a day that will bring Federation very much nearer. But, sir, I am by no means in agreement with Sir Charles Nugent, at least on one point. He deprecates, in our discussion of Imperial Federation, any allusion to tariff questions, because Sir Charles says that this is a point on which differences of opinion exist! But we are not here to discuss points about which we agree; any such absolute agreement would kill the life of this Conference; and I say more than this, that because we are met here, Colonists from all parts of the world, on, as it were, neutral ground, where mere party differences, the differences essential to the two political parties of these Islands, are entirely lost sight of, for that very reason, I affirm that we are the assembly best of all qualified to discuss these questions of tariff. I feel most strongly on this point, that it is not the military spirit of the community that will bring about Imperial Federation, but the commercial connections which exist between each part and every part, and without a Customs Union which will combine these different parts by bonds of mutual advantage, you will get no Imperial Federation. I drew attention yesterday to the fact that the emigrant who left our shores for Australia was a consumer of English goods in Australia to the amount of over £10 per annum, and of this £10, £8 goes into the pockets of the British working classes; whereas, if the same emigrant had gone to Ohio or Pennsylvania, his consumption of English goods would have been less than 10s. per annum, of which only some 8s. would have been paid to our wage fund. Now this is, in my view, the strongest argument with which to attract political support to the subject of the Federation we wish to bring about. We hear a great deal of talk about the cheapest cost of production, but, as a matter of fact, when once by tariff discrimination we have turned our emigrants upon our waste places, we shall find that the very cheapest wheat that comes to the British market, comes from Canada, comes from the enormous virgin areas of Manitoba, and the Saskatchewan, where the soil is yet unbroken for the want of surplus labour which we could so well spare. The United States attracts our bone and sinew, thus starving our Colonies; and why? Because her wall of protective tariffs takes the people of other lands into the States, from the knowledge that from within the States they have the largest market area for all they produce. Prince Bismarck, who is a statesman, not merely a politician, has recently said that if Europe is to come upon a general basis of Free Trade, then Europe will receive from the New World her entire supplies of agricultural produce in exchange for the product of the factory and the loom; and this being the case, the soil of Europe would go out of cultivation; our rural population would either be driven abroad or forced into our towns, and the physique of our European population would suffer a rapid deterioration. Prince Bismarck thereupon rather intelligently questions whether 3s. a day in the factory is, after all, preferable to 2s. a day in the fields, and whether it is not the very first duty of a statesman to safeguard his charge, lest health and vitality of posterity should be discounted to fill the pockets of this generation. This is the view of a statesman, not of a mere politician; and I believe that Mr. Cobden was, even as Prince Bismarck is, a statesman. Depend upon it, if Mr. Cobden were now alive, he would be the very first to recognise that his policy, however valuable forty years ago, is at the present time an almost insuperable obstacle to the system of Federation, which alone can avail us in the present juncture. Do you think Mr. Cobden would be the one to decline, as some of his disciples have declined, to modify a policy

which, under other conditions, he then approved? I have no doubt whatever that he would now be the very first man to encourage us to act boldly to secure the needs of the nation.

MR. PARKIN, New Brunswick: The thing, of course, that every Englishman and every Colonist has got to consider is, first, what he has got to defend, and it is a remarkable fact that I have never yet seen anything that has been written upon this subject or graphically put concerning this. There is a man who may be known in England, but is widely known in America—Mr. Joseph Cook; and I would advise all who have not read what he has said about his tour round the world to get it and read it as soon as possible. After a recent conversation upon this subject he closed, "I look upon any English subject who is not enthusiastic upon the subject of British Federation as a Philistine of the very first magnitude." I call this very strong evidence—evidence of a representative man, and I take his word as the embodiment of the proposition we have before us. We English people, wherever we are—whether I speak with the House of Peers, with all its aristocratic traditions, or with the House of Commons, with all the greatness that hangs round it—if I were speaking to the Queen—let us admit the fact, if we rest upon that fact, that we are traders. The whole question of England's greatness of any kind rests upon that fact, and built up this wealth and greatness, that made London the queen city of the world, and made the Exchange the centre of the world's bills. What does that mean? It means that if England has got to hold her position she must hold it with a strong hand, or else England will go to the dogs. It is the great characteristic of our English race that we rise to great occasions, and I believe it is one feeling that is going to lift us up to the level of this question. Wherever you have Englishmen growing up or rearing a family, you are preparing a bulwark of English liberty, which is of so great importance. We in the Colonies are ready when the pinch comes to take any part in the defence of England; and this is the secret of England's greatness, that signs of strength are growing up in several directions. We do not have anybody in Canada to teach us to govern ourselves. We are quite prepared to grapple with our destinies, and I want to say to Englishmen interested in this question that we in Canada have one feeling of perfect equality. Canada has to-day not the slightest fear of facing the question of independence if required. We feel we have great destinies before us; we feel we are the greatest producing country in the world; we feel we have a grand future before us; we want the grandest, and that is in connection with a world-wide Empire. We feel the greatest destiny will be reached by touching upon that, and that is what we are aiming at, and that is why Englishmen in Canada want Federation. I merely wish to point to one remarkable fact, and it is this—I mentioned it yesterday—the immense importance of the question; it is a question of instant communication with every part of the Empire. It is a question of vast importance; the all-important question is that we should be able to concentrate the strength of the Empire on any point at any given moment. I want to say to the members of the League that there is a power which is going to move this question more than any other, and it is this: to England's hands has been given, and, I believe, going to be destined, the settlement of this great question. I believe you are going to rouse England on this question, and going to be omnipotent. We are asking that you will make the question of instant communication with Canada of still more importance. It is a subject which does fill my heart, and I hope what I have said has been said in a way that will reach the hearts of others. (Applause.)

MR. MACFIE: It is not necessary to say much after the speech of the last speaker; but, perhaps, I may be permitted to say one or two words. We have not yet realised our position in the world, and we have hitherto, in the matter of defence, had too many eggs in our basket. We have a number of very important points, in the British Islands, Canada, the Cape, and Australia. As applying to this question of defence, I think we ought to have more arsenals than we have at present, and not trust to one arsenal in London; so that whatever might happen to the Thames, the United Kingdom would stand independent. I feel very grateful to Captain Colomb for his paper, and that he has brought out some general principles, which I think should be fairly considered. We are living very much upon faith—faith in great statements. Well now, I wish very much to bring before the new electorate a knowledge of the history concerning this great question. I also wish to make them acquainted with the dangers which are attached to it. It is also well that they should be inspired with sound principles.

MR. LYMAN (treasurer of the Imperial Federation League in Canada): I have had pleasure in studying the great and important work of the defence of Great and Greater Britain, and have always taken a great interest in this question, and have come here as an officer in the Canadian Militia to mention a few thoughts that have occurred to me on this great subject. The society pointed out a fact of great importance, that the question of the defence of this Empire should not be entrusted to the same body of men who are concerned in the local politics of this country. That is a point that is patent to Colonists, and is a question of vast importance. As long as the local affairs of this country are managed by the same body of men as carry out the Imperial affairs, so long will the great interests of the country be subordinated to other interests. Mr. Parkin has spoken of the readiness of the Colonies to defend themselves. The question is whether we have the power. Take the position of Canada. We have an enormous expanse of territory, which is peopled too by as many as you have in this great metropolis. We have had to spend £100,000,000 upon the construction of railways and canals for the opening up of the great country, in order to welcome our brethren from Great Britain to settle amongst us. There is another point brought out, and that is the necessity of organisation. It may be admitted that in this question of defence we should make a distinction between internal and external defence. I think in the question of internal defence every part of the Empire is reasonably expected to look after itself. We have shown that in Canada. We have had a rebellion in which some discontented

men and subjects rose against the Government. We did not call for aid, we put it down ourselves, and we are prepared to do so again. But the question of external defence, I hold, should rest with the higher Imperial tribunal. This tribunal should consider the means by which to pay for this. It is necessary that all the different parts of the Empire should contribute what may be considered reasonable to the fund for this purpose. How is this revenue to be raised? In this country you are accustomed to raise taxation in the way of an income tax. We in the Colonies, in Canada, at all events, are not accustomed to that. We are accustomed to pay our revenue in Customs' duties, and we feel certain that the most satisfactory way to our people, at any rate, is to contribute their share in Customs' duties; and it has been suggested by one of the members of our League in Canada that a small duty should be imposed in all parts of the Empire, upon all imports from outside the Empire; and this should be used for Imperial purposes, for the maintenance of the army and navy. This would have the advantage of obtaining a considerable revenue in such a way as the Colonies had been accustomed to contribute, and also have the great advantage of stimulating them to further efforts. It is of the very highest importance that Imperial trade should be protected, and there is no possible system by which emigration can be so successfully directed to the Colonies as some sort of reciprocal trade advantage. I know this of course will raise a good deal of discussion; but still I think the question of the integrity of the Empire is a greater question than the dogma of Free Trade. We in the nineteenth century have a dogma which has been held sacred hitherto. I may state fairly and squarely to the Colonial delegates from Canada, speaking of those duties, we maintain that Great Britain ought to put a low duty on such raw materials as can be easily produced in sufficient quantities within the Empire, and we hold that it would be beneficial to the Imperial interests. We would be prepared to reciprocate any act performed by the British manufacturers, and I believe that this would be the means of extending and increasing the British trade. The trade of the Colonies has enormously developed. We have got land, and it comes to this—whether you are prepared to pay a small insurance in order to maintain the growing markets, or whether you are going to satisfy the blind worship of a single dogma. We must have some sort of pecuniary interest in the Empire. We have heard of the scheme of Anglo-Saxon Federation. This is most delusive and misleading; and if we succeed in developing our own Empire, it will then be time to form an alliance with the United States. But if you wait to Federate the Empire until you can Federate with the United States there will be nothing left to Federate. We must develop our Empire for our own purposes, and you must remember that that country would be just as ready to seize the supremacy as your most bitter foe.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG: Although I cannot address you in the eloquent language of the Canadian representative who has just spoken, at the same time I claim your indulgence while I make a few remarks with regard to the paper we are discussing. We are all equally interested in the Old Country in the defence of the Empire, even more so than the outlying portions of it, whose representatives we see in our midst to-day. Captain Colomb has brought before us this great question in a most able and succinct little paper, and has called our attention to the things which are most pressingly required. It is with regard to his last proposition that I wish to impress upon the meeting its very great and paramount importance. While we have been advancing in the development of our trade, as Captain Colomb says, and very properly so, other Powers have advanced also their military posts, and pushed war fleets into seas where their commercial interests are practically insignificant. Their naval and military policy is a consistent and a continuous development, while their national aims are by no means indistinct. Now this is a great question for the whole of the Empire. No doubt the lecturer has properly attacked the class of administration which has been prevalent for many years in this country with regard to this great question. We really want the whole question to be more widely opened. It is not to be entrusted to those alone who have hitherto had the management of it. The point that he laid great stress upon in the course of his paper, and which I entirely endorse, is this—that a British conference should be called to examine the facts of our position, and to fix the principles which are to guide our arrangements for defence. The gallant officer who opened the discussion alluded to the Royal Commission of which you, sir, were an honoured member, and made some excuse for the reasons why the report of that Royal Commission was never seen; but the fact still remains that the report has not seen light, and I do not care for one moment to inquire what is the cause of its suppression. Now, a conference such as that suggested would be of great value. It would contain representatives from different parts of the Empire called together under the sign-manual of Her Majesty the Queen. That is the only way in which the subject could be properly investigated, viz., by a council called for the purpose. I think this is a point that we should constantly and earnestly press upon the attention of the Government of this country. I wish most earnestly to press upon you that we in the Old Country are as deeply interested as any one coming from the various parts of the Empire can be in this question of Imperial defence, and we shall endeavour to make it perfect through Imperial Federation.

CAPTAIN COLOMB replied on the whole discussion, and said that he was sure that when the day of trouble *did* come they would find many reasons to regret that any mere politics had been allowed to dominate. He would just say that he was himself convinced that before the close of this century they would either have lost their Empire or made it.

The morning's proceedings then concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

The proceedings of the Conference were resumed at 2 o'clock.

SIR RAWSON RAWSON occupying the chair in the place of Sir Thomas Brassey. In opening the proceedings he said: I have, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Imperial Federation League, and

on my own behalf, to express regret that Sir Thomas Brassey, who was to have taken the chair at this meeting, has been prevented on account of the elections; and also on behalf of the League I have to express regret that a review taking place to-day at Aldershot, at which Her Majesty's presence invites the attendance of most of our leading Colonists and a great number of members of the League, and others who have taken an interest in the subject of this afternoon's discussion, has prevented them from attending and contributing to the discussion. The subject of the paper to be read this afternoon is that of "Emigration and Immigration." It is the last of the four subjects brought before this Conference by the League. Some of you are probably aware that the question of emigration has been recently brought forward in this room in the most interesting manner at a series also of four conferences; but the subject on those occasions was treated rather upon the points of advantage to the individuals emigrating, and at the same time of advantage to the Colonies in receiving from the Mother Country an increased supply of labour, and infusion of British blood, of the advantage to their population of a number of well-brought-up and trained children; it was rather from the social and economical point of view that the whole subject was treated. Information was given to the public, and to those who were present regarding the agencies that are in motion for promoting emigration, and the methods adopted, and these were all discussed in the presence of Colonists who viewed emigration from their own standpoint; and those who had the advantage of hearing the interesting communications made by Mr. Tuke, whose name must be endeared to us all, and the communications of Miss Rye and Dr. Barnardo could not fail to be both instructed and to have their sentiments roused by the teaching derived from their knowledge. But to-day we approach the subject of emigration from a different point of view. We use the term Federation, but by Federation at the present moment we do not mean that we are prepared to say what the character of the new bond to be created between the Mother Country and the Colonies for the time shall be. But by Federation we mean the bringing together—the fusing of the Mother Country and the Colonies; establishing and training a different sentiment from that which existed at the commencement of this century. The paper of this afternoon is therefore properly entitled "Emigration and Immigration"—emigration from this country, immigration into the Colonies. Perhaps there are very few gentlemen who are better qualified to speak on this subject than Mr. Colmer. As Secretary to the High Commissioner for Canada, he has not only had under observation the working of our system of emigration here, but the working of the system of immigration in Canada. He has necessarily been obliged to examine our other systems, or want of system. He has had the advantage of visiting fields of emigration in Ireland, and of having had under his own observation emigrants arriving at Liverpool or London for the purpose of emigration. There are very few gentlemen whose experience and competency qualify them to give you better information, and I trust you will not be disappointed in the observations which he will make.

[The paper which Mr. Colmer hereupon read will be found in the earlier pages of our present issue.]

MR. MANSFIELD SMITH opened the discussion. He said: As a member of the National Association for Promoting State Directed Colonisation, I should like to make a few remarks on this question, but as our time is short they can only be very brief. In the first place we must remember that this is a *working man's question*, looked at both from the Home and the Colonial point of view. To our own working men, because every emigrant who goes out reduces the competition in the labour market of those left behind, and because, notwithstanding that the amount of suffering and privation of those who cannot obtain work is something incredible at this moment, it will be far worse after a few years of increase of population at the present rate. *Colonial working men* are inclined to oppose emigration, and not unnaturally. There is only a limited amount of work to be had in a Colony, and if more artisans and labourers are introduced into any particular Colony than it has capacity to absorb, difficulty and distress will inevitably follow—in fact, it would only be removing the trouble from our own towns to those of the Colonies. The working men out there easily foresee this result, and consequently oppose any legislation which tends to encourage such a state of things. As was said in this very hall a few days ago by Mr. Nicholls: "The Colonies are the true home of the Conservative working man. He goes out penniless, works, becomes prosperous, buys a farm, settles, and votes against emigration!" With regard to colonisation, as distinct to simple emigration, however, opposition on the part of the working classes—if it exists—can only be the result of ignorance of the meaning of the term. We contend that there is a vast difference between emigration of the ordinary description and colonisation, and that, as far as the working men of the Colonies are concerned, they will be exactly opposite in their influence, and we look to those Colonists who have taken advantage of these Conferences, and who cannot have failed to be impressed with this important point, to lay stress upon it when discussing the subject on their return to the Colonies, and I would appeal to any such who may be in this room this afternoon to do their utmost to instruct their fellow countrymen in this matter on their return, as it is only by educating public opinion, both at home and in the Colonies, to the knowledge of the mutual advantages to be derived by both countries by the carrying out of a well devised system of colonisation, that we can ever hope to induce the Government to take action in the matter. As to the difference in the meaning of the terms, *emigration*, by creating competition in the labour market, would tend to reduce wages, and certainly of employment. *Colonisation*, on the other hand, by opening up new countries, would cause a demand for labour; and in this statement I have the high authority of Sir Charles Tupper to support me. In a letter to the Secretary of State which appears in the recent Blue Book on emigration, he says: "It is unnecessary to state that if such a plan of colonisation were carried out, it would not only secure employment for an unlimited number of families on the land, but would also create openings for mechanics, artisans, and labourers in the trade which necessarily follows in the wake of agriculture." I wish I had time to read the whole of the letter, which is most statesmanlike and convincing,

but I have no doubt that it has been already well digested by all who take an interest in this subject. Considerable misapprehension has arisen both at home and abroad concerning the movement for State Directed Colonisation, and it is not difficult to see why. In February last, a powerful deputation from our Society waited upon Lord Granville, and laid the subject before him. Shortly afterwards a circular was issued by the Colonial Office to the various Colonial Governments, framed in such a manner as to almost invite an unfavourable reply. The words "Colonist" or "farmer" were not once mentioned, and the whole tone of the questions showed that the official mind had failed to grasp our proposals or ideas. The questions, as reported in the Australian newspapers—I quote from the *Melbourne Age* of March 31st, 1886—are put thus: "Will the Colonies accept from among the hundreds of thousands of unemployed artisans at home selected emigrants who are untainted with pauperism? And will the Colonies contribute *pro rata* assistance to successful applicants chosen for shipment?" These questions do not in any sense embody the proposals laid before the Government, and are calculated to entirely mislead those to whom they were addressed as to the objects of that deputation. The questions asked should have been—"What amount of land are the Colonial governments willing to give free (or, if not free, on what terms) to Colonists selected by a Board of which their own Agents-General should be members, if the British Government were to supply them with the necessary capital for settling on the land, and what facilities the Colonial Government would be willing to give such settlers."

We have addressed letters to all the Colonial newspapers to try and correct the erroneous impression that has been given by these questions, but I have no doubt that the mistake has put us back considerably in the Colonies and that it will require strenuous efforts on our part to do away with the wrong complexion that has been given to our schemes by this mistaken official manifesto. In a speech made by the High Commissioner for Canada to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in 1885, which I read here last week, he advocates most strongly the importance to both countries of directing the stream of emigrants to the north of the line of demarcation between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, instead of to the south of it, and Mr. Halliburton, in speaking on the same subject in this room, said that the result of his careful calculation shows that the "National Debt is a drop in the bucket compared to the loss we have already experienced by allowing emigrants to drift away to foreign countries," instead of going to the Colonies and continuing to be loyal subjects of Her Majesty and customers of Great Britain. It has been stated again and again on undeniable authority that an emigrant to our own Colonies is worth to the Mother Country sixteen times as much as one who goes to the United States or to any foreign land, and yet our government does not seem to appreciate this fact. In 1852 when a large sum of money—£150,000, I believe—was voted by Parliament to send a number of the "finest peasantry in the world" out of Ireland, we are told that three-fourths of these people chose to go to the United States, and I know for a fact that if it had not been for the exertions of our two lecturers here to-day—Captain Colomb and Mr. Colmer—most of the remainder would have followed their example and been lost to the country. I think myself that this is an argument in favour of the necessity of proper State-direction in this matter. It is evident that the Colonies do appreciate the benefit of a steady stream of immigration into their countries, from the statements we hear from the Agents-General from time to time, and from the very interesting paper of Mr. Colmer this afternoon, of the money spent by Colonial governments to encourage emigrants to come over. Up till quite recently in England increase of population was regarded as synonymous with increase of prosperity—the curious bounty given by the Queen and the still more curious changes in the poor-laws relating to the support of children in workhouses, point to the general acceptance of this theory. We have, however, passed the point when a rapid growth of numbers is thought to be a blessing, as our country can no longer provide food nor sufficient work for its already too redundant population. In most of the Colonies, however, the same state of things obtains now, as did with us then, and as long as practically inexhaustible areas of the most fertile lands in the world remain uncultivated I am sure that every Colonist who has the well-being and interest of his Colony at heart, will agree with me that a well-devised and carefully carried-out system of Colonisation cannot fail to be of lasting benefit to his country.

MR. V. FITZGERALD: With regard to the general scheme of Mr. Colmer, I certainly entertain a strong feeling that in carrying out State-directed colonisation efficiently, and with a view to meet the views entertained in this country and in Canada, the Government should undertake it, with the object of giving effect to the provisions of the Dominion, whom the system of emigration affects. As a man of business, and as a practical man, I believe at this moment that the opening in the Canadian North-West is greater than any other place that I could name. I do not speak of ultimate results—that depends upon a great many circumstances; but certainly I am in favour of the scheme, and can very well support it.

HON. H. HOLBROOK, late of British Columbia: Ladies and gentlemen—I feel some diffidence in coming before you, not being prepared to make a speech on this subject. But, however, I will endeavour, as far as I am able, to give you some idea of what our thoughts and wishes are from the Pacific coast, where I have been resident some twenty years. I have had the privilege of hearing a most interesting paper read by Sir Charles Nugent, at the Royal Institution here, on Imperial Federation. I have also had the privilege of hearing a most interesting paper read by one of our great senators from Canada, and whom we esteem so very highly, that is Sir Charles Tupper (applause), and I have heard the paper of Captain Colomb, whose name is known and respected by the Colonists generally. He has treated on a subject of very great importance to Colonists, that is, a plan of defence, and it is one on which in Canada we feel very strongly. We, of course, as I said in the few remarks I made at the Institution, we in Canada are a thoroughly loyal people. (Hear, hear.) We are loyal to a man, and it is no little loyalty. Our loyalty consists in being able to fight for

our Queen and country. We have an army of something like 40,000 trained soldiers, which can be increased up to 300,000, and we have a reserve of 60,000 sailors, and these are the nucleus of a force that will be brought to bear for the prosperity and honour and glory of the British Empire. We feel in Canada this feeling—we want equality. We want equality with you. We have equal rights with you in the love and esteem for Her Majesty, in the love and esteem for the flag that is fighting for us, and we claim equal rights—one flag, one country, one Empire. There was a gentleman in the room this morning, and I met him a short time ago, and he said, "I have been over to the United States." I said, "What did you think?" He said it was like passing from Lincolnshire to Cheshire. I said, "You did not see any difference between Canadians and Englishmen." He said, "Certainly not; you have the same feelings, the same ideas, and the same thoughts." (Hear, hear.) I come to another subject, that is as regards the subject of the paper read before us about emigration. You are aware that the births in England are 400,000 over your deaths. You have to provide for that number of people. In 1884 Canada received 34,000, the Australian Colonies 48,000. Would it not be very much better if for your surplus population that has been added to your masses—and you cannot find employment for them—if you could find employment for them in the Colonies? We have got land in Canada larger than in the United States, with only a population of something like five millions upon it. You have got a population in the United States of between fifty and sixty millions, and we have, therefore, room for your surplus population; but we cannot do with a pauper population in Canada. There have been some splendid institutions got up here that assist emigration, and they have given the settlers a small staff, that has enabled them to come on our land and form good and valuable homes, and they have become good and valuable settlers amongst us. I must say that this question of Imperial Federation is one that reaches the eyes and thoughts of all British statesmen. There is one statesman that Canada loves and esteems, a statesman who has done more for the benefit and for the advancement of Canada than almost anybody else. I allude to our noble Premier. (Hear, hear.) We felt we were children in his hands when we came to be federated. He cut the Gordian knot of your Eastern policy, and enabled a railway to be established from coast to coast in British Columbia. I cannot say too much about him. We esteem that man, and only hope he will live long to be in the councils of Great Britain. We look at this matter of Federation as uppermost. I will wind up by thanking Mr. Colmer for his excellent address that he has made. I hope we shall not attempt merely to pass a sort of resolution on the question, but really take that desired step towards the Federation of the Colonies. (Applause.)

REV. STYLEMAN HERRING, Clerkenwell: I am convinced with regard to the poorer classes that it would be better to transfer them from England, where the increase is so very rapid, to the Colonies, and give them a good start in life. The number of people that go out of England every year is something enormous. There are 400,000 surplus annually and they will go somewhere, but I cannot regret that the majority of them go to the United States. At the present time we must honestly confess our Colonies do not give very great encouragement for the purpose of helping out emigrants. Things are not altogether prospering in some of our Colonies, whereas in years gone by the Australian Colonies were only too willing and too ready to help out those who needed it. And believe me the English people are the most handy people in the world. I saw a letter the other day from North-West Canada, from which that opinion was entirely confirmed. I do not know whether the Colonies altogether relish our sending out a large number of people, I can only hope that emigration classes will be established throughout the whole of England. Talking of emigration, I went over to Canada in 1870 and established a good many of these emigration classes, and it was marvellous what success attended them. I feel myself that colonisation is a very different subject, and look upon it as a rich man's subject. I can only hope and pray that amongst the working classes there will be a determination to forward this whole question of emigration, and I hope our Government will meet in a good spirit, and that there will be an abundance of emigrants to the Colonies that now so greatly need our support.

MR. LAIBLIERE: There is no doubt whatever, that the question of emigration is intimately connected with the great question of Imperial Federation. But it is not for us here to-day to determine whether any Federal system of emigration should be treated as a Federal question. I think it was Professor Seeley who told us yesterday with reference to some question which was raised in the course of the discussion upon his paper, that it would be time enough to consider whether this question should be dealt with by a Federal Parliament, when we had got a Federal Parliament, and I would say the question of emigration, whether Federal or not, may be decided when we have got Imperial Federation. And there is no doubt whatever, and if Imperial Federation did no other good, in the way of promoting emigration, than this, it would do a great deal. If Imperial Federation makes the people of the Empire feel that they are all one people, if in the words of Professor Seeley Imperial Federation makes us consider that the Colonies are merely an expansion of England, then you facilitate emigration very much, because a man in emigrating from this country to the Colonies feels that he is only going from one part of his country to another part of it. So much for the connection of the two questions—Imperial Federation and emigration. This is not the only question with which we have to deal to-day. Mr. Colmer, in his able paper, has pointed out that we have practically two things. We have got within the Empire waste people and waste land. We have an immense number of waste people in this country, I believe, who do not know what to do with themselves—people who are thrown into distress and have received alms and contributions of those who are able to support them. And we have got also in the Colonies waste land, which cannot be utilised simply because they have not got any material to cultivate it. And what we have to deal with is

how we can best bring these two elements together—waste people and waste lands. It always appeared to me that the secret of success in emigration must be in its organisation. If we had a system of emigration organised, no matter by Federal Governments or by provincial Governments or by societies—if we had emigration thoroughly organised, the Empire would be able to absorb every year an enormous number of emigrants, perhaps a much larger number of people from this country than we at the present time imagine. But one reason why emigration has partially failed, in my understanding, is this: that it has been carried on without organisation. I remember when living in Australia often a thing of this kind occurred: a number of emigrants would be landed in one of our towns. There would be a congestion in the labour market. The newly-arrived emigrants were not employed as rapidly as they expected, they held meetings, and the news was sent to England that the Colonies did not want any more emigrants. Before that news could arrive in England, every one of those emigrants was at work, and there was room in the Colony for many more. I can easily imagine this happening. Whatever system of emigration you adopt, the secret of its success will be in its organisation throughout the Colonies. The gentleman who opened the discussion referred to certain questions that have been set by the State in regard to the different Colonies. Now, I can conceive of no more harm being done to the cause of emigration than to send a set of cut-and-dried questions to all the Governments of the Colonies, because you cannot frame a cut-and-dried set of questions which will be applicable to, or suitable to, all the Colonies. If you were to write to the government of New South Wales and Victoria, ask them what system of state-directed emigration they were prepared to adopt, they would say: "Now, there are some gentlemen who know nothing at all about our Colonies." If you ask the government of New South Wales and Victoria whether they will support a system of Colonisation, they will naturally think you think they have waste territories to practically occupy for the first time. That is not the case. As a matter of fact, South Australia and Queensland are very large territories which are at present largely unoccupied. Before I sit down, I should like to say one word with regard to sending undesirable emigrants, as I have always, and shall feel if I live to be a hundred years old, that we want to make the future population of Australia as fine a population, and as valuable a population, as you can possibly get. We do not want to have an inferior population in that country. We do want the introduction of a very good race into Australia; we don't want undesirable emigrants to be sent out from the Mother Country. Mr. Colmer in his address has said something about two millions of people having gone from Ireland to the United States. Now, I do not want to say anything which sounds unpleasant to anybody; but we must stare facts in the face. I think it is a very fortunate thing that these people went to be absorbed with the people of the United States, and I am heartily glad that they did not go to Australia; because what should we have had in Australia if they had gone there? Why, they would have swamped us. Instead of that loyal feeling which we now rejoice to see in Australia, we should have had hundreds of thousands of pounds sent over from Australia to England to support the objects of the National League. I think one reason why the politicians of the Colonies do not like to open the flood-gates of emigration is, because they are afraid of the extremely inconvenient element, the Irish vote.

A GENTLEMAN in the audience was understood to say that it was the Government who sent out these men to the United States (evidently referring to the Irishmen).

SIR DONALD SMITH, of Canada: I am very glad to be here to say a few words. Having been connected for a number of years with Canada, and also from its initiation, with the Pacific Railway, I may say that in the North-West provinces emigrants have the greatest facilities in getting land, each man being able to go up the railway, and I must have misapprehended the meaning of my friend when I understood him to say he did not know that in Canada they were prepared to receive a great number of people. I can say that they will not only receive them, but will welcome them amongst them. We shall be glad to get as much new blood of England as we can. We shall delight to have the bone and sinew of the working men, not only from England, but from all the nations of Europe, because we know that they will grow up, not only a credit to Canada, but will become English in sentiment and spread themselves throughout the whole Empire. I think it is universally felt that we should look upon them with the greatest consideration. I know nothing of politics, but look upon it as the greatest misfortune possible that there should be anything else than one united Empire. Those who go to Canada and to the North-West, when you get up to the City of Winnipeg, you have, no doubt, a city which will compare with any city of the same population in Scotland or Ireland; and you will find how in a few years they have built streets where you will be able to walk down just as you would in Hampstead, and have erected houses which will compare very well indeed with some of the best in Regent Street. That shows the material progress that has been made. Those who went there did not go with their pockets and purses loaded. I can assure you that many of them were very poorly off indeed; but these men were determined to work, to make the best of themselves, and now they have come to be citizens and merchants in good occupations throughout the country; and, as a rule, they are now independent. But they do not desire to get it all for themselves. They will be glad to divide it amongst men who can be induced to go out. It is a great pity that it is not generally known in this country that every emigrant who goes out is entitled to take out a grant for himself; he pays nothing for it; and he can take up 160 acres for which he does not pay until the end of three years, and then it is something like one dollar, or four shillings an acre that he pays. When you get beyond Winnipeg you can go on for one thousand miles almost blindfolded. You may set yourself down on some spare ground, and find you have made a very good choice. There is certainly no difficulty in the way of making a choice of land. Now, about the Colonisation societies of which Mr. Colmer has spoken, I say these might be established on a commercial basis; they might be

formed not only by philanthropic people but by business men. During the last session of the Canadian Parliament an Act dealing with the land was passed giving absolute security to the settlers. They are assured of the return of their money, because the greater portion of it is expended in improvements on the land. If a man goes out with the determination to *work*, to make his way in the world, then it rests entirely with him as to his future prospects. A man goes out this year, and next year, with such assistance as he will get of eighty or one hundred acres of land, very soon he will find the benefit which the Colonies have afforded him. On Monday last the first train from Montreal for the Pacific left, and I might say that the opening of that railway will be of very great and valuable benefit to the whole of Canada.

GENERAL LOWRY: I congratulate this Conference most heartily upon the cheery and large-hearted views which have been given us by the last speaker. I think nothing is more encouraging, and no more helpful remarks than those he has made could possibly have been offered. For myself, I can say much the same. If the Chairman wished, I could dwell upon this subject a long time, because I know no subject of so great importance to this country at this moment. With the wants of crowded homes in England, Ireland, and Scotland, with the rapid growth and progress of our people, with the great spaces in the Colonies, to which one speaker has alluded, the subjects of emigration and colonisation are very large and difficult subjects. They are subjects and questions which we are bound to solve, and they must be solved. I for one do not believe that God, in His providence, has given us these large territories and these good lands which we call our own, but that He will not help us to appropriate the space to the wants of the people. I do not say whether it can be done by companies. Much has been done by private enterprise; much has been done by the philanthropic efforts of such men as Dr. Barnardo, and by Miss Rye and Miss Joyce. There must be larger efforts. I am not prepared to say such a scheme as Mr. Colmer's would wholly succeed. It would be a very great success, but I am inclined to think it is a subject so large that it must be undertaken by the formation of a great company, not so much on philanthropic lines as on commercial, and that the commercial should be the essential part of it. I believe any company got up to do this work will do a great and blessed work in helping our people whether rich or poor. I believe I am speaking your sentiments when we welcome all from England and from Ireland into the Colonies. All I would say is that the papers have been of a very able character, and the one which Mr. Colmer introduces was very masterly, and the discussion which followed has been of an interesting and instructive character. I believe that this great exhibition will go a long way to make this great subject a greater one still. This exhibition, this Conference, and the addresses, must open our hearts and minds and make us more earnest in the matter of Imperial Federation.

MR. FREDERICK YOUNG: As I have taken a very deep interest in this question for many years, and read a paper on this same platform, I desire to offer a few cursory remarks with regard to the paper which we have heard this afternoon. I am very glad indeed to observe that Mr. Colmer has expressed the same general views I had the honour of putting before the meeting with regard to this question of emigration, which I prefer to call colonisation. The only difference between the views which I ventured to put before the meeting on that occasion and those which Mr. Colmer has put forward to-day, is simply this: As to the mode in which the capital should be found for uniting the surplus labour which we have in this country to that of our different Colonies. I suggested that this capital should be an annual capital, and should be raised annually. He suggests that this should be found by public companies, guaranteed and backed up by the authority of the Government. Whatever is the best we ought to solve this question. I had many years ago some practical experience in the plantation of one of our great Colonies, in New Zealand, which was colonised under a company of which I was myself one of the members. No doubt that great Colony was planted by the means that are suggested by Mr. Colmer, but I must say we did not succeed as a company. We have had all the experience of forty or fifty years to guide us, and we may return to the results of the New Zealand Company for instruction and guidance in the future. I do not care how the capital is to be found, as long as sufficient capital is found for the purpose. I am very anxious indeed that the question of emigration should be treated in the *whole*. Mr. Colmer has treated it as one of colonisation, and I rejoice also very much indeed to hear that we have the great authority of Sir Donald Smith, who in reply to some doubtful expressions of Mr. Styleman Herring, with regard to the ability of the Colonies to absorb the large population emigrated to Canada, expressed the opinion that they were able and willing to receive them, if the proper organisation is found for carrying this great national system of colonisation into effect. I simply wish to say that, because I think we ought to grapple with this question. It is a great national question, and must be taken up on broad and comprehensive principles by the nation itself if it is to be carried out to a successful issue.

MR. ANDREW ROBERTSON: I intended after the gentleman on my right had spoken to say a few words with regard to the emigration question in Canada; but really he has said all I can say. I am satisfied there is no place where people can do better than in Canada, for they can now go a long way in a short time by means of the railway. With regard to Irishmen, we have too little of Irishmen in Canada and too much land, which is exactly the reverse to the state of things in Ireland. We Colonists feel very much for the Mother Country; we truly love her, and will never forget what she has done for us.

MR. STORRS: As an Englishman I intensely appreciate the extreme impartiality and ability of the paper read by Sir Alexander Galt, and I am very sorry there were not more politicians here to hear it read. It was such a statement of our cause in relation to Ireland as would have been made by a couple of lawyers in a Court. I should like to testify that he is perfectly correct in what he says as to the absolute incapacity of the House of Commons to carry on the work for England and for the Empire. I have seen a good deal of the working of the House of Commons, and I declare it is absolutely impossible in

the present condition for the House of Commons to do its duty to the Empire and Great Britain. The first thing we have to consider here is whether the House of Commons of the future is to be a domestic legislature, or to be an Imperial Parliament. It will be a far greater difficulty to create anything new for carrying on an Imperial Parliament; it will be a far easier task to create bodies to carry on the domestic work, and make the Parliament the Imperial body that you want.

MR. COLMER: I am very much gratified by the interesting discussion that my paper has elicited. There is only one thing that I regret, and that is, perhaps, that the matter has been looked at rather too much from a Canadian point of view. I had rather hoped that we might have had more Australians and Colonists from the Cape to discuss the question. In every paper which has been delivered in modern times has been evinced in a practical way the immense progress which colonisation has made in late years, and the immense advantage it has been to Great Britain and to the Empire. I believe the object of Federation is to promote the unity of the Empire, and bring about a closer union than exists now. I do not think we should wait until that comes until we endeavour to arrange any scheme of emigration. If any greater emigration takes place now, it must be in the shape of colonisation. Mr. Labilliere made the only speech as from Australia, but I am sorry he took the line that we must wait for Imperial Federation before we can hope to get this question settled.

MR. LABILLIERE: I did not say so.

MR. COLMER: I am very glad to hear you did not. There is another question, and that is as regards the Irish. In Canada we do not mind taking any number of Irish; in fact, I suppose a fourth or fifth of our population consists of persons born in Ireland or of Irish descent. The Irish are the most loyal men of the population. There is only one other point, and that is with regard to any scheme of emigration brought forward by Government or public companies. In the first place there would be a large amount of discontent in the country in regard to the selections. If the Government took it up they would say, "Why, the Imperial Government give money to poor people, while we are left to plod on our own way." On the other hand, if taken up by a commercial company, they would say that the money was subscribed, and they would abide by the selections of the company. If the Government took it up, the collection of the money and the return of instalments would create a political difficulty in the Colonies. I have no other remarks to make, and I thank those gentlemen who have contributed to the discussion of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN: In winding up this discussion I have really very little to say. Mr. Colmer has put before the meeting a proposition that colonisation should be conducted by means of a company. Mr. Young is inclined to greater action on the part of the Government, much greater. My own feeling is that if the Government would thoroughly understand that it was its duty to assist the people of this country in relieving themselves and relieving their fellow-countrymen from the burden of the over-growth of population, the best means would be to encourage personal action adopted by the people themselves. But for the English Government to attempt wholesale colonisation, I do not think that would do. I certainly think our Government should rise to the importance of the occasion, and be prepared to assist whatever party is willing to come forward to help all concerned in relieving these islands from their increasing population every year. That is all I have to say upon the paper of to-day. Perhaps you will allow me, as this is the last occasion of our meeting in this room in conference organised by the Imperial Federation League, to express our great gratification at the result of their conference, and, under the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, at the valuable and important assistance they have received. We had the advantage yesterday of Lord Rosebery introducing the conference to our notice. We have been deprived of two eminent men, but the subjects that have been brought forward have contributed largely to the instruction of the public and our own information and guidance. The first paper was not only of interest, but of valuable guidance; and no man is better qualified to give us advice, and no man has taken larger views of the whole question than Professor Seeley, and he tells you at once not to take a plunge, but to view very carefully any principle which will grasp, and ultimately solve, the whole question. Sir Alexander Galt tells us the means by which it might be carried out. There a difference of opinion may arise. The first lesson we have learnt is that there is an universal opinion in favour of Federation in some shape — of increased unity of the Empire. How that is to be brought about, there is a divergence of opinion upon. The Colonists, most of them who have expressed an opinion here to-day, thought that the proposals should come from the Home Government. Lord Rosebery, in his opening address, expressed an opinion that the Colonies should take action; and no one has had better opportunities of judging the subject and hearing the opinions of Colonial authorities than his lordship, and therefore his opinion is not to be laid aside in this matter. Therefore, on the part of the League, I have to express the great satisfaction they have had in promoting this conference, and I have nothing to add but to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Colmer.

This was agreed to, and MR. PETER REDPATH expressed the thanks of the meeting to the Chairman for his admirable address and closing remarks that day.

This having been carried, the proceedings of the conference terminated.

It is proposed that the arrangement (the Colonial Defence Scheme) shall be in force for ten years. Before that period has elapsed it may be trusted that a much closer union between the Mother Country and the Colonies will have been devised. In the meantime the scheme may be regarded as a very important step in the direction of Imperial Federation for defensive purposes, and it is very desirable that the Colonial overtures should be met in a generous spirit by the Home Government.—*Birmingham Daily Gazette*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE.

THE BANQUET

took place on Saturday evening, July 3rd, at the Freemasons' Tavern, the Earl of Rosebery in the chair. His Lordship was supported by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Wemyss, Lord Wolseley, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of Perth, Alderman Sir R. N. Fowler, M.P., Sir Alexander Galt, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir C. Mills, Admiral Sir Spencer Robinson, Sir William McArthur, Sir C. Nicholson, Sir Charles Nugent, Sir Saul Samuel, Sir Rawson Rawson, Sir Thomas Brassey, and some 150 distinguished gentlemen, many of whom were from the Colonies.

The CHAIRMAN, who was cordially received, in proposing the first toast, said: May it please your Royal Highness, my lords and gentlemen: I have, by skilful management, so arranged the toast-list this evening, that I have only to propose one toast. (Laughter.) But I venture to say that popular and interesting as the other toasts may be, the toast that I propose is by far the most so. (Hear, hear.) There is no toast that will compare in interest, or for enthusiasm, among any loyal assembly of the subjects of the Empire with that of the Queen-Empress. (Cheers.) We who live habitually in these Islands are accustomed to know her only as the Queen—a title which is endeared to us by all our past history and associations; but on an occasion like this we are only too glad to drink to the Queen-Empress, for the last half of the title associates us with our fellow-subjects in Hindostan. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, we drink this toast on no slight occasion to-night. In the jubilee year of Her Majesty's reign. (Hear, hear.) We meet at a moment when an exhibition, in an age which is weary of exhibitions, can yet collect from the four quarters of the globe the subjects of the Queen. (Cheers.) I say in the jubilee year of the Queen we meet under these circumstances; we are not content to witness that exhibition, or to celebrate that jubilee, but determined, as far as we can, to further the cause which we have at heart—and to make it clear to all the world that the Empire is no idle name—(cheers)—but that every week, nay, every day that we live, by degrees, slow and partial possibly, but always distinctly in advance, we are marching to the goal of a united Empire—a goal, the noblest, in my opinion, that any Briton has ever aimed at, and much more than realising the wildest dreams of ambition ever conceived by the greatest conqueror in the world. (Loud cheers.) I say that we proceed by steps, perhaps gradually; but I think within the last week we have made two considerable movements in advance. In the last week we have registered our first Australian Privy Councillor—(cheers)—an Australian Privy Councillor who had the genius to conceive, and the patriotism to execute, that daring plan of sending a contingent from New South Wales to stand shoulder to shoulder with our soldiers in Egypt. (Cheers.) In the Legislature of the same Colony, as I understand, the Government of New South Wales are authorised to propose a contribution in aid of naval Imperial defence—(cheers)—a step the magnitude and importance of which it would be impossible to overrate. (Hear, hear.) As it happens, the past week has belonged to New South Wales; and the next week may belong to Canada or to Victoria. It is an accident that unites these two events in a single Colony, because to my mind there is a competition amongst the Colonies as to which shall most further that object at this moment. But, gentlemen, I may be allowed to say this: that if the Empire is to be worthy of the great destiny confided to it, those who have charge of our Government at home have a heavy responsibility laid upon them. (Hear, hear.) If we, who have the right for the moment of occupying the Government benches in Parliament—(laughter)—fall short of our responsibilities with regard to the Colonies, we are not merely failing in a great duty, but we are entailing on ourselves and our descendants consequences of which it may be difficult to foresee the full import. (Hear, hear.) If we, for instance, failed at this moment in speaking the voice of England with regard to the questions—I take them at random—of the New Hebrides, or with regard to those questions which concern our fellow subjects in British North America—if we failed to speak in their name as we should speak, we are guilty of a grave dereliction of public duty. (Cheers.) I don't wish—and you will understand that in the position I hold in the Government, it would not be wise for me to do so—I don't wish to touch on these questions at this moment; but I don't think, when you come to read the papers on the subject, you will be of opinion that the voice of Great Britain has been wanting in dignity or statesmanship. Tomorrow is the great anniversary of American Independence, an anniversary that we should have had some difficulty in celebrating a century ago, but for which we have the warmest sympathy now. (Cheers.) That anniversary recalls this to us, that there is a mighty Empire across the seas which is composed of men who are our own kindred and our own flesh, and with whom, for the future, a serious dispute is, I believe, almost impossible. I believe that in the union of the Great American Republic and of the British Empire, the best destinies of the world must lie, and it is a fortunate sign for us that we can celebrate the anniversary with the same enthusiasm and the same cordiality as our American allies can. But that anniversary recalls more to us than that. It recalls to us a dead and buried Colonial policy—(Hear, hear)—a policy of attempting to impose our will on the Colonies, whether they like it or not—a policy of fighting the Colonies in order to compel them to remain in union with us, when they do not wish so to remain. (Hear, hear.) I say that we have to thank America for presenting to us a solemn warning for the present and the future, which I do not think any English statesman is likely to disregard. (Cheers.) Now, your Royal Highness, the hour is much later than it ought to be, and my remarks on that account must be brief. Moreover, in the very temperature of this banquet I find a Colonial allusion, which is very near and dear to me, for I never assisted at such a banquet in the same heated state of the atmosphere but once before, and that was in the city of Adelaide, in South Australia, and therefore my remarks should come to an end. I have, indeed, said all I have to say, except that I

have to ask you to drink "The Health of the Queen," and you will have no difficulty in doing that. (Cheers.) The Queen represents to us much in this country, and much all over the world. She represents to us an ancient dynasty, a glorious history; a past which can never be forgotten, and a present which cannot be surpassed. (Cheers.) She represents to us more than that—viz., all the English system and home happiness on which in reality British Society rests. (Cheers.) She represents to us an Empire great at her accession, but which has been not merely maintained in security, but largely increased, to the advantage of the Empire. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I need not tell you that for nearly half a century the Queen has shared the sorrows, and joys, and toils, and the glories of her subjects all over the world; and wherever British history is written, her name must occupy one of the foremost places, if not the foremost place. Her reign will be remembered as not merely the most consistently great, but as the most consistently good reign that has ever passed in our annals; and therefore, gentlemen, I ask you without further preface, to drink to "The Health of the Queen-Empress," who is the symbol and the Sovereign of our Empire. (Loud cheers.)

CARDINAL MANNING: My Lords and Gentlemen,—The acclamation with which the last toast was received was not insular, but came from the four quarters of the world. The voice of Canada, of Australia, of the Islands of the Southern Seas, and the multitudes of other citizens of this great Empire scattered abroad, and from the vast Empire of India, were mingled in its acclamations; and the toast I have to propose is one distinct indeed, but inseparable from the last. I have to propose to you to drink to the health of the Prince and Princess of Wales and all the members of the Royal Family. (Applause.) In doing so I am confident that my words need not be many but ought to be few. I see in this toast the pledge of a Federation already accomplished; a Federation which could not be founded, as our noble Chairman has told us, upon a policy that is dead and buried. We have learned the lesson, and in the anniversary to-morrow the year 1783 will be written in light, warning England that an Empire is united not by bonds or fetters of iron, nor by parchments, nor by interests, not even by the great commercial interests, but that there underlies all this a Federation of hearts and wills to weld in indissoluble bonds any empire. (Applause.) My lords and gentlemen, it is difficult to speak of the Royal Family without speaking personally, and in detail. Many who hear me are accustomed to see the vast forest of trees of their land, either native or adopted, and to know that besides the great master root that pierces deeply into the soil, there is a spray of lesser roots which are also vital to the bulk and growth and ripeness of the tree. I see in the members of the Royal Family that spray of roots, which is not individual alone, but each one representing a hope, a conspicuous branch of the family. Speaking of the Prince of Wales, every one knows, without a word, what has been the history of his Royal Highness, in all things affecting our home state. I can bear witness, having heard the evidence tendered on the Commission on the housing of the people, that the housing at Sandringham stood out conspicuously as the best in our land. (Applause.) But I think our friends from abroad will need no other word about his Royal Highness of Wales except the fact that to him, I believe, we ascribe in chief this great assembly from the Empire and the Colonies, which, I believe, will date an epoch in the history of our Empire. I say will date an epoch, because it has taught us a lesson at home; and I am confident that I speak the truth when I say we Englishmen at home are tame and cold in our recognition of our Imperial greatness, compared with the recognition which I have heard from my Colonial friends. The Royal Family is not, as in some other lands, a distant and unknown number of persons. All the public servants of the Empire by sea know the Duke of Edinburgh, those who are from foreign lands know the Duke of Connaught. We also remember the gentle and cultivated mind that was beginning to unfold itself and to draw the admiration of all who knew him, when he suddenly passed away. We think of our no-more Duke of Albany; but there is another who has been raised up, and may be like his father as his father was like his sire. (Applause.) Of the other members of the Royal Family it would be hardly fitting for me to speak in detail; but I am sure that in all works which bind the hearts of the people to their reigning family—the works of hospitals, amongst children, the helping of emigrants, and of Colonists, even to the protection of dumb animals from the cruelty of men, there never was an occasion when Princess Helena, or Princess Louise, or Princess Beatrice were not to be found. And I must be permitted to say that there is one presence so visible and so well-known, who has rendered services well known to all, and who, from the goodness of his heart and the humility of his bearing, has endeared himself to all citizens and all subjects of our Empress-Queen—I mean his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. (Applause.) The Royal Family is loved and known at home, and this great congress from the Empire abroad has brought, I believe, a great multitude who never saw the members of the Royal Family before, into close and intimate presence. Now, my Lord, I have only one word more to say, and you have already anticipated what I was about to say. You have said that the Empire rests upon the homes of the people. It is most true; and happy is that commonwealth which has a reigning house, the example of all homes, and the object of the love of the people.

The toast of the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family, was then heartily drunk.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER: Lord Rosebery, your Royal Highness, my lords, and gentlemen: The noble lord who so ably fills the chair to-night congratulated himself upon the great tact which he had evinced in the disposition of his duties as Chairman. I am afraid that he will not find many present who will sympathise with him in the ability which he has displayed in that respect. I feel it a great honour to be called upon to offer so important a toast as that of "The Empire," and while I regret that it has not fallen into better hands, I am free to say that no person could be called upon to discharge that duty who has greater admiration for the Empire, or greater faith in the Empire than I have. (Applause.) The British Empire, I need not say to any one here, stands, as his lordship has told us to-night, first and foremost

amongst the nations of the world. It is the grandest Empire that the world has ever seen, and it is not because it covers one-fifth of the surface of the globe, not because the flag of Her Majesty the Queen waves over nine millions of square miles of the territorial world, not because it waves over 306 millions of free men, but it is the grandest Empire in the world because from here, from the centre of the Empire, in the heart of England, and in the most remote possessions over which the flag of Her Majesty waves, there is one sentiment animating the country from end to end. (Hear, hear.) That sentiment is a determination to do, and, if necessary, to die in maintaining the glorious institutions of the Mother Country. It is not only that they are one in this great Empire to the other, and the hearts of all Her Majesty's subjects beat in unison on the great question of personal devotion to the Sovereign, but it is because the intelligent people of this great Empire know that there is a security under British institutions for life, and liberty, and property, such as the institutions of no other land know of. The greatness of this Empire consists, not in the fact to which his lordship has drawn your attention in terms so appropriate, but it consists in the fact that it possesses a power of expansion that requires only to be examined to see that as great as the Empire is to-day, it is marching steadily on until it reaches a position to which the imagination of man can place no bounds. The most fair and fertile portions of the earth, adopted for British colonisation, not only give comfortable homes to the overcrowded population of this old country that require to find homes in other lands, but enlist the finest, the most energetic members of other great nationalities in Europe, in Australia, and Canada, to find a field for progress and advancement that their own country does not possess. In this regard it is impossible to set bounds to the greatness, the continued and growing greatness of this country. I need not refer to what the last fifty years has done in the development of this great Empire. It is fifty years of progress unparalleled in the history of the world. It is fifty years that show day by day that we are only beginning to unfold the possibilities of Empire that we possess. I need not point to the marvellous progress that the great Province of Australia has made within comparatively few years; but as a Canadian, I am proud to tell you that in that great Dominion across the sea to which his lordship has referred in terms so kind and appropriate, we have good evidence within the last few years of what that half of the continent of North America, under the government of this country, is capable of accomplishing in the development of the resources of this great Empire. Thirty years ago, Lord Lytton, then Colonial Minister, stated in his place in the House of Commons, in introducing a Bill in reference to New Caledonia, now called British Columbia, that the children who were then born would live to see a great transcontinental highway through British territory extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and towns and villages springing up all along the fertile fields in the great plains of the North West. His statement was regarded more as the dream of a brilliant novelist than that of the wise prescience of a great statesman. In October, 1880, I had the honour, as Minister of Railways and Canals for Canada, in Batty's Hotel, in Dover Street, to sign a contract with Sir George Stephen and his associates for the construction of the transcontinental line of railway. That contract bound that gentleman to open it for traffic on 1st July, 1891, and when I tell you that that great national work—I have no hesitation in pronouncing it the greatest work of the age—found its consummation in a through train from the Atlantic to the Pacific, passing through the city of Winnipeg, that but as yesterday had only 500 inhabitants, where the arrival of the train was greeted by 25,000 men, and winding its way through the heart of the Rocky Mountains, had passed village after village of prosperous citizens, bearing witness to the singular prediction of Lord Lytton, and the most ardent anticipation of the Government of Canada had been more than realised in the accomplishment. I may tell you that that great national work opens up for settlement two millions of acres of the most fertile land in the world; that it opens up the means of furnishing happy homes for all requiring to leave this country; and now, day by day, we are enlisting under the banner of our Queen the ablest and most enterprising subjects of foreign Governments all over the continent of Europe. I might give you this evidence of what the possibilities and the progress of what we may confidently anticipate is the continued greatness and the unbounded development of this great Empire. But I must not stand between you and the eloquent speakers who are to follow me. I must not forget that, gratifying as it is to me to speak in relation to the question in which I have taken so deep an interest, there are others to come after me who will be better qualified to speak in relation to these questions than myself. But I must say this: it is not only in the opening up of that country for settlement, but in the strength that that great national work gives to this Empire that its most important feature is to be found. There is a gallant gentleman and noble lord sitting here who required all his energies and enterprise that he so long ago gave evidence of, to penetrate the 400 miles of the wilderness between Lake Superior and the Red River, when quelling the rebellion of 1870. When the gigantic efforts required to overcome those great national difficulties of that day are contrasted with the fact that he could now carry any amount of force the same distance in a few hours, scarcely to speak of days, it will be seen what has been accomplished in the advance of the Empire, as well as in its development. Not only is that the case, but that great national highway accomplished by five millions of your fellow-countrymen across the sea—I say this great highway brings this, the heart of the Empire, a thousand miles nearer to Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong-Kong, than by the former route, namely, New York and San Francisco; and at the same time furnishes a line of communication to India, free from European complication, and free from the obstruction of the Suez Canal; a line of communication, also, where no miasmatic difficulties, such as the passage of the Red Sea involves, are to be encountered, but you can get a healthful voyage from end to end. I will not detain you longer, having given this brief reference to what has been accomplished in that portion of the Empire to which I myself belong. But I will not sit down without offering my thanks to the Federation League for bringing round this hospitable board so many

representatives of the Colonies and India, and associating them with gentlemen who take such a deep and ardent interest in everything in this country that relates to the progress of the Empire. I offer at the same time my deep and sincere congratulations to the Federation League, who are engaged in the noble work of drawing more closely, if possible, the bonds which unite the Mother Country and the Colonies, and at the same time my commiseration in the deep and irreparable loss they have sustained in the death of their late chairman, the Right Hon. Mr. Forster. In that gentleman's death, not only the Mother Country lost one of her greatest statesmen, but the Colonies lost one of their most devoted friends. Well, I offer them my sympathy on that behalf. I must not, at the same time, forget to tender to the Imperial League—the League for the Federation of the Empire—my hearty congratulations on having been able to place in the chair, and obtain as president of that important institution, the noble lord who presides to-night, whose name is already a household word throughout the Colonies, and who is known and recognised by every Colonist as one not only of the foremost statesmen of this country, but one who has taken the greatest, the largest, the soundest views in regard to the consolidation of the Empire, by a closer combination between the Colonies and the Mother Country. I beg to propose the toast of "The Empire," and to associate with it the name of Sir Robert Fowler, M.P., a gentleman who requires not to be mentioned in London by me, but who, I may venture to say, from the manner in which he has discharged not only his duties again and again in the high position of Lord Mayor of the City of London, but has discharged his duties on the floor of the House of Commons, is known to every Colonist as one of those gentlemen to whom we may at all times look for everything that is calculated to extend the greatness of this Empire, and to bind its component parts, more closely together. (Applause.)

SIR ROBERT FOWLER, M.P., responded. He said: May it please your Royal Highness, my Lord Rosebery, your Eminence, my lords and gentlemen: I feel that I owe the very high honour which was conferred upon me in responding to this toast, not to any merit of my own, but to the fact that by the undeserved kindness of my friends I have filled a prominent office in connection with the first city of the Empire. In the first place, permit me to say with what satisfaction I have listened to the words of the distinguished gentleman who has just spoken in regard to an honoured and lamented friend of mine, Mr. Forster. I believe there never was a more true Englishman, never a man more devoted to the integrity of the Empire. Gentlemen, you have been pleased to associate me with this toast as being connected with the City of London, and I may venture to remind this distinguished company that a very distinguished man, Sir George Lucy, has stated that the charters of the New England Colonies and the early Colonies of this country, were copied from the charters of the City of London. Now, gentlemen, we are all most anxious that this Empire should continue and should extend, and should be the first Empire in the civilised world; and that it may be so it is necessary that we should bind as closely as possible the different Colonies of England to the Mother Country. If this country is simply to be a weather-beaten island in the Northern Sea, it will soon fall to a very different position. It is the fact that England extends throughout all parts of the world that makes it what it is. The Lord Chancellor probably, like myself, may recollect the distinguished man under whom I learned history. He was always closely connected with the Colonies. I mean Sir Edward Creasy. He was chief justice of Ceylon; but when he taught me history he used to say that the Greeks looked upon Greece as the land of the Greeks, and we should look upon England as the land of the English, and we should not regard in what part of the world Englishmen were placed. Wherever there was an Englishman we should look to it as the land of the English. (Hear, hear.) We wish this Empire to be the greatest Empire in the civilised world, and if the Colonists stand by, it will be. If we continue to be closely bound to the Colonies, no Empire, whatever its population, whatever its military forces may be, will be able to compete with us. If, on the other hand, the bond is severed, we shall sink to the position of nations which were powerful empires of other days, to the position of Spain, of Holland, to the position in which we may be rich, we may be great centres of commerce, but we shall not be great Empires. Gentlemen, I believe it is the earnest feeling of every one whom I have had the privilege to address, I believe it is the earnest feeling of every loyal subject of Her Majesty in every part of the globe, that this Empire should continue, and with that feeling, I beg most heartily to thank you for coupling my humble name with this most important toast, with all deference to many others, I believe the most important toast which will be drunk this evening.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY proposed "The Civil, Naval, and Military Services of the Empire." He said: In speaking for the Civil Service, I have seen members of it at work in many Colonies, in Newfoundland, in Canada, in the West Indies, and I can testify to the zeal and the ability, and the devotion which is bestowed upon the work, much of which is of necessity far beyond the ken of an ordinary observer. Turning to the Navy and the Army we must all recognise that what has been achieved could not have been achieved without the protection of the Army and Navy. I am reminded that this toast includes not only the services of the Mother Country, but those of the Empire. The noble lord in the chair, in graceful terms, referred to the spirit of deference which had been made by several of our Colonies to establish navies. I can only hope that the public spirit which they have shown will receive very shortly a well deserved recognition. The assistance of the institution will not soon be forgotten by the citizens of the Mother Country. Associated with the toast are the names of the Duke of Cambridge, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Spencer Robinson, and Sir George Bowen.

H.R.H. the DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, My lord and gentlemen, it has afforded me very great pleasure to be permitted to be present on this interesting occasion, for though I do not pretend to know as much

as those who surround me, of the important subjects which have occupied the speeches that have preceded me, I feel bound to assure you, as head of Her Majesty's service, that there is no man in the country who has so strong a sentiment of the feeling of the importance of the Empire as the person who now addresses you. Gentlemen, I have the feeling as a personal feeling, I also have the feeling as head of the Army. The Army has had a great deal to do with the great Colonies which are so largely represented here to-night. (Hear, hear.) I believe that every one here will admit that the Army has had a large share in the grandeur of the Colonies as they now exist. (Hear, hear.) The Army was the first forerunner with those enterprising men who went there to constitute our primary authority in those Colonies. Now, happily, those Colonies are in a position more or less to take care of themselves; but they take care of themselves not for their own benefit or interest alone, but for the objects of the great Empire to which you all belong—(Hear, hear)—and which they are all ready to defend, whether it should be the Army over which I am personally presiding, or those local armies which exist in the various Colonies here represented. Gentlemen, the question of Federation is one of the most delicate and difficult that can be imagined, and it is only by time and calm consideration, and deliberation, that you will attain the great object which every one of you has in view. (Hear, hear.) But there is the Federation for mutual defence which, after all, I believe has formed the foundation of the future great social Federation which is in view. Well you began that great work. Few in this room will see it actually accomplished; but we have begun the good work by seeing that when the Mother Country requires the Colonies they are willing and able now to come forward and assist. Well, gentlemen, that is a great and important step to take; and, believe me, it is a step you will—none of you will—repent or ever regret, and which as a great nation we shall always feel of the greatest value and importance to our future. Well, gentlemen, you may assume from this that I am one of those who do not wish to see our Army represented in your Colonies. Nothing of the sort; I think the very worst thing that could happen would be that the red-coat should not appear in the great Colonies, which are so ready to come to our aid when needed. We ought to be a nucleus around which the Colonial forces concentrate; we ought to be a nucleus which should form the great surrounding, and I say that the red-coat ought to be seen, and should be seen, even in small bodies, in almost every portion of Her Majesty's dominions—and where would they be better received? It is impossible to imagine the good feeling which has always existed, and which, I trust, will exist, between the Army of Her Majesty the Queen and the Colonial portions of this vast Empire, whether civil or military. There is no distraction—the civil element in these Colonies receive the Army of Her Majesty with the same cordiality and affection which, I am sure, is entertained by those who wear the emblems of military service in those distant parts of the globe. Well now, gentlemen, that is a sentiment which I, therefore, venture to represent as head of the Army, and I hope it is a sentiment which cannot be considered as at all dangerous. It is simply the sentiment of mutual defence, of mutual support, which makes a great nation. A great nation is nothing unless it has the power to hold its own and defend itself. It is this which enables you to hold your head up when danger arises, and thus say—So far, and no farther. Let us look at material points. Look at the Exhibition. I went the other day for half-an-hour. It is amazing to see what this Empire can produce from every part of our possessions. Is there any living man who would even think of giving up such an Empire? (Loud applause.) By the responsive manner in which you have accepted those terms I see you entirely concur with the few words I have expressed, and, I think, as has already been said by former speakers, that we are greatly indebted to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for so vast, and valuable, and important a movement. We have seen exhibitions of many sorts, but no exhibition I have ever seen can possibly come up to that we have now before us in this great city. And why? It does not merely represent the magnificent results of what our Colonies, including India and the great Empire of the East, can do, but it opens before our eyes—before the eyes of every Englishman—that we in this great country belong to an empire which can produce such results; and nobody has anything to produce against it. On the contrary, all the productions are simply and solely from portions of Her Majesty's dominions. We have to thank the Prince of Wales for having enabled us to see it absolutely before our eyes. Theorising is a very fine thing; but what was theory compared to practice? Before us we have that practice—we have the absolute existence of the fact before our eyes, and, believe me, that goes a great deal farther than all the theory and writing in the world. The Prince of Wales has done that great benefit to the country; and we have the further advantage—the great advantage, the enormous advantage, of seeing the work His Royal Highness has undertaken, and which many of you gentlemen have supported in so valuable a manner, brought to our notice in the most excellent of all ways, Her Majesty the Queen having condescended to open the great Exhibition, not only by her presence, but by showing that great interest which she has done on the occasion on which she appeared so happily amongst us. What does that all show? From the Sovereign downwards, her eldest son, and of every member of her family, and every Englishman I have yet seen and spoken with on this subject that has been to this Exhibition, have seen what the Empire of England really is, and what we as soldiers and as sailors are called upon to defend. That is the point we should look to, of the mutual defence of so vast and such valuable resources as we possess. It is the object which we as soldiers, and you as Colonists supporting us as soldiers, ought to keep constantly and for ever in your mind's-eye. Why? Because it is all very well—thanks to the good management of our noble friend here and others, we happen to be in a most profound condition of peace; but who knows that in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, you may get into a state of war, because the events of the present day come upon us so suddenly that unless we are prepared for what may arise, we should be in a most unfortunate position. Well, gentlemen, what does that mean? That we should always keep our forces,

whether military or naval, in a condition to defend that Empire of which we are all so proud, and it is at that point that I am anxious to press upon your minds. There was a scare the other day, and during that scare there was nothing like the enthusiasm entertained from every portion of our Colonial Empire. I am sure that sentiment exists now; but it is quite on the cards that as everything has settled down again more or less, a sort of somnambulism comes over us, and we think we need not do a great deal more, because, after all, at present there is no need of it. I think that is a very bad policy. It is a policy I should not recommend anybody to adopt. The bottom of that policy is, if you take the reverse, it is rather expensive. It is no use talking about it. I know people laugh at me and say as head of the Army I have no policy except in that of expenditure. It is not so. I say expenditure, if properly carried out, is economy in the long run; and I believe I need not assure you that if in time you place your Colonies, and we place our home, in a good state of defence, then the sentiment of mutual confidence and support will, at the right time, come out and enable us to maintain these enormous interests, these valuable possessions which we are proud of in our own way; you, gentlemen, of your homes in the Colony, we in our home at home, and at the same time with our most cordial feeling towards those Colonies, who are so prepared at all times to do so when the necessity requires it. I do not think I should, at this hour of the evening, keep you any longer. I can only say it has been a great satisfaction to me to be permitted to attend at this great banquet to-night. I am glad to have opportunities occasionally to assure my friends of the cordiality of the feeling which I entertain towards them, and to assure them that I feel that mutual sentiment towards my Colonial friends who surround me to-night. I am afraid I do not personally know many, but they may be assured I have the greatest cordiality towards them, and entertain that not only towards themselves, but to the great countries to which they belong, and which in this country they are representing. (Applause.) The Lord Chancellor, who was to have spoken for the Civil Service, has been obliged to leave the room. The Army represents the Empire, the Army represents the Colonies, and I of the Army trust that this great Empire will ever be maintained in that proud position which at this moment it so happily holds. (Applause.)

SIR GEORGE BOWEN: In consequence of the retirement of the Lord Chancellor, to which His Royal Highness alluded just now, I am most unexpectedly called upon to respond to this toast of the Civil Service of the Empire. I think it was quite unnecessary to call upon me after the admirable speech which has been delivered by His Royal Highness. The best speech I have heard on the Colonial subject, and especially on the great question in which we are particularly interested to-night, Imperial Federation, on that grand subject which ought to be one of the first aspirations of every patriotic Englishman, the best speeches delivered since my return to England have been those delivered the other day at the Mansion House banquet by the Prince of Wales, and on the present occasion, as well as at the former City banduet, by the Duke of Cambridge. Though I feel that I am wholly unable to take the place of that distinguished officer of State, the Lord Chancellor, I still have some qualification to address you on a Colonial subject, for during long period of twenty-seven years I have had the honour of representing the Queen in five of her principal Colonies. I am sure they all will bear witness that during that long period the honour of the Colonies has been my honour, their interests have been my interests, their success and reputation and prosperity have made my reputation, and I am sure also that I may bear testimony to the fact that their loyal attachment to the Crown is not merely a sentiment, but a passion. Speaking more particularly of Australasian colonists in New Zealand and Victoria, the feelings to which I refer amount to that passionate love of England which a cute writer of Colonial experience, the late Gibbon Wakefield, foretold fifty years ago would be the result of engaging Englishmen in the Colonies, like those at home, to manage in their own way their own internal affairs. The expedition to the Soudan has been alluded to on several occasions to-night, and I would ask the gentlemen to recollect that the Colonies draw a great distinction between defensive and offensive wars. The Soudan war was an aggressive war; and if England ever engages in a defensive war, they will see what the enthusiastic support of the Colonies will be. If, for instance, the great military States of the whole world rise up against the venerable monarchy, then ships would come from every port, and the cry would be, "While the Colonial Empire lasts, England shall not perish." It is true we have a moral Federation in our own loyalty to the throne, in our own language, in our own literature, in our glorious memories, and national past and future; but we want still closer Federation for purposes of defence, and for a joint foreign policy. I am sure all those who saw that grand national spectacle of the Queen opening what I call the Imperial Exhibition at Kensington, many of those thousands hoped and prayed that that Exhibition would be an earnest of the future closer Federation of the Empire. (Applause.)

SIR SPENCER ROBINSON: I could not allow the health of the Navy to be drunk without one or two words of mine, and especially of thanks. I return my most sincere and grateful thanks for the manner in which you have received the toast of the Navy, and for the manner in which you have allowed my name to be coupled with it. I think that what has passed to-day will be an epoch in the history of the British Empire. The Colonists have a perfect right to the protection of the British Navy, which they have not got at present. The Federation of the Empire is the truest dream of the heart of an old man. I wish for it with all my heart and soul. I see in it the true and only patriotism which can animate this country. I have not time to give you an adequate expression of my feelings on this subject. His Royal Highness has well put it, and other speakers have put it; I wish for a closer Federation myself. The patriotism which exists, and which you have expressed—these are exactly the sentiments which if I had the power of words I would express.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY, Agent-General for Victoria, was called upon to propose the toast of the evening, "Imperial Federation." He said: Your Royal Highness, Lord Rosebery, and gentlemen, I realise fully the privilege of being selected to propose this toast. I should feel

considerable diffidence in doing so if I did not realise two facts: one, that the hour is getting so late that I cannot be expected to do justice to this toast to-night, and the second is that the whole discussion has, from the first to the last, been an elucidation of this toast. Imperial Federation has been the idea, I take it, which has been in the minds of every man from the moment he sat down to the present moment. No doubt all we have heard to-night must bring home more forcibly to the mind of every listener the importance of Imperial Federation. We have been told how the Empire of Great Britain has grown, and we have scarcely been told of the full extent of that growth, but in the main it has been a peaceful growth; it has been a growth of industry, a growth of political development, a growth of new countries in distant lands. Whilst the Empire has grown in wealth, in trade, in commerce, in numbers, it has also grown enormously in extent; and side by side with the peaceful growth of England has been the military and naval growth of other Powers. (Applause.) Not, I take it, with the same coherent strength that there is in the British Empire, but with more immediate strength, in much better organised strength, with all the appliances of aggression far better developed, in far larger extent than we have in the British Empire, so that relatively for matters of aggression, or even of defence, probably the Empire in comparison with other nations stands to-day less powerful, less able to hold her own, than she was thirty-five years ago. Now I take it that Imperial Federation, that instinct that is in the minds of all British men, is really a desire to remedy that defect; to realise that greater efforts are needed for this great extent of Empire; and I, speaking for the Colonies, will say that we do not want to shirk our responsibilities, or to lay upon the shoulders of the labouring men in England the raising of an extra pound for the defence of the prosperous Colonies. (Hear, hear.) We realise that we are Englishmen, though distant from England, and we prize the traditions of England's past history. Many of us, although now getting old, were born here, and lived our youth in England; and in emigrating simply left the old land to find homes in distant possessions of the Crown; and those large communities, whether across the Atlantic in Canada, or across the Pacific in Australia, have grown up by natural means. They have had little help from Governments, but have been the outcome of the inherent qualities of the British character, which is self-reliant, and which, when it is necessary to seek new fields, does not hesitate to cross the ocean and to find their homes in distant lands, at the same time keeping in mind all the associations of the Old Country. It would not be right to say, when speaking at least of Australasia—and I have no doubt that it is equally true of Canada—when we say Government has helped little in these possessions of the Crown. Yet it would be wrong not to say to such a representative gathering as this something of the wonderful gifts which we received from the British people—the fee simple of all the lands of these Colonies, the money derived from the sale of which has been so large an element in the prosperity of these Colonies, so that every true Colonist feels not only that he is an Englishman, but owes a debt of gratitude to England for the generosity with which the Colonies have been treated in times past; and that the gifts of land there, followed by the gift of Constitutional Government, which has done so much to make the Colonists prosperous, to make them feel independent, and which brings them here to-day, as part of the great Empire of Great Britain, to do their part in showing that these distant lands are not the less patriotic in all they are called upon to do in the future. It would also be wrong to pass over this toast without asking you to consider that, whilst the Colonies owe this duty to England, they expect a corresponding duty from England to them. They naturally expect that if we are to have Imperial Federation, it should take the outer bounds of the Empire, that England should feel the same interest in questions affecting our interests and future, the comfort, the independence, and the lives of our children, as you do in the prosperity of London or Westminster. I was glad to hear our noble chairman referring to this question to-night, because it is a question affecting very materially the minds of the Australian Colonists. We know that in that distant sea English possessions are there in vast numbers; the population of Her Majesty's subjects outnumber all other nationalities by one thousand to one; and we feel that we should be protected, and our children protected, against the possession by other powers of fortified islands and armaments, which are not really colonisations, threatening the safety of distant portions of the Empire, if they are allowed to grow contrary to conventions and treaties. I was proud, therefore, to hear Lord Rosebery, our Foreign Minister, say that when the Blue Books are presented to Parliament, we shall be able, as Colonists, to read with pride and pleasure that our interests have been considered, that our future has not been neglected, and that at least at the present time we have in the great departments of State gentlemen who feel that they owe a duty not only to England proper, but to the real distant Colonies. I would say to him, and I would say to you, that we should look not only for the Blue Books, but we should like to see that, what I cannot help regarding as the unnecessary military occupation of the New Hebrides by a foreign power, had ceased, or will cease at a very early date, because so long as that continues, Australia looks upon it as being something in contravention of the treaty with England, and which keeps her in a state of anxious turmoil, almost as bad as a state of actual war. Therefore I feel sure, from the words we have heard to-night, that this apparent wrong affecting our great possessions in that part of the world will be speedily brought to an end, and I can only say if it is my privilege to flash through the cable to Victoria the intelligence that the occupation is at an end, there will be no such rejoicing as there will be on the receipt of the news, because, gentlemen, let me say this word, and the last word I am going to say, that whilst we, as Colonists, as representative men, feel how much we are made of at the present time, how grateful we are for the attention shown to us, not to say personally, but to the Colonies we represent, and whilst I know all that will go home to the hearts of your fellow-countrymen in the distant parts of the world—all that will be nothing in the balance compared with any mistake in policy that should allow these peaceful communities to feel that their own interests had been neglected in important matters, and that whilst we were

feasting here, the patrimony of their children was passing away. In conclusion, allow me to say, in proposing this toast, that I feel thoroughly justified, from my knowledge of the Colonies, in saying that they are perfectly prepared, while asking for the protection that they seek and that I have alluded to, they are perfectly prepared to do their part, either in money or men, to maintain the integrity of the Empire either at home or abroad. (Applause.)

SIR H. BARKLY proposed "The Guests." He said: This toast fortunately requires but few words of introduction on my part. We are honoured to-night with the presence of many distinguished guests, some of them from the remotest parts of the Empire, and others resident nearer home. The former, I feel confident, must have been gratified, and even touched, by the warmth of the welcome which they always receive from all classes of Her Majesty's citizens in this country. I will not detain you with any other remarks, but I will ask you to drink to the toast, coupling with the toast the name of one who has rendered the greatest service to the Empire in a civil and military capacity—Lord Wolseley. (Applause.)

LORD WOLSELEY responded, and said: I do not believe that any man was ever really filled with pleasure when called upon to speak after dinner, but still less when he is called upon at this late hour of the evening, and called upon to speak in an atmosphere almost tropical; but still I have great pleasure in returning thanks to the Federation League for the hospitality which they have this evening shown to such a large and distinguished number of guests. We have had a very good dinner, and excellent company; we have been regaled with very excellent and admirable speeches, and therefore I feel that I cannot do better than to thank you most cordially in the names of all those I have the honour of representing, and to tell you I am sure I echo all their feelings and sentiments when I thank you most cordially for the manner in which you have received us here this evening. (Applause.)

The remaining toast on the list was that of "The Chairman," but the noble lord rose and said, as the hour was late and the atmosphere so oppressive, they would simply drink to their next merry meeting. This was done, and the company then dispersed.

COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.—TESTIMONIAL TO H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.—The Committee of the Royal and Executive Commissions named on the 14th ult. at the meeting which was held at the residence of Earl Granville, had their first sitting on Tuesday, the 20th ult., in the Durbar Hall of the Exhibition. It was resolved: "That Earl Cadogan be requested to act as chairman, and Colonel Sir Owen Tudor Burne, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Sir Arthur N. Birch, K.C.M.G., as honorary secretaries." Earl Cadogan having taken the chair, it was resolved: "That communications be addressed by the hon. secretaries to the Viceroy of India, the Governor-General of Canada, and the Governors of the various Colonies and Indian Presidencies, informing them of the movement." And it was further resolved: "That subscriptions not exceeding the limited amount of £2 2s. each might be sent to the Hon. Secretaries, Prince of Wales Testimonial Committee, Bank of England, Western Branch, Burlington Gardens, London, W.; to the Bank of England, E.C.; or to any provincial branch of the Bank of England."

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Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1886.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

IT is said, but not authoritatively, that LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL has prepared a scheme of local self-government, not alone for Ireland, but for the Empire generally, with something more than a look in the direction of Imperial Federation.

WE understand, with much satisfaction, that what has been pleaded for in these columns repeatedly, has at length been granted, namely, permission to the Australasian Colonies to fly the white ensign of the Imperial navy.

A ROYAL warrant has been promulgated to the effect that it is deemed expedient to grant commissions as lieutenants in the cavalry and infantry of the British army to officers of the local military forces of the Colonies. This is another step in the right direction frequently and earnestly urged by IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE, as new Colonial Secretary, received the Agents-General on the 6th ult., and in doing so spoke of the earnest desire of the English people to strengthen and uphold the Colonial connection. He could not, he said, disguise from himself the fact that there are at this moment questions of the highest importance affecting the relations of the Colonies to each other and to the Mother Country which demand a prompt settlement.

THE Colonial Secretary's "At Homes" to Colonial visitors have been much appreciated. MR. STANHOPE'S notion was a very happy one, and doubtless if he could see his way to making his Tuesday receptions a permanent, as distinguished from a purely passing and temporary thing, not a little good would result.

KUHLOW'S *German Trade Review* laments that Germany and Australia do not get on altogether agreeably. Speaking of the recent speech of the ex-Premier of Victoria, it says that "against his prejudice is to be placed the fact that Germany and England have through their Governments arrived at the determination to regard each other as fellow-workers in a civilisation mission rather than rivals seeking each to thwart the efforts of the other. For both countries this determination is sure to prove of untold good."

A REUTER'S telegram from Melbourne, dated August 25th, states that HER MAJESTY'S corvette *Diamond* has annexed the Kermadec Islands, which lie between New Zealand and the Friendly Islands. One has to bear in mind, however, that a REUTER'S telegram recently announced the annexation by England of the Ellice Islands—an announcement which was soon authoritatively contradicted. The Kermadec Islands consist of Macaulay Island, Curtis Island, and some rocks; and, even should the intelligence prove correct, the new British acquisition is not a very vast one.

LONDON and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition having been exhausted of interest, our kinsmen from beyond sea who are with us are performing peregrinations to various

parts of the country, and are everywhere having accorded to them very hearty receptions. One day they are at Shields, another at Newcastle, another at Windsor, another at Canterbury, and anon some of them find themselves in Dublin, and so the round of visits and of sight-seeing proceeds. At the first-mentioned place, the worthy townspeople, we are told, expressed much surprise and disappointment at their very homely and unromantic appearance. They looked more English than the city magnates who met them, for the latter had pressed into use every possible adornment which pride could suggest or ingenuity contrive. One wonders what sort of appearance the good people of Shields expected Canadians and Australians to present. Had they forgotten that British blood coursed through the veins of their visitors, and that British traditions and ways had moulded them—that, in fact, they were as British as themselves?

THE *Toronto Daily Mail*, a paper favourable to our cause, utters a word of warning. It says:—"The advocates of Imperial Federation are intent upon so noble a dream, that the slightest criticism of their methods looks harsh and unkind. It will not injure their cause, however, for them to learn that some of those who essay to speak on their behalf are not helping it in Colonies like Canada. It may be taken for granted that, come what may, the people of the Dominion will not willingly return to what political economists call the pastoral condition—that they will not agree, for the sake of Federation, to close up their workshops, and betake themselves in a body to raising cattle or wheat to be bartered for British-made goods. Yet many, if not all, of the friends of Federation in England start out with the assumption that we desire to revert to that primitive stage of existence, and proceed without more ado to speculate upon the enormous gains the British manufacturer is likely to reap when he comes into undivided possession of our markets."

OUR contemporary then proceeds to criticise the *Statist*, and its statement that the Customs Union, which the *Mail* informs us "is to be part and parcel of the Federation scheme," will be of "incomparable advantage to the United Kingdom," and takes special exception to the following:—"At present British goods are taxed by several of our Colonies, notably by Canada and by Victoria; but Federation would involve the same tariff throughout the whole of the Union, and therefore would do away with all hostile legislation against British manufactures. Of recent years, the reaction in favour of protection has shut out our goods from large portions of the world, and if this reaction continues and spreads we shall suffer more and more from hostile tariffs. It would clearly be an inestimable benefit to us if we could secure for all time the markets of our Colonies."

It declares that "the *Statist* may rest assured that Canada will never accept Federation if the first condition is to be the effacement of her industries," and proceeds thus:—"The bitter complaints coming from every part of British India against the policy that has destroyed import duties and left the native artisan without an occupation, in order to provide a free market for Manchester and Sheffield, ought to convince the Federation advocates that the Colonies are not willing to submit themselves to the British manufacturer. If the poor ryot is dissatisfied with the yoke, how can we be expected to rejoice? Federation, on the basis of a Customs Union, might have been practicable fifty or sixty years ago, when Canada was but a clearing in the woods; though even then, as now, the French-Canadian population would have resisted it to the uttermost. But to

attempt to bring it about at this time of day, when we are rapidly learning how to manufacture—not only for ourselves, but for foreign markets—would be a hopeless undertaking. In fact, we can conceive of no readier way of driving this country out of the Empire.”

THE *Mail* need not be alarmed, and should not take too much notice of what appears in economic papers in England. Canada is not likely to be called upon to efface her industries, or herself, in any way, but rather the contrary. The “advocates of Imperial Federation” are *par excellence* to be found in the membership of the Imperial Federation League, which as yet has given no occasion for unfavourable criticism or complaint in its efforts to promote the federation of the Empire. Imperial Federationists in Great Britain have been so generous in their advocacy of the Colonies and of Colonial interests, that they are more likely to be chargeable with sinning against the Mother Country than against her Daughter Lands in their action and proposed action. What we want, and from the first have pleaded for, is federation on an “equitable basis,” and that, we suppose, the *Mail* could not object to on the score of justice.

WHY should London evening papers be, as a rule, so reckless in their statements? Do they not know that most people value a newspaper, not for its rashness and undependableness, but the contrary? Not many days since one of our daily evening contemporaries, the *Echo*, had the following paragraph:—“Two representative Colonists—the Cape Premier and the Agent-General for New South Wales—spoke yesterday on the subject of Imperial Federation, and both made it plain that they do not believe in its practicability. SIR SAUL SAMUEL ‘does not think it is possible to draw the Colonies closer to the Mother Country than they are at present,’ and MR. SPRIGG opines that ‘Federation is a matter of extreme difficulty,’ and allows it to be seen that he has no faith in it. Canadian statesmen have been saying much the same thing.”

PERHAPS it will be a surprise to our contemporary to learn that SIR SAUL SAMUEL is a member of the Imperial Federation League. Surprise or not, such is the fact. What SIR SAUL meant by the words quoted we, of course, cannot say. He may have meant that it was impossible to draw the Colonies closer *in heart* to the Mother Country than they are at present. However that may be, the words can scarcely be taken to express his lack of faith in the practicability of Imperial Federation, especially in the face of the fact we have just stated. Then to declare that MR. GORDON SPRIGG has no faith in Federation because he says “it is a matter of extreme difficulty,” is to perpetrate a surprising *non sequitur*. There are many who believe that the federation of the Empire will be a matter of extreme difficulty who, nevertheless, believe in the practicability, and more than probability, of it in the near future. Then to say that “Canadian statesmen have been saying much the same thing,” meaning, apparently, that they have been expressing their lack of faith in the practicability of Imperial Federation, is to state that which is notoriously at variance with the facts. SIR JOHN MACDONALD, the present Premier of Canada, and confessedly the ablest and most successful statesmen Canada has produced, is strongly in favour of Imperial Federation. So also is SIR ALEXANDER GALT, who recently came across the ocean on purpose to read a paper at the Conference of the League on “The Means by which Imperial Federation can be carried out.” MR. BLAKE, the leader of the Opposition in Canada, has declared himself favourable to the movement, and so has SIR

CHARLES TUPPER. These are the four Canadian statesmen best known in this country, and have had most to say on the subject. Will our contemporary inform us who the Canadian statesmen are to whom it refers?

WE raise our hat to an old friend. A correspondent, signing himself “A Radical Colonist,” has recently written a peculiarly foolish letter to the *Daily News* attacking Imperial Federation. Now every one has a right to his opinions, and “A Radical Colonist” is, of course, at liberty to take any view he pleases with regard to the wisdom of uniting or breaking up the British Empire. It is possible, also, that he represents an appreciable body of opinion in the Colonies; though from his letter we should scarcely judge that his conclusion was fortified either by wide experience or unquestionable authority. But on these points we do not quarrel with him. What we do object to is the revival of the old superstition indicated in the signature “A Radical Colonist,” to the effect that there is any sort of necessary connection between Radicalism and a love for disintegration. It is true that, during a certain period, very unwise and short-sighted views with regard to the future of the Colonies were held by a considerable number of persons, and that the majority of those persons belonged to the Radical Party of that time, and to this may be traced the superstition above alluded to. But it has long since become evident, not only that Radicalism was in no way essentially opposed to Federation, but that, on the other hand, every doctrine which was specially associated with the Radical creed led straight to that great organic union of the different branches of the British nation which it is our desire to see accomplished. Take one example alone, the principle which lies at the bottom of all Radical teaching, namely, that the interests of all peoples are alike if properly understood, and that misunderstandings and wars only arise from a want of proper comprehension of this fact. What can be more certain than that the first and most obvious step towards this ideal brotherhood must be the consolidation of a people who are already one in thought, in language, and in history, but who are in danger of being permanently differentiated by the unnecessary complication of their institutions. “A Radical Colonist” should ask the Radicals what they say before he presumes to speak in their name. He is evidently still thinking of a state of things which existed fifteen or twenty years ago, but which is now as dead as Pharaoh. It is time for “A Radical Colonist” to wake up.

WE are glad, however, to bear testimony to the fact that the *Daily News*, in whose columns the letter to which we have just referred appeared, by no means endorses the errors of its correspondent. On the contrary, the cause of Imperial Federation has, since the foundation of the League, been invariably treated with friendly courtesy in the columns of the chief Liberal newspaper. We welcome help from whatever quarter it may come; but we receive with special satisfaction the support of a journal which, as “A Radical Colonist’s” letter shows, has been wrongly identified with the short-sighted and rapidly diminishing section of politicians who are unable to distinguish between the extension of our power by conquest, from an extension which comes from natural and healthy growth.

IN a recent letter to the *Times*, MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER called attention to a fact with regard to Australian postage which has already been noticed in these columns. He asserts that for 3s. 6d. a parcel of letters can be sent by a swift unsubsidised mail steamer to Melbourne, the contents of which, if despatched separately through the post, would cost no less than £5 for transmission. In other words, that

we pay no less than 5d. on every letter over and above the cost of mere transmission and distribution for the privilege of submitting to the Post Office monopoly. If this be correct, and hitherto there has been no contradiction of the fact, MR. HENRY FOWLER'S assertion on behalf of the Post Office that the Australian postage rates cannot be reduced without serious loss, and a material addition to the existing subsidy, must be incorrect. It is notorious that MR. FOWLER'S speech had a great effect upon Parliament and upon the country. Immediately after its delivery we expressed our belief that the official case against the lowering of rates was hopelessly wrong, that MR. FOWLER had been misinformed about the facts, or had not cared to acquaint himself with them, and that the cheapening of the postage was only postponed until a Minister who really wished the end took the matter in hand and found the means. We entirely adhere to that opinion. The moment a Postmaster-General arises who really cares to see a penny postage with the Colonies established, the same facts which led MR. FOWLER to his doleful conclusions will prove the case of the new reformer up to the hilt. This is emphatically a case of "where there's a will there's a way."

MR. J. ANDERSON, of the Orient Company, in a letter contributed to the *Times*, gives his views upon the postage question which, coming from so high and well-informed an authority, cannot fail to be of interest and of value. MR. ANDERSON, however, has mistaken the points adopted by MR. HENRIKER HEATON and MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER. When the former spoke of a "slow" mail service, he did not, as MR. ANDERSON appears to think, refer to any reduction of the present rate of steaming. The alternative mode of transmission which he desired to offer to the public was one in which the mails should be carried entirely by water from Falmouth to Sydney, the overland portion of the route being omitted. Of course, to the extent of the difference of time between the land and sea passages, the new route would be slower than that now in use. But there is no question of making the actual steaming time longer than at present, or of using inferior boats. Again, MR. ANDERSON mistakes the point of MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER'S remark with respect to the Government monopoly and its effect upon the rates of postage to Australia. MR. ANDERSON says that no Government would give up the postal monopoly for over-sea mails. Possibly no Government would, though even that is not quite certain, on good cause shown. But at present there is no suggestion before the public of any such change. The facts are as stated, namely, that were *it not for the Government monopoly* 200 letters could be despatched to Melbourne in a parcel for 3s., which, if sent separately as post letters, would cost £5. The conclusion from which is not that the Government monopoly should be abandoned, but that where there is so wide a difference between the commercial cost of the transaction and the official price charged to the public for performing it, there must be a very large margin within which a reduction might reasonably be made.

A LONG letter on various aspects of Imperial Federation was published in the *Times* on the 16th ult., over the name of SIR DANIEL COOPER. Among the questions which SIR DANIEL considers should be considered, and in regard to which action should be taken by a Council of the Empire, are "(i.) the question of peace or war, which is one of equal importance to all parts of the Empire, and in the settlement of which all parts should as far as possible be represented; (ii.) the defence of the Colonies and the trade of the Empire by sea and land; (iii.) the tariffs of the various portions of the Empire as they affect each other, and whether any one

portion can act so as to injure others, or whether it can remain passive while receiving benefits, although other portions may be receiving grievous injury by its so doing; (iv.) the question of coin-currency and exchange; (v.) the marriage law, which might be brought into a better and more uniform state throughout the Empire than it is at present, and some form of procedure and registration be adopted in common by all." In regard to the fourth of the foregoing questions, SIR DANIEL says:—"To illustrate this question I may allude to bounties by foreign States, such as the sugar bounties of certain Continental States and America, which benefit Great Britain to the extent of some four to five million pounds sterling per annum, while it is ruining and driving to starvation some 50,000 working men living in Great Britain, with the large number of women and children dependent for support upon them, and inflicting serious injury upon the West Indian Colonies, British Guiana, Mauritius, India, Queensland, and other sugar-producing Colonies. With the bribe of four to five millions sterling per annum, neither Conservatives or Liberals will move to redress the wrong, or if they are willing they evidently dare not. We have the spectacle of this 'great and Christian country' rejoicing in its cheap sugar, though that cheapness is purchased by the ruin of millions of our fellow-subjects. A representative Council of the Empire would not allow such a gross and selfish injustice to exist. Carrying this question nearer home, suppose the United States gave a bounty on the export of cotton goods, the South American States on wool and meat, Russia on wheat as well as sugar. This outflanking free trade by foreign countries would soon pauperise Great Britain and many of its Colonies, as it is now pauperising those producing sugar. If we had a Federal Council or Parliament the views of its members would be enlarged, and their interests would not be localised as at present."

SEVERAL letters on Imperial Federation have followed SIR DANIEL'S in the *Times* during the last week or two. MR. HOWARD VINCENT wrote the day after the League deputation waited on the PRIME MINISTER, testifying to the anxiety of the masses of the people on the question, both in the Mother Country and in the Colonies, and drawing public attention to the constitution and work of the League. MR. LABILLIERE followed with a letter which appeared on the 18th, insisting, among other things, on the necessity of an Imperial Parliament and Executive. And MR. FREDERICK YOUNG brought up the rear by a letter which appeared on the 20th, in which he recommended that a roving Royal Commission should be appointed, on the lines of the historical Durham Commission to Canada in 1837. These letters, however, were more like dropping shots at intervals than a regular fusillade. Unfortunately—or fortunately—either there is no enemy, or he is afraid to show himself; otherwise our sharpshooters would soon show in force, and give a good account of him.

THE reception of the deputation from the League by the PRIME MINISTER marks a distinct era in our progress. The proceedings themselves were interesting, and the gathering together of so many representative men for such a purpose was significant. But only those who have followed the fortunes of the cause in its earlier and darker days can realise the true measure of progress made by the meeting at the Colonial Office. What happened was important, what did not happen was more important still. The old official platitudes were not produced, the old official formulas were omitted. Here, indeed, is an enormous gain. The period of Government by snubbing is at end; the reign of "smart" Under-Secretaries is over. The PRIME MINISTER of Eng-

land, and the SECRETARY OF STATE for the Colonies, not only receive the advocates of Federation with cordiality, but speak with unmistakable warmth and sincerity of their deep interest in the question, and of their determination to further the cause. Three years ago the whole scene would have been impossible. It is no affair of parties, scarcely even of men. The happy change is merely the outcome of that transformed public opinion which, with incredible rapidity, the League has half created and half revealed.

WHAT a sign, too, of this change in the tone of official circles is this appointment of our Vice-President, MR. STANHOPE, to the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies. We do not intend to lay special stress upon MR. STANHOPE's ability and capacity for performing the work he has undertaken, though, indeed, we have a high opinion of both; but it is to the mere fact of his appointment that we wish to call the attention of our readers. It is no use reviving old sores, and it is not necessary to deal with particular instances; but how long is it since an official has been appointed to either of the responsible posts in the Administration connected with the Colonies because of his special fitness, his interest in the work to be done, or his popularity with the Colonists? On only too many occasions, which must still be fresh in the minds of many, the posts of Secretary of State and Under-Secretary for the Colonies have been conferred upon men who, whatever their general excellences, were almost notoriously deficient in the particular qualities of sympathy and interest which their work so peculiarly demanded. The official tradition of putting the square man into the round hole has been so persistently observed in modern Ministries, that the fact of MR. STANHOPE's appointment comes as a gratifying surprise. As Vice-President of the League, as an active member of its Executive Committee, and as an enthusiast in the cause of Federation, MR. STANHOPE seems marked out for the post which he now fills. Nevertheless, till within a year or two ago neither he, nor any one with equally obvious qualifications, would have been considered as a possible candidate for the place. Once more we see the extraordinary change which has taken place in public opinion, and which has, at last, reacted in official circles. Friends of the cause, who are impatient at delay, and who long to see a tangible return for their efforts, may well be gratified by this solid and most important success.

MR. MURRAY SMITH, the late Agent-General for Victoria, was banqueted here before he left, and he has been banqueted in Victoria on his arrival there. The MAYOR of MELBOURNE presided at the banquet, which was attended by about 450 gentlemen of all shades of politics in the Colony. In the course of a long and able speech, in reply to the toast of his health, the guest of the evening contrasted the Colonies of other countries with British Colonies. He said, as reported in the *Argus*.—"By all other European nations Colonies are regarded as either penal settlements or military outposts. There is a fundamental difference between English and other Colonies in that respect. Instead of that, we have to thank our Mother Country for all the blessings of our position, for liberty, and the prosperity which we have won by that very liberty—(hear, hear)—and for these we have to thank chiefly our British origin and our British position. (Applause.) And therefore it is that I venture to say that our loyalty to the British Crown and to the British nation is very far too deeply rooted to be affected by the ephemeral condition of political parties. (Loud applause.) Such are the vicissitudes of political life, that although it seems to me, when I

look around at these tables, as but yesterday when I left you, yet I have seen during my tenure of office three Victorian and four New South Welsh Ministries, and I entirely forget to count how many of South Australia. (Laughter.) But, lest British statesmen might think themselves entitled to greater durability, I may mention that I have had to do with no less than four different Secretaries of State for the Colonies. (Hear, hear.) Yet the one remains, though many change and pass. One actor after another flits across the scene, but our allegiance is not to any political party or any political person. Our allegiance is not to this or that occupant of any office, but to the great Empire that stands behind those offices, and to the great national country of which we are so justly proud. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) What we look to is not the success or failure of this or that social question; but to the idea of Imperial unity, the realisation of which, if it is realised, will, I believe, be owing more than anything else to the outspoken frankness and judicious independence of Colonial Parliaments, of Colonial statesmen, and, more than all, of the Colonial people."

TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG.

APHORISMS are sometimes misleading and often become obsolete. The aphorism that states that "France has colonies but no colonists, Germany colonists but no colonies, Great Britain both colonies and colonists," comes under the latter category, although our French neighbours also consider that it comes under the first so far as their own country is concerned. Statistics conclusively prove that the French are not a colonising nation as we understand the term. Her sons and daughters do not go over the sea to found a Greater France.¹ Her colonies are military stations and trading depôts. Not one of her dependencies are self-supporting. As regards Germany the aphorism is obsolete. The Germans always were a colonising nation, and they may thank Prince Bismarck that

THE FATHERLAND HAS NOW A RAPIDLY-GROWING COLONIAL EMPIRE.

To what extent her sons, who annually leave her shores in increasing thousands for the United States, Canada, and, to a lesser extent, for Australia, will now turn their steps to their newly-acquired possessions in Africa and the Pacific remains to be seen. I have my doubts about the practical farmer from the Baltic provinces preferring the desert lying between the Orange River and Cape Frio in South Africa to the rich virgin prairies of America, nor can I imagine even the most patriotic German leaving the well-cultivated but terribly sub-divided vineyards of the Rhine and Moselle for the fever-haunted jungles of north-east New Guinea, while there are millions of acres in California and South Australia still unoccupied.

Leaving aside the question of emigration, however, there can be no doubt but that the trade of a country follows the flag. This is evidently a primary article in Prince Bismarck's creed. Events are about to take place that must have

CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE UPON THE BRITISH MERCANTILE NAVY AND BRITISH TRADE.

Up to the present time our commercial interests have been paramount in our Colonies and Dependencies and to a lesser extent in most of the independent states of the East Indies. As regards the Dutch possessions in the East and the Philippine Islands, the trade follows the flag. In the former case much of the produce of Java and other islands under the sway of Holland is a government monopoly, and the goods are shipped direct to Holland, and I believe I am correct in saying that they are sent exclusively in ships flying the Dutch flag. As to the Philippine Islands the larger proportion of the trade is done direct with Spain, and the only line of steamers sailing from England direct to Manilla sails under the Spanish flag. These Powers, however, have never entered into direct competition with us in our own

¹ In 1882, out of 3068 emigrants that left French shores only 293 were bound to French colonies. Vide "Colonies of France," *Nineteenth Century Review*, 1884.

Colonies but have limited themselves to their own possessions.

The second half of this year, however, witnesses a new departure. If we except a few isolated groups of islands in the Pacific, where some Hamburg merchants had the monopoly of the only trade that existed—the export of coprah (the dried pulp of the cocoa-nut)—Germany had comparatively few commercial interests in the East, but lately this has changed; group after group of islands have been annexed and

THE GERMAN EMPIRE NOW INTENDS TO DEVELOP THE RESOURCES OF HER EASTERN POSSESSIONS

by running lines of steamers from Germany direct to the East. Up to the present time steamers under the German flag trading through the Suez Canal have been conspicuous by their absence. Commencing last July, however, lines of steamers, owned and manned by Germans, now leave Bremen at short intervals, calling at Antwerp for Port Said, Suez, Aden, Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. From Hong Kong steamers have been specially built in Stettin to run to Japan and Corea (the latter quite a new market.) The first steamer of another line left Bremen on the 14th July for the Australian ports, a branch line running from Sydney to the Tonga and Samoa islands. It is a *sine qua non* that the steamers have to be built in Germany and of German material. The postal communication between Berlin and Australia will be shortened to 38 days, and the passenger fares reduced 30 per cent. The German taxpayers will, of course, pay rather smartly for these privileges. The steamers are to be heavily subsidised for seven years, at the expiration of which they are expected to be self-supporting. The carriage of mails is decidedly a subsidiary object; what Prince Bismarck has in view is that where German steamers go, German traders and German emigrants will find their way, and that any expense the Empire enters upon to found and foster the trade between the Fatherland and the far East will be amply repaid by the increased consumption of German goods. Recent accounts from all parts of the world show the

ACTIVITY OF GERMAN MANUFACTURERS AND CAPITALISTS.

They are sending out representatives to all quarters of the globe—all of them equally anxious to book orders for Krupp guns and lager beer, or send a petition home from the natives asking for either annexation or a protectorate. The Pekin correspondent of the *Times* lately drew attention to their increased activity in China and Japan. It is also a matter of notoriety that they are making extensive preparations for pushing their trade in every port in Australia and New Zealand.

Are there no new outlets for trade that we can cultivate? I especially wish to draw attention to

NEW FIELDS FOR OUR COMMERCE

within the borders of our own Empire. The north-west passage to the golden East, which has baffled the hardy navigators of England and France, Spain and Holland, has at last been found in the Canadian Pacific Railway. I understand that a line of steamers from British Columbia, in connection with this railway, to Japan and China, and another to Australia and New Zealand, are on the point of being commenced. Of course they will have to be subsidised to a certain extent, but in a few years the lines will be permanently established, and any Government aid, apart from a small mileage for postal facilities, would be unnecessary. The advantages to us of such lines of steamers are unquestionable, both in a political and commercial sense. It gives us an alternative route to India, and in fact to all our possessions in the East, for our troops and ammunition, should the Suez Canal be blocked, besides being nearer to Hong Kong, Port Hamilton, and Vancouver's Island, than any existing route. There is, in addition, the undoubted advantage of the railway being entirely over British territory. The steamers could be so constructed as to be readily altered into troop and store ships, or even into what the British navy is so sadly in need of—swift cruisers. Commercially the trade follows the flag, and I am convinced that the volume of trade over both routes would be immense. There is one port in the first-named line of communication where I cannot help thinking that the wonderful history of

Hong Kong would be repeated or even surpassed. I refer to one of our latest possessions—Port Hamilton.

It is a melancholy fact that comparatively few of our countrymen know the influence our flag has had, and still has, in the East. Who would have imagined in the year 1840, when our flag was hoisted on a barren island in the Chinese sea, ten miles long and four miles broad, the only inhabitants of which were a few fishermen, whose intercourse with the outer world consisted in the visits of Chinese piratical junks, and occasionally a Portuguese slaver, that forty-five years afterwards the inhabitants of that island would number 160,000, and that five millions of tons of shipping would pass through the harbour in the course of the year, of which 90 per cent. were under the British flag. To this small island we last year exported goods of British manufacture to the extent of £3,758,406. Besides this, there is a large and rapidly increasing trade between the island and our Australian Colonies. The guns that saluted the hoisting of the Union Jack gave the death-knell to the large fleet of Chinese piratical junks on the coast. From all accounts

PORT HAMILTON HAS WITHIN IT THE GERMS OF A SECOND HONG KONG

or Singapore, with the advantages of being more easily defended than either of these ports. It has a healthy climate, commodious harbour, and is, in every respect, suitable for a coaling station at any time of the year. Owing to its many advantages it will doubtless become the headquarters of the Pacific fleet. From its central position it would also tap the trade of North China, Corea, and South Japan, countries with teeming populations.

With reference to the progress of Hong Kong, surely no thoughtful man will entertain the idea that if instead of the British, the French, Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch flags had been flying the proportion of British trade there would be anything like what it is. I leave Germany out of the question, as at the time we acquired Hong Kong, Germany was not a naval Power, and she would not have been a naval Power to-day had her statesmen—or to be more correct—one of her statesmen, not seen

THE MANIFEST ADVANTAGES OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Does our trade preponderate at Macao, a town forty miles from Hong Kong, open to European commerce since 1586, when it passed under the Portuguese flag? It has one advantage over Hong Kong, it is a much healthier place. What is our trade there? Absolutely nil. The small trade that exists is under the Portuguese flag.² Take the Philippine Islands, consisting of a thousand members, large and small, one of them 57,000 square miles, possessing several fine harbours, a fertile soil, and a total population of 3,500,000. What a market here for Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield! So it would have been; but unfortunately for these towns the Philippines are under the Spanish flag, and the large proportion of the trade is done—as a matter of course—with the Mother Country; and as I have already said, what little they take from us is carried almost exclusively in vessels owned and manned by Spaniards. The Dutch East Indies show practically the same results. In all cases the trade follows the flag. If we turn to the statistics relating to the West Indies, we can only come to the same conclusion. The trade of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbadoes, is to all practical purposes in our own hands; of Cuba and Porto Rico in the hands of Spain; of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the hands of France; and Curaçoa in the hands of the Dutch.

I wish to draw attention to

A FEW VERY SUGGESTIVE FACTS.

During the last thirteen years, from 1873 to 1885, our exports of British goods to foreign countries have decreased from £188,836,132 to £135,121,527, a decline of no less than £53,714,605, or about 30 per cent.

On the other hand, during the same period our exports of British productions to our Colonies and Dependencies have increased from £66,328,471 to £77,909,880, an increase of £11,581,409, nearly 18 per cent.

Many foreign countries are gradually increasing their

² The total exports from Portugal to all her Colonies in the East Indies amounted to the insignificant amount of £7,500 in 1885. Vide *Statesmen's Year Book*, 1886.

duties on goods of British manufacture, and also raw material, so that we must boldly face the prospect that our exports to these countries are likely to still further decrease. At the present time Russia has a duty on British coal that is nearly prohibitive; and yet there is a movement on foot, which seems to have official support, of further increasing the duty by 3s. per ton, which will practically exclude our export of this article to the Russian Black Sea ports. As regards Germany, the movement is in the same direction. Partly owing to protective duties, and partly to reduced railway carriage on the State railways, Northumberland and Welsh coals are being gradually supplanted in Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, and Stettin, by coal from the Westphalian mines.

The following table shows the

MARKETS FOR OUR EXPORTS

to our Colonies compared with the trade we do with foreign countries and their dependencies:—

	Population.	Value of British Goods Exported.	Value per Head of Population.
Australasia	3,091,869	£25,147,178	£8 3 0
Canadian Confederation	4,509,810	7,207,049	1 12 0
British West Indies	1,213,424	2,497,087	2 1 2
South Africa	1,571,168	3,825,861	2 8 8
Hong Kong	160,402	3,758,406	23 10 0
India	198,790,853	32,182,465	0 3 2
Other British Possessions	4,520,000	3,291,831	0 14 7
France	37,672,048	14,987,367	0 8 0
Germany	45,234,061	16,402,091	0 7 3
Russia	86,486,959	5,036,641	0 1 2
Holland	4,172,921	9,506,246	2 4 5
Spain	16,634,345	3,785,034	0 4 5
United States	50,497,075	21,977,344	0 8 8
Philippine Islands	5,561,231	1,888,876	0 6 11
Java	20,259,450	2,133,047	0 2 1

The deductions that can be made from this table are rather striking.

We export more to Australasia than to Germany, Russia, and Spain combined, although the population of the former amounts to 3,000,000, and the latter three Powers to over 148,000,000 souls.

Or take it in another light, Australasia imports from us goods to the value of £8 3s. per head of their population, whereas Germany takes goods to the value of 7s. 3d., France barely 8s., and Russia only 1s. 2d. per head.

We export goods to our Colonies and Dependencies to the annual value of £2 5s. per head of every man, woman, and child in the United Kingdom.

If we compare our Dependencies with some of those under other flags the disparity is even greater. To Hong-Kong we export more than to Java, and almost as much as to Java and Philippine Islands combined, with their 25,000,000 of inhabitants.

I feel assured that the Indian and Colonial Exhibition will do much to draw attention to

THE WONDERFUL RESOURCES OF OUR EMPIRE.

Our Colonies and possessions supply us with one-fourth in value of all the necessities we require, and take two-fifths of the exports we send away. There is nothing that we import from foreign countries but what could be sent us by our own Colonies and Dependencies; and, on the other hand, there is nothing which our Colonies require, either in manufactured goods or raw material, but what can be produced by the Mother Country and sister Colonies.

It is a melancholy fact that youths, otherwise specially trained for mercantile pursuits, leave school with a very imperfect conception of the extent and importance of our Empire. They are supposed to be sufficiently grounded in geography when they obtain a superficial knowledge of the boundaries of the different countries and their capital towns. In Germany, Sweden, and Denmark,

GEOGRAPHY TAKES THE HIGHEST PLACE,

both in the elementary schools and the universities, and it is humiliating to know that a German when he leaves school is well grounded in the commercial wants of our Colonies, the situation and importance of which is in many cases utterly unknown to the lad leaving an English school. As the late Mr. Forster said:—"No boy ought to leave school,

either at home or in the Colonies, without knowing what the British Empire is. If he fully gains that knowledge I think he will not seldom draw the inference that the British Empire ought to last, and determine that, as far as in him lies, he will do what he can to ensure that it shall last." He will also gain the knowledge that the trade of a country follows the flag, that it is to the mutual benefit of the Mother Country and the Colonies that they should be drawn nearer together, and that as a means thereto some form of Imperial Federation by which our Colonists will have direct representation in Imperial affairs is not only advantageous, but necessary to the welfare both of the Mother Country and that Greater Britain of which we should all be so proud.

JOHN MUNDILL.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.

ENGLISH EVILS AND IMPERIAL REMEDIES.

THE United Kingdom is vexed and harassed to-day by a grim catalogue of disorders. A commercial depression singularly prolonged, a consequent widespread industrial distress, a land question, an Irish question, and sundry minatory eruptive tremors of Socialism, are evils sufficient to engage the mind of every English thinker. The most diverse remedies are accordingly being suggested. But it may be well to inquire if, in the study of these problems, one posture has not been too exclusively preserved, one attitude too generally fallen into—that of regarding them solely from a local and internal standpoint, solely as English and Scotch and Irish troubles, and not as Imperial troubles.

THE IMPERIAL POSITION

is one to which the nation has hardly yet become accustomed. The lately-developed union of these islands and their distant territories in the bonds of a world-empire is acknowledged and known as an abstract fact, but it is not yet realised by any large number of English people as a definite quantity, to be used and reckoned with in everyday deliberation. The purely British attitude, in fact, is retained and insisted on for most purposes of action, and the Imperial relation accepted only as a pleasing image of the mind. Neither is it any great wonder that it should be so, for the object is so large that one has to carry the mind a great way out in order to reach a platform from which it may be seen in its true relations; and the growth and aggregation of its various parts are so recent that there has scarcely yet been time to form the proper idea. The world-empire, however, is a fact; and although our Parliamentary reports do not yet record the motions and amendments of the member for Montreal or the member for Sydney—and may not, from technical obstacles in the way of such representation, do so for many years to come—yet the connection and interaction of all the parts of this great whole are inestimably close and real. In the fine words of Professor Seeley, the Empire might be looked upon as "a World-Venice, with the sea for streets."

Most of the evils of history have been caused by narrow-mindedness in some shape or other. In fact, as charity is the highest moral virtue, so breadth of view is certainly the highest intellectual virtue. No harm, then, can at least be done by looking at these

BRITISH TROUBLES FROM AN IMPERIAL VIEWPOINT,

and seeing what such an aspect leads to. No panacea need be expected, but some light may be obtained. Having fixed on the attitude, too, it may be well to adopt a plan for the inquiry, just as a scientific or mathematical question is approached by its appropriate method; and, as the subject for present investigation is a natural one, relating to men and things, it will doubtless be best examined in the light of natural laws and facts. That is to say, that every existing evil may be taken to be the result of some infraction of law, or some traversing of fact, and that if the point of departure can be discovered, the first step will have been taken towards its correction. In other words, it will be better to look back to natural causes, than forward to artificial remedies.

The British Empire is a later designation for what was formerly known as "Britain and her Colonies," but people, even while they use the newer expression, are still too apt to think of the connection in the earlier light. Now it might be very helpful in starting to get some clear conception, some vivid mind-picture, of

THE RELATION CONVEYED BY THE WORDS "BRITISH EMPIRE;"

it would rescue the phrase from vagueness, and enable us to think accurately with it. If the figure were taken of a human body, in which England stood for the heart, and her several Colonies represented the members, it might state the relative positions with tolerable correctness. Neither would it be a loose figure, it would bear some examination. As in the human body the heart is, popularly, the seat of the sentiment and the distributing point of the blood or life, so in the Empire-body

does England hold a double office toward her scattered possessions. She is in the first place the centre or rallying-point of sentiment for her numerous Colonies; the desire and affection of them all are toward the little, green, great Mother Isle; her historical records and achievements, her centuries of fame are their pride; and by virtue of this sentiment she is a point of union for these widely-dispersed territories. If England were to cease, it might gravely be questioned whether regions so far apart as Canada, Australia, and India, would long preserve any mutual cohesion; they would be like a parliament of independent members, men of the best intelligence and friendly feeling, but without a leader, and without an executive. But the heart has a second office in the human body, the distribution of the blood or life. And the men and the money might very fitly be reckoned the life-blood of the Empire; England sends out her men into these waste and vacant places of the earth, and her money with them, and the waste places take life and flourish like a garden. Again, while in the human body the heart is sovereign over the members, yet their mutual dependence is of the most organic kind; deprived of the heart, the members would fail and die; apart from the members, and standing alone in nature, the heart would be an anomaly. In nature, also, multiplicity of parts is a mark of high organisation; the highest forms of life are generally the most complex. This complexity would, however, be a source of weakness rather than strength, tending to confused action within and inviting extended attack without, were it not that nature endows it with a wonderful intuition—it becomes an adaptive complexity. Carrying the analogy to the Imperial body, the same interdependence of function is seen; without England, the heart, the Colonies would lose their national and political significance; without her Colonies, Britain would shortly sink to the level of a fourth-rate Power. This circumstance seems often too little remembered—the cry is heard so often—"See what great things we have done for the Colonies!"—seldom "What great things the Colonies have done for us!" The tendency of the age, too, is towards large states; could Britain keep pace, it might be asked, with her giant neighbours if it were not for her expansion in Greater Britain? Here, however, enters the condition by which Nature's large states or complex organisms hold their strength—the adaptive faculty, without which size is only added weakness. The complexity of the British Empire, then, must be an adaptive complexity; each of the parts must understand the other, and all must understand the whole; there must be intelligent combined action, no procedure at cross-purposes.

So far the figure. It affords a broad view of the Empire as a whole, instead of a narrow glimpse of England as a part, and this may be a contribution to the process of investigation. It also points, analogically, to the conclusion that as the welfare of Nature's highest organisms rests in their adaptability, so the condition of British Imperial prosperity will lie in an instructed acquaintance with the relations and uses of each part of the realm. For in man, adaptability is the result of education.

There is serious trouble, then, in a certain part of the Empire—the British Isles, the want of work and the want of bread giving rise to a lamentable amount of crime and social bitterness, and the question is—what natural fact, or facts, have been traversed? A very large fact shortly claims attention, in the consideration of which it may be necessary to enlarge even the Imperial view, and include for a little while the features of other Empires. This fact may be characterized as

THE "EQUILIBRIUM OF POPULATION"—

that is to say, that this planet is capable of supporting a certain number of inhabitants in the full possession of all the necessities of life, if they be only distributed in a certain ratio upon its surface. What the limit of this world capability may be is not of present concern—it may fairly be presumed that when that limit is reached the end will come—nor may it be possible even to ascertain what is the true equilibrium of population, affected as it is by so many varying causes in each different region, but a brief comparative survey may give some instruction. It is first seen that the appliances of civilisation tend both to concentrate greater numbers of people within certain localities for the purposes of arts and manufactures, and to supply them with food from a distance, than the soil of those localities could by itself support, therefore the savage and half-civilised tribes and their countries may be excluded from view, and reference had only to the conditions of those countries which are, for all purposes of comparison, in equal possession of the resources of civilisation.

When this position is taken up, it seems to be observed that the United Kingdom is, relatively to its possession of these resources,

THE MOST DISTRESSED OF ALL THE WHOLLY-CIVILISED COUNTRIES TO-DAY.

No universal or continuous distress is heard of in France or Germany, in Austria or Italy, or in European Russia. Certainly no exceptional grinding of poverty is visible in the United States of America, or in Canada, or Australia, or in New

Zealand. Local and intermittent distresses appear in all these countries, in some cases very acute; but there seems to be no prolonged national suffering in any of them equal to that which overweights England.¹ The inquiry then arises, how do the several proportions of population to land-surface stand? It is found that the United Kingdom possesses a total area of 121,115 square miles, with a population of thirty-six millions and a half; France and the German Empire count respectively 204,090 and 208,683 miles of area, with populations of thirty-eight and forty-five and a quarter millions; the Austro-Hungarian Empire has 261,591 square miles and about thirty-nine millions of people; while the Russo-European figures are vast both of territory and population—2,081,022 miles and eighty-six and a half million inhabitants. Italy has 111,410 miles of soil and 28,450,000 people. Holland has 12,680 miles and 4,225,065 people, Belgium 11,373 and 5,720,807. The United States and Canada cover together an estimated area of 6,628,900 square miles, and contain a gross population of sixty-one millions and a-half. British Australasia is credited with 3,500,000 people and 3,181,344 square miles.

These multiplied figures are somewhat bewildering. But, taken in connection with the subject of English distress, they intimate the fact that of these civilised European countries England is, with but two exceptions, much the most thickly populated; while in comparison with the Southern and Western hemispheres the disparity of her population to land-area is immense. She has nearly double the number of men to land-surface that France and Germany have. Here, then, is a large general indication that the pressure of distress is most evident and universally clamant to-day in that country which is, with those two exceptions, the most densely populated in proportion to its land area. Now this may be a mere coincidence, or it may be a basis to reason from; at all events, it is a striking coincidence. It will not do to be led away by merely morphological features, but neither are the facts of morphology to be disregarded. The comparative ratio of population to mileage may be affected and altered in many different ways before it can be safely reckoned that the equilibrium of population has been violated, for there is a natural and an artificial balance of population. The purely natural balance is seen in simple and savage regions, where men's wants are few, and where the inhabitants spontaneously distribute themselves according to the ability of the soil to provide them with the bare necessities of life, but whenever civilisation enters, an artificial equipoise is created. Large numbers of men are drawn from the country to the cities, and the necessities of their livelihood are brought to them from a distance. Great cities are both the causes and the effects of civilisation; without the civilisation there would be no great cities, and without the great cities there would be a very low order of civilisation. Moreover, the highest civilisation and greatest national activity or genius give birth to a wide variety of artificial wants; there springs up with them a national demand for luxuries and refinements. These in their due proportion are good and elevating—as Professor Jevons wrote, "How is real civilisation to be attained if the mere necessities of life are to be good enough for the bulk of the people?"—but their attainment means an increased expense of livelihood. Accordingly it is seen that the Anglo-Saxon race, which is apparently the most active and enterprising in point of genius, is also the most expensive.

AN AVERAGE MEMBER OF THE ANGLO-SAXON

family demands more than an average member of any of the other great world-families, and therefore, if his wants are to be supplied, he will require a larger share of the product of the soil than the average members of other races, assuming that all the necessities and luxuries of life come ultimately from the soil. The case is found to be so—the Anglo-Saxon demands more soil-products, and consequently more producing soil—hence his peculiar genius for colonisation or territorial expansion. If he were more contented and less enterprising, he would not thus seek to colonise, and the occupation and development of the empty places of the world would proceed more slowly.

¹ To prevent almost certain misconception here, it must be clearly understood that this comparison is one, not of relative national depression of trade, but of relative national distress. We are willing to take the depression of trade as pretty nearly equal all over the world; although what is commonly called depression of trade should more properly be called depression of prices, since the volume of trade in nearly every country has conspicuously increased during the last ten years. The whole object of this argument is to show that the general fall in prices is pressing more severely on England than on any other country, whether from our inferior national thrift, or our more expensive national genius. Relative national distress, again, means the relative amount of pauperism and unemployed labour; and it can, I think, be clearly established that England has to-day a greater burden of these than the other great countries. And it should also be particularly noted that strikes and socialism, such as we see in America, and France, and Belgium, do not necessarily imply national distress; all that they necessarily imply is local discontent with wages in certain trades. A lock-out usually means more serious distress; but a strike often arises from the advance of prices which workmen strike to share; and the fact is undoubted that in certain of the unprotected foreign industries, such as the lumber trade of America, prices are advancing steadily. Political economists get confused among the local disturbances of particular trades, they puzzle among details, and miss the large tendencies of countries. They mistake local aberrations for national movements. This is the main reason why they are usually so hopelessly at variance.

Withdrawing the attention, however, from the colonising Briton, and looking strictly at the stay-in-England Briton, there is found a very large number of a most expensive race confined within a very narrow soil-compass. In Holland, and more particularly in Belgium, a still larger ratio of population to soil-area is seen, but it is also seen that the people of these States are less expensive—or, if such an expression be preferred, more thrifty—than the English. Now, without seeking to define the limit between extravagance and enterprise, it would evidently be a very hard and almost hopeless task to revolutionise the genius of a nation, and since if the British habit is adventurous and expensive, it will be more practical to seek some larger field or outlet for it than to expect to change its essential character. In other words, it is usually more practicable to alter environment than to fight against heredity.

Taking these facts into account, then, it would seem as if a more than usually artificial equilibrium of population had been created in the British Isles. And, while civilisation inevitably brings with it an artificial balance of population, and while such a balance is in certain countries and certain proportions not incompatible with social well-being and contentment, it is also certain that this artificial equilibrium cannot be pushed beyond a certain point without grave trouble and disarrangement. A natural law may be strained on occasion, or artificially adapted to special conditions, but it cannot be broken with impunity. Moderate physical tension is healthy, leading to development of power, but at a given point arrives the breaking-strain, causing rupture and bodily disorganisation.

Now let us look at

THE OTHER SECTIONS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

It has just been seen that exactly opposite conditions of population prevail in the large Western and Southern Colonies. They are heard, moreover, to be crying out for more men and more money; their Governments are offering assisted passages to emigrants and free grants of land on arrival, and they are constantly applying to Britain for loans and advances of capital to build harbours and railways and otherwise develop their resources. They are in distress too, but it is distress of quite another kind from that which prevails in England—it is distress for want of the very things of which England has too much. Returning to the opening analogy, the English ailment seems to spring from a superfluity of the life-blood, while the Colonial trouble lies in its poverty. Their circulation is weak, hers is impeded. Now in the human body the cognate disorder is known as pressure of blood upon the heart, and it is a very grave disorder. Its effect is to make the whole body languid, everything falls out of gear, the members droop and feebly perform their work, while the overburdened heart throbs on under its accumulating load till at last the surcharged vessels burst, and there is dissolution. If this has taken place in the physical system of the British Empire, a most serious malady will have been disclosed.

The case is found to be strikingly in accordance with the picture.

BRITAIN IS FULL OF MEN,

and yet they are increasing at the rate of a million in three years; many of them are out of work altogether, and those who are still employed are struggling and failing from the pressure of unnaturally severe competition. She is full of money, but it will not circulate—it is lying dead, useless, this precious component of the life-blood, because its possessors are afraid to risk its loss in enterprises which promise no profit. British solicitors and trustees can testify to the sums of capital lying in their care waiting for investment, or remaining practically unproductive on deposit in the banks at a nominal interest. There is no lack of wealth to-day in Britain, but a vast amount of it is stagnant, not current. The "wave of bad trade" is spoken of, and people look for the ascending curve—it does move in waves, this fluctuating commerce, from the tendency of men to "overdo a profit" and create overproduction—but does there not seem to be something deeper than this here, a natural fact traversed, and a natural disease contracted? Would the present production, in fact, prove to be overproduction at all if the population of the Empire were more equally distributed over its surface, and all the members of a highly expensive Anglo-Saxon race earning full wages to expend on the products—might it not then even prove to be underproduction? For there is a natural law that for all her workers Nature has a superabundance of work—more, not less than they can do, if they will only seek the departments which she indicates; and when trouble appears the first presumption is, not that Nature has been niggardly, but that her pupils have been slow.

But the answer arises from many quarters,

"THE COLONIES HAVE BEEN TRIED AND FOUND WANTING;

men went out there and came back disheartened, money was sent there and returned neither in interest nor principal." It is too true. But looking at the natural facts of the wide, unpeopled extent and unquestioned resources of those transoceanic countries, should we not at once ask whether the reason of those misfortunes did not lie more in the want of knowledge with which the enterprises

were taken up, than in the failure of the countries to which they were directed? Want of knowledge, as was seen, is want of adaptability, and adaptability, from the natural analogy, was to be the prime condition of the prosperity of the Empire. Was the vanished capital not too hastily committed to some specious venture, which a fuller or a local knowledge would have pronounced unsafe; did the returning emigrant not form his opinion too readily of the fruitlessness of his search for suitable employment, or perhaps refuse to adapt himself to another occupation when he found the labour-market of his own trade fully supplied? There is no lack of discouraging surface features about the Colonies, but upon examination they generally prove to be only superficial—the inevitable bugbears and hobgoblins which beset the path to fortune, and which vanish when carefully investigated like river mist. In Manitoba, for instance, may be seen just now a surface-depression resulting from the late unnatural "land-boom"; in the Province of Quebec profitable employment is scarce owing to the prevalence of the French-Canadian element, whose astonishing thrift enables them to live where an Englishman could not, and, in the words of a writer in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*, "to drive the more expensive race before them"; in New South Wales there is a temporary reaction, owing to the season's drought and the failure of the wool-clip; and in Melbourne, only a year ago, unemployed workmen were soliciting aid from the municipal authorities. These are discouraging facts, but they have their explicable causes and their evident remedies. In Manitoba and New South Wales, for example, the depressions are only transitory, arising respectively from feverish over-speculation and climatic accident; prudence suggests that the Franco-Canadian districts of Quebec should be avoided, generally speaking, by the British emigrant; while in Melbourne some facts of the industrial difficulty were very striking. It is locally known in Victoria that the distressed labourers, being provided with work by the City Corporation at a wage of 4s. per day, struck on the third morning after for 6s. a day; and it is also known that in the windows of every country store in the outlying districts there were then, and are now, numerous notices posted calling for male and female labour of almost every description at high wages. Workers, in fact, were not to be got in the country, while there was a temporary oversupply of labour in the town.¹

Passing, however, from such particular cases, one very large general cause—it might, indeed, be said the largest—of apparent Colonial inability to meet expectation forces itself on the view. The Colonies, like most rapidly developing countries, are ardent and enterprising; conscious of the possession of great natural resources; frequently in distant and solitary regions, they are anxious to develop these; it is felt that settlers will not seek these spots until railways and other communications are made, therefore large works are prosecuted at heavy expense to open up the country and attract men. The works are completed and the expense is incurred, but the men do not come—Britain does not furnish them. So for many years these enterprises, which were undertaken solely to open up and benefit the outlying parts of the Empire, and without which those parts could not have been thrown open to civilisation, struggle under crushing disabilities; they yield no profit, but entail

HEAVY BURDENS ON THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS,

and ruinous losses on British investors who have lent their money in ordinary stocks not secured by preferential guarantee. Englishmen at home see the stocks quoted at extreme discounts, and record an opinion of distrust in all things Colonial. But the fault in many cases lay less in the excess of Colonial enthusiasm than in the deficiency of British spirit, and less again in the failure of British investing zeal, than in the popular British reluctance to emigrate. The capitalist indeed has on the whole performed his duty well towards the Colonies, but not so the emigrant; and by the emigrant's hesitation the fortunes of the capitalist have been reversed. For the processes of an old and a new country are in some respects, and necessarily, exactly opposite—in the old land, fully populated, public works are not usually entered upon till their need becomes more or less urgent—in the new territory, sparsely peopled, and especially when of wide extent, it becomes an absolute necessity to build the road or construct the canal before full settlement can be expected.

Here again appears that

QUALITY OF EDUCATED ADAPTABILITY,

the natural or scientific necessity for the prosperous advancement of the Empire. The capitalist, with his trained eye, recognises the far-off field for money, and puts the precious metal

¹ A remarkably similar case is reported in the *Wellington (New Zealand) Trade Review* of 27th March, 1886. The paragraph deserves to be quoted *verbatim*. "Unemployed. There has been some agitation by unemployed working-men in Christchurch and Dunedin, and relief work has been offered by the Government and accepted by some of the men at 4s. 6d. per day. A few days ago this rate was reduced at Dunedin to 4s., and the majority of the men struck work. The Dunedin Corporation, on being appealed to, agreed to pay the extra 6d. until the Government could be communicated with." If democratic influence were not so strong in Colonial governments and corporations, it would be difficult to see why the rate-payers should be taxed to provide work—and probably more or less unnecessary work—for these men in the towns, instead of allowing the natural play of economical forces to disperse them in the country districts.

into circulation; the distant call for men strikes upon the expectant ear of the younger son of the middle class family, and he accepts its invitation: for it is a noteworthy fact, that of the educated classes there is scarcely a family which has not done its part for the good of the Empire by sending at least one son to the Colonies, and staking at least one investment there. It was not done from any quixotic generosity to the Colonies, but simply from instructed self-interest. There was no employment for the lad or the money in England, and there seemed to be profitable demand for them in the Colonies. But the working man does not emigrate in the same ready way, because he is not so fully educated; he hopes rather to better his position by a vote or a measure of Parliament, and the ratio of emigration is accordingly very much smaller among the lower orders than in the higher ranks.

A LESSON MAY BE READ IN AMERICA.

No great national cry of pauperism is heard there. The American land is vast, but it is not so vast as ours, just measurable indeed with our own largest Colony; no seas intersect it certainly, except the huge inland lakes, but even these the American regards as we might regard our oceans—not as barriers, but as natural connecting water-ways, needing no expense of construction, no outlay for repairs. For the American is singularly adaptive. It is an interesting bit of reasoning; no people are more curious or inquisitive than the Americans, they are always asking questions, always, as their phrase is, "wanting to know"; and, however superficial much of the information which they thus pick up may be, there is hardly any doubt that the average American does acquire a larger amount of miscellaneous information than an average citizen of any other nationality. And no man is more versatile than the American—you cannot crush him down—if he fails in one thing he is up again in a moment, attempting something else, and in the end he generally succeeds. The connection is evident—he is generally adaptive because he is generally informed? The American workman is perhaps not so good a specialist as the British artisan, but he is a much better "Jack-of-all-trades," using the word in no invidious sense. He finds the labour-field of his native town becoming yearly filled up, competition increasing and profits diminishing; he does not wait for the miserable end, but "pulls up stakes" at once and "shifts his location" to some western township, to farm a quarter-section, or wield the miner's pick, or work in a lumber-mill, or keep a store. The old patriarchal nomads might teach a lesson across the ages to the present day; they thought little of state-remedies when pasture grew scanty, but moved at Nature's call as the grass was greenest. An industrial distress similar to that of England could probably be created in the United States within a year, if the population resolved to concentrate themselves from ranch and prairie-lot and forest-clearing around a few of the great Eastern cities, leaving their own natural spheres of labour vacant, and simultaneously depriving those Eastern cities of the Western and Southern outlets for their manufactures.

It is evident, then, that if the balance of the Imperial population could be subjected to

AN EDUCATED RE-ADJUSTMENT,

much benefit might be looked for. It could not be expected to effect any universal cure of British troubles, but, as far as the natural facts indicate, it ought to tend strongly in the remedial direction. The question of land-allotment might become more easy of solution, since great additional land-space would be gained; commerce and prices might begin to revive, relieved of the unnatural concentration of capital and labour in special localities; these two great companion-forces, finding an outlet once more in their legitimate channels, might cease their inter-necine strife; and the worst forms of Socialism might disappear with the decrease of pauperism. For it is only when capital and labour are deprived of their normal channels of activity in directing the courses of Nature, that they fall to fighting with each other, and even the better-informed Socialists know that they are but two forms of the same thing, the one the gold in the quartz, the other in the sovereign—labour, as some one has said, is potential capital, and capital is realised labour. More room, in a word, would be gained for the play of the social and industrial machinery, at present cramped within too narrow a workshop, and a wider board would display itself on which to move and arrange the pieces of the Imperial game.

It would not remove the Irish difficulty, and there are many other instant problems to whose solution it would directly contribute but little. Still, as all forces in nature interact, so it is certain that one large true Imperial movement would indirectly affect for good many other contemporaneous movements. The importance of this point, indeed, can hardly be estimated. For instance, there is a continually increasing

REGULATIVE SUPERVISION OF TRADE:

and, while it is desirable to protect persons of tender age and sex, this principle is an exceedingly dangerous one, and legislative meddlesomeness has already begun seriously to hamper many industries where it was only meant to protect the worker. The full-grown man, if properly educated, ought to be able to

stand alone, and if wide facilities of employment were shown to him to be open in other parts of the Empire, he would not feel himself forced to take service under an English master whose terms were harsh or factories unhealthy; self-interest would then begin to operate powerfully in urging the master to improve the conditions of his industry.

But these are large conclusions. And to educate the mass of the people to their reception, to transmit an idea—a large idea too—we all know the difficulty of it. And a large idea is of little use unless it can be reduced to practical lines and applied to details. But as far as the intelligent redistribution of Imperial population is concerned, it should not be nearly so difficult as is imagined to set the educative machinery on proper lines, which would in a few years give emigration an impetus which would afterwards carry it along almost of itself. The whole necessity is to show the people clearly where the profit lies, and we might then leave the development of the process with tolerable confidence to instructed self-interest.

ROBERT BYRNE BRYCE.

RECENT PRESS NOTICES OF "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

THIS new monthly is very ably conducted.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION. Is well worth a serious perusal.—*Metropolitan*.

An excellent sixpenny journal.—*Lloyd's*.

This new periodical will, no doubt, exercise an important influence on public opinion.—*Dunolly Express*.

It is well written and printed, and addresses itself to a question of interest to all who love their country and wish to see it strong and united.—*Borough of Lewisham Gazette*.

There are editorial and signed articles, and much news of the Colonies bearing on the subject of Federation—all marking the rapid progress of opinion in that direction.—*Western Daily Mercury*.

Replete with information relative to the Federation of the United Kingdom with its Dependencies. A strong and able advocacy of such Federation is maintained, and we are glad to note that IMPERIAL FEDERATION, the League's journal, is turning out a success.—*Dundee Courier*.

Is sufficient proof that Imperial Federation has ceased to be looked on as a "fad," and is fast coming to be regarded as a subject worthy of serious discussion. The journal before us is not merely a new organ for political swash-bucklers. If IMPERIAL FEDERATION preserves this sensible tone it will no doubt attain to the high position in the journalism of the country which the importance of its object justifies it in looking forward to.—*Lambeth Post*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION is making headway. It has its League—an influential association, and its "organ"—a vigorously conducted sixpenny monthly (post-free for a year for 4s.). Pithy leaders, cogent signed articles, miscellaneous unsigned articles, and abstracts of public opinion, all further the cause.—*Western Morning News*.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION is in every way a well-written journal. At a time like the present, when this question is a very prominent one in the world of politics, its able advocacy of the national importance and commercial value of Federation should command the attention of all deep thinkers, and is certain to carry great weight. It well merits the support which it has already received at the hands of the public.—*Scarborough Daily Post*.

AUSTRALIAN LOYALTY.

From *Figaro*.

A FRIEND of mine just returned from a long visit to Australia was especially struck, as he tells me, by the demonstrative loyalty of the Colonists. It is not only that all Australians, even those of the new generation, who have been at the Antipodes, invariably allude to England as home; but it is also to be seen in the punctilious respect shown in speaking of the Queen. As a case in point, he mentioned the experience of an English lord now in Australia, who, not to put too fine a point upon it, afforded by his vagaries in this country ere he left it one of the strongest arguments against an hereditary House of Legislature that could be adduced. This British peer, it seems, whilst one day drinking with some boon companions at one of the less reputable bars of Melbourne, blurted out some offensive words about his Sovereign. Before he had time to apologise he found himself lying on his back. One of the larrikins present had promptly knocked the disloyal "nobleman" down.

THE Right Hon. B. Dalley was, through a *lapsus memoria*, referred to in our last number as the Premier of New South Wales. He was, as our readers will remember, *acting* Prime Minister of that Colony at the time the Soudan contingent was sent out; hence the misdescription.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

All who are interested in the movement can become members by sending in their names and One Shilling, as Registration Fee, which must be renewed year by year.

The annual subscription of members is One Guinea, and upwards, which entitles those who subscribe it to receive all the publications of the LEAGUE free.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1886.

THE FUNCTIONS OF BRITISH DIPLOMACY.

WHEN, on the 11th ult., the Imperial Federation League deputation waited on the Prime Minister, the Hon. James Service, in the course of his speech, said that "any Government or Minister who could negotiate France out of New Caledonia and Germany out of New Guinea in a way that would be mutually satisfactory and honourable to all parties concerned would do much to strengthen the links which bound Australia to the Empire." To this Lord Salisbury replied that Mr. Service "was not dealing with matters within the immediate range of practical politics." The *Daily Telegraph*, in referring to this reply, misquoted his lordship, and made him say that the suggestion was "outside the pale of practical politics." Between "not being within the immediate range," and "outside the pale" of practical politics there is a considerable and important difference. "Great Powers," says the *Telegraph*, "are not to be 'negotiated' out of acquisitions which they have once secured, and to open communications with any such Power for such a purpose would probably only expose the sanguine Government which should attempt it to a humiliating rebuff. The hopelessness, however, of Mr. Service's proposed remedy is, so far at least as New Guinea is concerned, the measure of the Australian grievance. It is just because international acts like the appropriation of New Guinea are of their very nature ineffaceable by pacific means that it is so imperative to take timely steps to prevent their occurrence." To this statement we beg leave to enter a demurrer. Why should what Mr. Service suggests be considered "outside the pale of practical politics?" Is it a thing unknown for great Powers to be negotiated out of acquisitions they have once secured? Most certainly not. It will be allowed, it is to be presumed, that Great Britain is a great Power. Not, then, to go far back into the dim past, we will take a modern instance. Only a year or two ago the Cameroons was a British possession; it is now a German possession. How did the Germans acquire it? Was it by other than pacific means? All the world knows that Great Britain was negotiated out of that West African

"acquisition" by first Bismarck on the one side and the Right Hon. Earl Granville on the other. There is every probability, also, of her being negotiated out of the little Colony of Victoria on the same coast, which, hemmed in as it is by German territory, seems doomed to become, sooner or later, German too. The Baptist Missionary Society, which is the landowner of the entire settlement, has not a little just cause for complaint. Having spent a good part of a quarter of a million of money in civilising and Christianising the aforesaid districts, it has been compelled, through the action of the Germans, practically to abandon its operations at the Cameroons, and may one of these days be compelled, for similar reasons, to vacate Victoria. We have, then, been negotiated out of some of our own acquisitions, and may be negotiated out of more. Why, in the name of reason, we ask, should it be "outside the pale of practical politics" for Germany or France to be negotiated out of some of theirs? Why should the acquisition of the German part of New Guinea by negotiation be regarded as "hopeless?" We protest against the idea that "international acts like the appropriation of New Guinea are of their very nature ineffaceable by pacific means." No part of New Guinea ought ever to have been German; that is now very generally allowed. That a part of it is German is a slur on the Colonial Office, which that office should by "pacific means" seek to wipe away. We have said before, and we say it again, that the acquisition of the whole of New Guinea for Australia, and so for Great Britain, should be one of the deliberate aims and objects of British diplomacy.

Evidently one of the most distinguished of Australian statesmen thinks that New Caledonia should form a similar objective for our statesmen; and that the French should be, as speedily as possible, negotiated out of the New Hebrides would with this gentleman, of course, go without saying. If, however, French newspapers reflect French opinions, and reveal the intentions of the French Government, then this will not be very readily or easily done; and it must be said that France has perpetrated a gross breach of faith. For example, the *République Française* of the 10th ult. published an article, in which appeared the following:—"This eternal question of the New Hebrides is at length settled, or at least we trust so. We may hope that this annex, this branch of New Caledonia, is at last ours, in spite of England's claims and her superannuated pretensions. If diplomatically, and perhaps officially, we are not yet the definitive possessors of the group of islands on which we have just planted our flag, they are at least ours by the right of the first occupant. Diplomacy will then come, protocols will follow with regulated and solemn step, and official notes will be exchanged with a great wealth of formulas. Very good; but our little marines are there, and neither notes, protocols, nor formulas will dislodge them. This time it is not Messieurs les Anglais who have fired the first shot. We have forestalled them, and we have done well."

In full accord with this is the intelligence furnished by the Sydney correspondent of the *Times* in a letter published in that journal on the 16th ult. Remarking that the *Dives* had left with additional material and stores for the troops of occupation, he added "This does not look as if the local Government contemplates the immediate withdrawal of the troops." He declares that the said troops "are not of the slightest use for the purpose for which they have been professedly sent, because they are located in two places where there have never been any massacres, namely, at Havannah Harbour and Port Sandwich." Furthermore, he says:—"Neither the Press nor the people of Noumea indulge in any pretences about the need of protecting French settlers. They look upon the occupation as a *fait accompli*, and as tantamount to annexation. They deny the right of the Australians to complain of it, and contend that the honour of France is involved in keeping possession. A petition to the Governor has been largely signed, which takes this view without any circumlocution or disguise."

Of course nothing is said about the agreement entered into by France and England in regard to the New Hebrides. That agreement is a highly inconvenient fact at the present time to Frenchmen possessed with the rather ridiculous notion that the disasters of 1870 may be retrieved in the

Pacific or some other remote corner of the world, and that a set-off to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine may be found in the acquisition of Tonquin, and the New Hebrides; the agreement, therefore, is easily ignored. Nevertheless, it will be the duty of Lord Salisbury's Government to remind the responsible statesmen of France that it still exists, and to "negotiate France," if not "out of New Caledonia," yet certainly out of New Hebrides.

THE PROPOSED ROYAL COMMISSION AND ITS WORK.

WHETHER or not the Prime Minister will give effect to the petition of the Deputation of the League, and will actually issue a Royal Commission, or summon a Conference for the better solution of some of the problems connected with Federation, must for the present remain uncertain. The result must be dependent upon two factors, one the goodwill and foresight of Lord Salisbury and his colleagues in wishing for the end, the other the promptness and wisdom of the friends of Federation in pointing out the means.

The former we can neither control nor create, the latter it is our obvious business to supply. Given a Royal Commission properly composed, with ample powers, and the best intentions. What is it to do?

"Ay, there's the rub, say the 'smart' critics, the moment you leave generalities and come to practical details, where is your cause?"

And indeed this form of criticism is not peculiar to the "smart" objectors only. It is the line which commends itself more than any other to the great array of the happy-go-lucky and the lazy. To do nothing and to let things slide, is so easy, gives so little trouble, that by a very simple transition what is easy becomes what is right and wise. And therefore it is that we find so many persons fortified by all sorts of stately generalities, and well-worn platitudes, who really do believe that they have arrived at a negative conclusion by an intellectual process, instead of by one of mere drifting. However, this class is a very numerous one, a very influential one, and one well worth winning. It can be won best and soonest by a frank recognition of its peculiarities. If any one will undertake to do the thinking for it and so produce a result which is just as easy to accept as the existing state of things, its members will be just as ready to accept the new as they now are to stand by the old.

For these reasons if for no other it is well worth while to go a little in advance of the facts, and to picture a Royal Commission already assembled in Whitehall, with energy, authority, and goodwill, only waiting for a definite programme to begin upon. Let us see if we can supply them with a programme which, if not very complete and by no means meant to be final, may at any rate serve to occupy them profitably for a session.

But first it is necessary to recall what are and must be the limitations of such a programme, the conditions under which the inquiry is to be conducted, and the ends to the attainment of which it must be directed.

Readers of IMPERIAL FEDERATION know them pretty well, but they will bear repetition. Throughout the Empire there exist institutions common to all parts of it, giving rise to interests and needs which are felt in every part of it.

As we have before now pointed out, Federation has already begun along the "line of least resistance." In the scientific, the religious, the commercial and the literary world, convenience and necessity have brought into existence uniform methods, common machinery, scientific arrangement. Sometimes the organisation has come almost spontaneously. For instance, the commercial law, which regulates the procedure of every English tribunal has never been definitely formulated as an Imperial code; it has grown with the extension of the Empire. Far more often the application of thought and reason to existing facts has produced greater method, and as a consequence greater efficiency. The organisation of the Church, of the Non-conformist bodies, of the great Trades Unions at home and in the Colonies, has been the result of the application of the ordinary methods, known to every business man, to a new condition of things. In many, probably in all cases, there is room for improvement, for more thought, and a better system. But everywhere the lesson is the same—

system and order can alone give perfect efficiency. We have now got to apply the lesson on a larger scale to the *administration of the Empire*. It is no question of inventing common interests, they already exist; it is scarcely even a question of inventing the means of common action, to a very large extent they exist also; it is a question of organising and utilising to the best possible advantage the existing resources of the Empire for the protection and promotion of its common interests. In a word it is the application of mind to matter.

Already the process has begun, and has gone further than most of us imagine. The Board of Trade, most unconsciously, has long been a worker in the cause of Federation. In a blind half-hearted way, the Naval and Military Departments and the Post Office have all been doing the same work. The draughtsman who inserted the words "the British Empire," in an international copyright Act, was a splendid pioneer in the cause. By one stroke of the pen, he formulated the great and essential proposition of every true Federalist, viz., "Every country under the Union Jack is *Home*. Every other country is foreign."

And last, but by no means least, the learned judges of the Privy Council have been anticipating the result, which one day the League will be instrumental in bringing about, and in every decision have been affirming the charter of our incorporation, and asserting that there are matters of common concern to the Empire, which can be wisely and effectively dealt with by an Imperial authority acting in the interest of all parts of the Empire. But in whatever department it be that the traces of organisation are found, one fact appears with respect to all of them. Whatever has been done, whether it be little or much, thought and reason have been applied to the doing of it. Those have done best who have thought and reasoned most correctly; and those have reasoned most correctly who were best acquainted with the conditions with which they had to deal, and the means which they had at their disposal in dealing with them. Bearing these facts in mind the Imperial Federation League has now formulated its demand, and has asked the Prime Minister to afford to those who can give practical effect to conclusions deliberately arrived at, the best possible means of forming those conclusions correctly as a prelude to applying them effectually in dealing officially with the common interests of the Empire.

With this somewhat lengthy exordium, let us return to our original intention of laying before our readers an outline, which incomplete and unsatisfactory as it may be, will still serve as a practical guide to a Royal Commission, anxious not to separate without having done some good to the Empire.

A PROGRAMME FOR THE COMMISSION.

SUGGESTED PROGRAMME OF WORK FOR A ROYAL COMMISSION ANXIOUS TO PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To divide the inquiry into branches, viz.—(1) Naval, (2) Military, (3) Law, (a) Commercial, (b) Criminal, (4) Communications, (a) Postal, (b) Telegraphic, (5) Civil Service, (6) Learned Professions (diplomas etc.), (7) Emigration including, (a) Statistical bureau, (b) Labour bureau, (8) Diplomatic, (9) Tariffs, (10) Miscellaneous.

Under each of these headings to make such inquiries as may best show how far common interests exist through the Empire with respect to each subject, how far a common machinery has been already devised to deal with them, and how far that machinery may be supplemented by wisely-conceived additions. Thus, taking the various heads in succession, the following lines of investigation would naturally suggest themselves.

(1) *Naval*.

Call as witnesses Admiral Hornby, Sir Charles Nugent, Captain Colomb, etc. Assume the existence of a war with any of the maritime powers.

Ask any of the witnesses what would be the points threatened, the minimum of the appliances—whether ships, guns, or men—necessary to defend them; and, lastly, what proportion of that minimum could, by the expenditure of any conceivable amount of money be made available within any reasonable time. Prosecute this inquiry resolutely—show the naked facts as they exist, they are already known

to everybody, except those whom they most concern. Then get hold of the commercial witnesses, ask them what the meaning of a fortnight's stoppage in the Atlantic, the Pacific, or the West Indian trade, means in hard cash—first to the people of England, secondly to the Colonies. Ask what, in their opinion, would be the reasonable contribution payable by each portion of the Empire, as an insurance against this calamity.

This will naturally lead to the questions of an Imperial fleet, an Imperial contribution for naval purposes, the establishment of naval training colleges and schools, for officers and men, in all parts of the Empire. The adoption of an Imperial naval ensign, and the proper subordination of all officers to a central authority.

(2) *Military.*

To inquire how far the existing facilities for obtaining commissions in the Colonies (*e.g.*, Canadian Military College) are made use of, and how far they might be extended. To tabulate the rates of pay received by non-commissioned officers and men in the various permanent forces embodied in Canada, Australia, and elsewhere. To compare them with the current rate of wages in each country, and to deduce therefrom the same conclusion, throwing light upon the possibility of raising an Imperial force on uniform terms throughout the Empire. To consider how far the Royal Marines might be made the nucleus of such a force. To consider the condition of the various military arsenals throughout the Empire, their organisation for mutual support, and the especial desirability of strengthening the existing dépôt at Vancouver, and creating a new one, including an arsenal at Sydney.

(3) *Law (a, Commercial and Civil Law).*

To examine leading merchants and shippers as to whether there be any incongruity in the mercantile codes in force in different parts of the Empire which causes serious inconvenience, and which might be removed without difficulty. To ascertain whether the privilege of practising in any British Court, now granted to members of the British Bar, might not be extended to the profession in the Colonies.

(b, Criminal Law).

To receive evidence as to the extent to which the powers of British criminal courts to enforce their authority, in all parts of the Queen's dominions, might be increased. And as a kindred subject to inquire whether writs, judgments, and subpoenas might not be served and enforced throughout the Empire with greater ease and less formality and complication.

(4) *Communications (a, postal).*

To tabulate the exact loss on over-sea postage within the Empire at the present moment. The loss on the present amount of matter mailed, if carried at a penny rate. To obtain estimates as to probable increase of communication owing to (a) natural growth, (b) increased facilities.

To state the loss, if any, which, on the basis of such estimates, would be involved by the new change in five years from the present date.

To inquire how far subsidies are really required at all to ensure the regular and swift transmission of the mails, and whether, if a subsidy be necessary, it might not be paid in some other form than hard cash, *e.g.*, preferential employment of the subsidised company's shipping in time of war, special privileges in time of peace, &c.

The main points for the Commission to bear in mind in respect of this branch of the inquiry would be (1) the utter untrustworthiness of the regular postal officials as witnesses. The Postal Departments here, though full of the best intentions, have been utterly demoralised by the Treasury doctrine which they have been forced to accept to the effect that the Post Office is and must remain a revenue department. The result of which radical misconception is that our postal service has sunk from the position of first to that of nearly last among civilised nations.

(2) The Commission must bear in mind the reasonable and logical position in which the whole question ought to be left, namely, a position in which the United Empire ought to treat as one solid postal unit, with the crowd of smaller nationalities which make up the International Postal Union. At present it is the old fable of the bundle of sticks over again. New South Wales or Victoria, it is true, are re-

presented in International Congresses, but they speak with the authority of one million voices, when they might speak with the authority of fifty million.

(b, Telegraphic).

To examine the chief officials of the various telegraphic companies, to ask them "Where are the shore ends of your cables landed? what protection have they at present? how soon, how easily, and how certainly would they be cut in the event of war? What, in your opinion, would be the extent of the military and commercial disaster which would be involved by this sudden collapse of the power of speech between different parts of the Empire? If the disaster be too great for you to describe in adequate terms, give a few figures and facts, which you think likely to impress the English people with the absolute folly and wickedness of neglecting every ordinary precaution for the protection of their means of communication. And, lastly, give your opinion, by the light of your great experience, as to the best methods of establishing and maintaining telegraphic communication, both in peace and war, with a special reference to a proper line *viâ* the Cape to Australia, and a line from Esquimaux to Port Darwin, rendering us independent of the present precarious communication through the Mediterranean.

(5) *Civil Service.*

To tabulate the posts which may be filled with equal propriety by qualified persons from any section of the Queen's English speaking subjects. To inquire how many, or which, of such posts are at present held by British subjects residing in the Colonies. Whether the number so arrived at is a fair and just proportion in view of the importance and population of the Colonial portions of the Empire. And whether, in case the proportion be found to be an unfair one, steps cannot be taken to offer greater facilities to Colonists to compete for and obtain such posts; and more especially to become members of the Civil Service of India, and of the diplomatic body.

(6) *Learned Professions.*

Part of this inquiry has been already dealt with under the subject of Law. The creation of a definite system of degrees and diplomas in the medical, teaching, and scientific professions would obviously be an immense advantage. To some extent, thanks chiefly to the Universities, an interchange of qualifications already exists. The public want to know how the facts stand, and if the system can be mended.

(7) *Emigration.*

This heading tells its own story. The Imperial Government foolishly forfeited all control over the common land of the Empire long ago. It can only people that land by the consent of, and by arrangement with, several Colonial Governments. The need is so obvious and pressing that some half-hearted steps have already been taken to meet it. We must now go further, and recognise that the best, if not the only, hope for England lies in the well-organised and systematic Emigration.

(a, Statistical Bureau).

In this department everything is at present lacking. Let the Commission promptly take evidence as to the working of the Massachusetts Statistical Bureau. *Mutatis mutandis*, let them apply the information they obtain to the circumstances of the British Empire.

(b, Labour Bureau).

Mr. Mundella has already given his attention to this matter, and has wisely gone to a practical Federationist to help him. The Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers knows what it is to organise for London, Liverpool, Montreal, and Melbourne; his association has already Federated itself, and each of these centres is represented on its council. All that is wanted, therefore, is to give a proper extension to the new Government Department, and the Royal Commission has merely to direct its attention to the most effectual ways of carrying out the scheme of the Board of Trade.

(8 and 9) *Diplomatic and Tariff.*

At present we do not propose to discuss these two items of the programme, they must as yet be classed under the head of difficult and dangerous points. They will arise of

course and have to be settled in due time; when they are raised we shall express the views which we have already clearly formed with regard to them. But it is well to let nature take her course, and in the course of nature these matters will be settled after the other items in the programme have been adjusted, as a mere matter of sequence and necessity.

(10) *Miscellaneous.*

This last head gives a grand opportunity for friends of Federation to fill up the lamentable gaps in the foregoing most imperfect outline. As long as the great end and object is kept in view we shall not grumble with any complication of details which specialists may think desirable. Meanwhile, we believe that on the line indicated a Royal Commission may wisely and profitably direct its inquiries, and may by acquiring and formulating information with regard to them do more to instruct public opinion and to further the cause of Federation—that is to say the cause of peace—than any actual legislation at the present moment could probably accomplish.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

MR. SERGEANT, who has been Secretary of the Imperial Federation League since its formation, has resigned his post. The resignation will take effect on the 11th of September.

Mr. A. H. Loring, who has lately acted as Organising Secretary, will succeed Mr. Sergeant as General Secretary to the League. After the date above mentioned, all communications relating to the business of the League, as distinguished from that relating to this journal, should be addressed to Mr. Loring.

The deputation, referred to in our last as having been appointed to wait on Lord Salisbury to urge upon the attention of the Government several matters relating to Imperial Federation, was received by his Lordship on August 11th. We have the satisfaction of publishing elsewhere in this number a verbatim report of the speeches delivered by members of the deputation, and of the speech of the Prime Minister in reply.

The following gentlemen, on the motion of Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., seconded by Rev. Canon Dalton, C.M.G., have been added to the General Committee:—The Head Master of Eton College, the Head Master of Uppingham School, the Rev. E. E. Holmes, Major A. E. Welby, Captain C. Johnstone, R.N., Messrs. W. H. C. Dunhill, T. Dixon Galpin, and R. Burdett Smith.

CRADOCK, SOUTH AFRICA.—Mr. C. J. Cross Baker, the active secretary of this branch, in writing to order a second parcel of *Fifty Years' Progress*, the special number of this journal, reports that the election of Lord Rosebery and Mr. Stanhope as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively, of the League has given great satisfaction there.

DUDLEY.—On Thursday evening, August 19th, a meeting was held at the Blue Boar Inn, Stone Street, in furtherance of the efforts which are being made in this town to form a branch of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. W. Tivey presided, and amongst those present were—Messrs. Watson, Sproston, W. Mayer, H. V. Mayer (hon. secretary *pro tem.*), S. Hydes, J. Mayer, Poultney, and T. S. W. Good. The Chairman, in his opening remarks, referred to the object of the meeting, and urged members to do their utmost to bring their efforts to form a branch in the town to a successful issue. Mr. Good said the objects of the League were many, one of which was to federate the Colonies with England, and so form one grand country. It was also their aim to Federate the Colonies with this country for the purposes of defence, and for them to share the burden of the expense. It was a well-known fact that the Colonies could not protect themselves, and that showed the necessity of Federation. The question in this country was becoming a vital one, and when the Colonies asked to be Federated England would soon respond and help them. England would have to approach them in a wise, judicious, and careful manner. If the Colonies were Federated, then would come the question of a Parliament of Parliaments for Great Britain. It was not intended to interfere with the Parliaments of Australia or Canada for instance, but to have one Parliament for the discussion of Imperial questions alone. If those present tried to induce others to become members of that league and so make the Imperial Federation question a prominent one, they would be doing all they were called upon

to do and their duty. He hoped success would crown their efforts at last, and that they would stick together and work shoulder to shoulder to attain that success, for Imperial Federation would not only be beneficial to the Colonies but to England. Mr. H. V. Mayer gave a short *résumé* of the origin of that meeting, and said the subscription was 1d. per week and 1s. per annum, the latter sum being sent to the parent society, for which in return they obtained some splendid literature. He expressed the hope that they would be successful in their efforts, and urged the members to work. Several other addresses were delivered and members enrolled. Votes of thanks were accorded to the Chairman and Secretary.

INGERSOLL, CANADA.—We cull the following from the *Toronto Daily Mail*.—Under the auspices of the Ingersoll Branch of the Imperial Federation League, Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, delivered a lecture in the Town Hall, on Thursday evening. A large and representative audience greeted the speaker, and frequent applause met the many telling points with which his address was filled. Mr. James Noxon, President of the League, occupied the chair, and was supported upon the platform by many leading townsmen.

Principal Grant in his address spoke of the many advantages which we derived from our connection with Britain and her vast empire; of the great commercial benefits accruing to us and to each component part of such a union; of the increased power of each member and the added strength of Great Britain herself if that union was consolidated; of the elevating influences which such a world-wide connection would have upon the political principles and policies of each country concerned, and the increase of power which we would receive and which, directed by an Empire of English-speaking peoples, would enable the Anglo-Saxon race to expand and direct the progress and civilisation of the world. He proceeded to speak of other federations strong in union, showed the gradual development of English institutions, and proved to the satisfaction of his audience that our constitutional development into a Federated and united Empire must be gradual, but was also inevitable unless we desired secession and separation from the noblest Empire in the world. The lecturer then sketched a scheme of his own by which an Imperial Senate, small in numbers, but representing Imperial matters, such as foreign policy, leaving the local powers of each country untouched, but also acting as factors in assisting and increasing a greater trade interchange among the Colonies and the Mother Country. The eloquent lecturer finished with a splendid peroration in favour of National and Imperial unity, of the consolidation of such union, and the admission of Colonists into full citizenship in the Empire with all the privileges and responsibilities which that implies.

A hearty vote of thanks was moved by Mayor Gibson, seconded by Dr. Williams, and accorded the distinguished speaker by the audience amid great enthusiasm.

The meeting then closed with the National Anthem.

LONDON, KENTISH TOWN.—An interesting address upon the increasingly popular subject of Imperial Federation was delivered at Milton Hall, Kentish Town, on Tuesday evening, August 10th, by H. Tyrrell, Esq., of the Temple, to a very attentive and appreciative audience, when Mr. Turner, of Belmont Street, N.W., presided. A short report will be found in another column.

NEW YORK, U.S.A.—A gentleman writes from New York as follows:—"If I am qualified for admission to the membership of the Imperial Federation League, I should be glad to avail myself of the privilege, and, if advisable, to further the cause among our countrymen here. I am a British subject, and never likely to change my allegiance." Of course the writer, under such circumstances, is qualified; for the constitution of the League provides "that the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling." We shall be glad to hear from other British subjects in the United States who would like to join.

SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.—Mr. John Lee Osborne, of Sydney, is doing good work in that city, and reports the growth of Federation principles.

SINGAPORE.—A meeting of the Singapore Branch of the League was held on July 16th, under the presidency of the Governor, Sir Frederick Weld, G.C.M.G. We have a report of this meeting in type, but are unable through press of matter to insert it this month.

WINGHAM, KENT.—Mr. W. R. Bousfield, who at the general election last November, was the Conservative candidate for Mid-Lanark, speaking at a recent meeting held to inaugurate the Wingham Habitation of the Primrose League, dwelt at some length upon the question of Imperial Federation, showing how important it is that "there should be Imperial unity and that the ties which already exist between this country and the Colonies should be drawn still closer, both for the purpose of Imperial defence and for extending and improving our commercial relations."

DEPUTATION FROM THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE TO LORD SALISBURY.

ON the 11th ult. a large and influential deputation waited upon Lord Salisbury, at the Colonial Office, in accordance with the resolution of the Executive Committee, which was recorded in the last issue of *IMPERIAL FEDERATION*. The premier was accompanied by Mr. Edward Stanhope, Secretary of State, and Earl Dunraven, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Sir R. G. Herbert, K.C.B., permanent Under Secretary, was also present.

The Deputation was, in the unavoidable absence of Lord Rosebery, Chairman of the League, introduced by Lord Brassey of Bulkeley, K.C.B., and consisted of the following noblemen and gentlemen:—

Lord Stratheden and Campbell, Colonel Sir Charles Nugent, Mr. James A. Youl, Rev. Canon Dalton, Sir Daniel Cooper (New South Wales), Sir Henry Barkly, Major-General Sir Lewis Pelly, M.P., Sir Rawson W. Rawson, Mr. C. E. Howard Vincent, M.P., Baron Dimsdale, M.P., Sir Samuel Davenport (late Commissioner of Public Works, South Australia), General Sir W. Crossman, M.P., Mr. A. Staveley Hill, M.P., Mr. D'Alton McCarthy (President of the Imperial Federation League in Canada), Sir Julian Goldsmid, M.P., Captain Cotton, M.P., Lieutenant-Colonel Myles Sandys, M.P., Mr. R. Gent-Davis, M.P., Mr. L. L. Cohen, M.P., Alderman Sir Robert Fowler, M.P., Colonel Gourley, M.P., Mr. H. Kimber, M.P., Lord Lewisham, M.P., Mr. H. L. W. Lawson, M.P., Mr. David Duncan, M.P., Sir John Simon, M.P., Sir Roper Lethbridge, M.P., Mr. H. Seton-Karr, M.P., Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., Captain J. C. R. Colomb, M.P., Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., Sir Charles Nicholson (late Speaker New South Wales), Mr. Wilson Noble, M.P., Sir Samuel Wilson, M.P., Sir Francis V. Smith (late Chief Justice of Tasmania), Lord Castletown (of Upper Ossory), Mr. A. Cameron Corbett, M.P., Mr. W. Ewart, M.P., Mr. J. Horne Payne (representing Kensington Branch), General Sir John Watson, V.C. (late political resident at Baroda), Mr. W. Mackinnon, Mr. Alexander Turnbull, Mr. Harold Finch-Hatton, Mr. M. E. G. Finch-Hatton, M.P., Sir Charles Clifford (late of New Zealand), Mr. John Sweet Distin (delegate from the Imperial Federation League in South Africa), Lord Fife, Mr. H. A. Perry, Mr. Sandford Fleming (delegate from Imperial Federation League in Canada), Mr. H. H. Lyman (Treasurer of Imperial Federation League in Canada), Mr. Alfred Simmons, Mr. G. W. Rusden, Mr. A. McGoun (Secretary Imperial Federation League in Canada), Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, Mr. C. Washington Eves, Mr. P. Ralli, Mr. William J. Browne, Mr. S. V. Morgan, Mr. Charles Percy Davis, Mr. F. Young (late Hon. Secretary Royal Colonial Institute), Mr. Gisborne Molineaux, Mr. F. P. Labilière (late of Victoria), Mr. James L. Ohlson (Secretary West India Committee), Mr. G. N. R. Cockburn (delegate from Imperial Federation League in Canada), Mr. P. Vernon Smith (representing Paddington Branch), Mr. H. N. Moseley (Cambridge Branch), Mr. J. Stanley Little (Haslemere Branch, Lord Tennyson, president), Mr. P. L. Van der Byl (Cape of Good Hope), Mr. Peter Redpath (representative in England of Imperial Federation League in Canada, representative of Canada at Conference of Chamber of Commerce), Mr. W. McMillan (President Chamber of Commerce, Sydney, New South Wales), Mr. H. Holbrook (late Minister British Columbia), Mr. P. E. T. Hemelryk, Mr. W. S. Sebright Green (representing Liverpool Branch), Mr. R. G. Webster, M.P., and Mr. A. H. Loring (Organising Secretary to the League).

Letters and telegrams were received by the Secretary from several gentlemen, expressing regret at their inability to attend. Lord Rosebery wired as follows: "Pray express again to Deputation my deep regret that I cannot be present to-day. Rosebery, Dalmeny."

LORD BRASSEY, in introducing the Deputation, said: My Lord Salisbury, I have the honour to introduce to you a Deputation of the Imperial Federation League. That League was founded under the presidency of the late Mr. Forster, and it now includes 74 Members of Parliament, of all shades of political opinion, and several distinguished Governors and Ex-governors of the Colonies. Among those distinguished statesmen I may mention that we include Sir John Macdonald. The object of the League is to secure by federation the permanent unity of the Empire. We desire to carry out the policy of federation under proper and prudent safeguards, and I may call your lordship's attention to the two first provisions of the constitution of the League. They are these: "That no scheme of federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs;" and "That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine, on an equitable basis, the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights." We attend here to-day, by your lordship's kind permission, in pursuance of a resolution of the League, to the following effect:—"That a deputation of the League shall attend upon the Prime Minister or Colonial Secretary, urging him to call a Conference, or to appoint a Royal Commission, to be composed of accredited representatives of the United Kingdom and of each of the self-governing Colonies, for the purpose of suggesting some practical means whereby concerted action may be taken, (1) for placing upon a satisfactory basis the defence of the Ports and the Commerce of the Empire in time of war; (2) for promoting direct intercourse, Commercial, Postal, and Telegraphic, between the several countries of the Empire in time of peace, and any other means for securing the closer federation or union of all parts of the Empire." My lord, probably no deputation has ever waited upon the Prime Minister of this country which is so representative of all parts of the Empire. In proof of that, I may say that our deputation includes Sir Samuel Davenport, late Commissioner of Public Works in South Australia, Sir Daniel Cooper, of New South Wales, Sir Lewis Pelly and General Sir John Watson, representing the Civil Service in India, Sir Henry Barkly, late Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Charles Nicholson, late Speaker of New South Wales, Sir Charles Clifford, New Zealand, Mr. Archibald McGoun, Secretary of the League in Canada, and Mr. McMillan, President of the Chamber of Commerce of Sydney. Lord Normanby came to town yesterday for the purpose of

attending this deputation, but is unfortunately prevented, by illness, from being present. In conclusion, my lord, I desire to say emphatically that we do not expect from your lordship any expression of opinion in favour of any particular solution of the difficult problem of Imperial Federation, but we do desire to impress upon the Government the desirability of appointing a Conference or a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject. We believe that this is the most effective and practical step which could be taken at the present juncture. The speakers who will address you on behalf of the deputation, are: The Hon. Mr. Service, late Premier of Victoria, who has taken such an important part in federation in the South Pacific; Mr. Peter Redpath, representing the Imperial Federation League in Canada, and Mr. Vanderbyl of the Cape of Good Hope.

THE HON. JAMES SERVICE: My lord, I am somewhat taken aback at the prominent position that, I may say, I have been dragged into (if I may be allowed to use the expression) unexpectedly. I was asked to come here, not as a member of the League, which I am not yet, nor as a representative, or in any official character whatever, but as one who had taken a great interest in every movement towards the permanent establishment of the unity of the Empire. While I was ready and willing to come and take my place among those gentlemen who have taken so prominent a part in this country in the furtherance of this movement, I certainly had no idea that I should be called upon to be the first to address your lordship, and therefore I trust that any remarks I make will be accepted as given rather in the desire to forward the objects of the deputation than as indicating the force and power with which those objects may be advocated by others who have given them perhaps not more attention but who have thought them out better, in connection with this deputation. Of course, not being a member of the League, I had no part in framing the resolutions which have been read to your lordship, and whilst I agree with it thoroughly in the spirit, and pretty much according to the letter of it, there are one or two points upon which I may be allowed to say a few words. As I have already stated, what I do say must be taken as simply from my own lips, as I occupy no official or representative capacity; at the same time I may say that I have had, during the past few years, large opportunities of feeling the pulse of the Australian colonists in respect to the questions of federation, both local and imperial; and I can say for Victoria, and I think I may venture to say for the other Colonies of Australia, that they feel very strongly indeed the desire of drawing closer together the bonds that unite the various members of the Empire. The difficulty we have experienced in Australia is one which, I believe, has already been experienced here—the difficulty of giving shape or form to any scheme for the formation of what might be termed an Imperial Council. Our feeling has been, to a very large extent, that, pending the solution of that difficulty, the best course that can be adopted, both by the Local Governments and the Imperial Government, is to cultivate those kindly feelings, those sentiments of interest in the affairs of the Colonies, and to show that the Colonies are regarded not as mere dependencies to be dangled in the hands of the Imperial authorities, but as members of one body, feeling the beat of every pulse that starts from the heart of the Empire. That is the feeling that we have—that if we can cultivate the desire to unite the various members of the Empire, we go a great way towards the accomplishment of that object; and that having created the desire to be united, and for the union to be represented in some Imperial Council or body, the way to bring that about will develop itself, probably more rapidly than we anticipate at the present time, if the feeling all through the Empire is cultivated in the way I have mentioned. In Australia (and I speak only for Australia) we have had sometimes a very strong feeling that the Imperial Government has not been inclined to consider the interests of Australia, and, above all, the sentiments of the people of Australia; because in the history of any nation, or of any part of a nation, such as the Colonies, sometimes the most powerful movements arise from sentiment rather than from material interests. In one or two cases we have felt very bitterly, in fact a bitterness amounting to alienation of feeling. I am glad to say it never went further than that, and that was only temporary; but it was a bitterness I would not like to see repeated in the Australian Colonies. I do not want to use any strong language, but certainly I would say that on the other side it was believed to arise partly out of ignorance of the true state of affairs and partly out of indifference to the wishes of the people of Australia. I am very glad indeed to know and to be able to acknowledge that recently there has been a complete change in that respect on the part of the Imperial Government. The people of Australia feel that now, especially in regard to an appeal which was lately made to them by the Imperial Government for an expression of feeling in respect to a matter which affected their interests very much, and to the declaration that an expression of that feeling would be regarded as a powerful influence in inducing the Imperial Government to determine upon their course of action. I must say that that was received by the Australian Colonists with feelings of great delight and great satisfaction, and if that spirit be continued hereafter as it has now been begun—and I venture to say it is likely to increase rather than diminish—then I am exceedingly hopeful that the unity of the Empire (shall I say for all time to come) is no mere phantom of the imagination, but will become a sober fact. Now I think that the League which we represent here to-day has had a great deal to do in influencing the Imperial Government to change their feeling with respect to the Colonies. I do not know how far I am out of place to refer to any particular case, but one of the points I will refer to is now a matter of history, and I may just touch upon it. I mean the loss of New Guinea. That is the instance that I referred to particularly of the bitterness that arose in the minds of people of Australia. I hope gentlemen will not think that I am going too far in saying this, because our great object, I take it, is to make the Government here at home thoroughly aware of the exact feeling of the people in the Colonies, and then they are able to judge for themselves what course they should adopt in any particular instance; but I should say this, that any Government or any Minister who could negotiate France out of New Caledonia and Germany out of New Guinea in a

way that would be mutually satisfactory and honourable to all parties concerned would do more to secure and to strengthen the links that bind the Australian Colonies to the Empire than could be done by a succession of men who would treat such questions with comparative indifference. We have a strong sentiment on this subject, and we have a strong sentiment on behalf of the unity of the Empire; we are all loyal to the backbone, but at the same time we share the inherent feelings of Englishmen and Scotchmen, and we desire to have our position thoroughly acknowledged, and we do not like the idea of any of our interests being bartered away, it may be for some other Imperial object, without our being consulted in such a case. The Colonies are always willing to take a statesmanlike and Imperial view of any question; they do not wish to look at things from their own narrow point of view, but they are willing to take a broad view and meet the Imperial authorities in the most generous spirit. I am afraid, my lord, I have been dwelling too long upon that particular subject; permit me now to say a word or two upon two matters mentioned in the resolution; that is, the defence of the ports and commerce of the Empire in time of war, and the subject of commercial, postal, and telegraphic intercommunication. With reference to the defences, the course taken by the Imperial Government within the last two or three years, so far as Australia is concerned, is one that I think exceedingly wise and judicious. The excellent officer who has charge of the Australian naval station has been moving the Local Governments in this respect, and the Local Governments, I know of my own knowledge, are quite prepared, not merely to do anything towards the defence of their own particular harbours and cities on the coast, but they are prepared to do something towards what may be called the coastal defence by means of ships of war and so on. The difficulty, of course, is to apportion the share that ought to fall upon the shoulders of the Imperial authorities, and that which the Colonies ought to bear. These are matters of detail, and I do not know that they can be worked out better, at all events so far as the Australian Colonies are concerned, than they are being worked out at the present time. If the course that Admiral Tryon has adopted lately be pursued steadily, I have no doubt, so far as the defences are concerned on the Australian coast, that that problem will be satisfactorily solved before long. With respect to the other matter, commercial and postal telegraphic intercommunication, so far as commerce is concerned I do not know that we could have any more direct communication than we have now. On the question of postal communication there is one point that I think might be noted particularly as being likely to give an impetus to some reform in that direction, and that is in respect to the Postal Union. An attempt was made recently to bring the Australian Colonies within the postal union, and it fell through chiefly on a technical question; but it was not taken up with any spirit in the Colonies, for this simple reason: that when the thing was worked out it was found that the present fixed postage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. added to the charge for the sea transit—the ocean transit—brought the amount to be charged for a half-ounce letter to about the same figure that we pay now. If it had been possible to have given the people of Australia inducement, by a reduction of the postage, I have no doubt that they would have taken very much more interest in the matter. I see, myself, no reason why Australia should not be admitted to the union on the same terms as America. Of course, the difference is greater in the case of Australia, but that is only a matter of degree, and I think that transoceanic members of the postal union should have their letters carried at the same rate as, for example, the European members. These two points, my lord, are, I think, well worthy of the consideration of the Government, and I now have simply to apologise for having spoken at such length, appearing (as I have explained) quite unofficially and without any representative authority whatever.

LORD BRASSEY: The next speaker I will ask to address your lordship is Mr. Peter Redpath. He is the representative in England of the League in Canada, and he represents the Montreal Chamber of Commerce.

MR. REDPATH: My lord, the members of the Imperial Federation League feel that the time has come to take a step forward. They have often been asked to show some practical scheme of federation, and to state how difficulties arising from different fiscal policies and other causes are to be overcome. No one can deny that difficulties may present themselves: were there no difficulties in conducting the affairs of a great empire there would be no need for statesmen. It is very respectfully proposed that Her Majesty's Government, either by summoning a Conference which should represent all political parties, or through the instrumentality of a Royal Commission, should ascertain what the difficulties really are, and whether they cannot be successfully met. We have confidence enough in the ability and earnestness of the statesmen of the Mother Country and of the Colonies to believe that ere very long a satisfactory solution of the question will be obtained. The first suggestion which the League ventures to make has reference to the defence of the Ports and Commerce of the Empire in time of war. To maintain her relative position among the nations, Britain must largely depend upon her Colonies. When the Colonies were weak, they were, perhaps, a source of weakness; now that they are becoming strong, they are, or may be made, a source of strength. The British Islands are not likely ever to maintain a very much larger population than they have now, but in the Colonies there is room for indefinite increase. Canada has had for some time her Military School, to which has been granted a certain number of commissions annually to qualified cadets. The efficiency of the training is beyond dispute; the young men who receive commissions become officers in the British Army, and gain experience by serving in different parts of the world. I believe that not a little of the enthusiastic loyalty of young Canadians in my early days was due to the presence of British troops. The Conference might consider whether, consistently with the interests of the Service, and under specified conditions, there might not always be one or more battalions of the army in each of the large Colonies. Their presence would, doubtless, stimulate the zeal of the volunteers and tend to improve their discipline and drill. Canada might also have its Naval

College and training ships for officers and men, who should be eligible for any position in the Royal Navy for which they were found qualified. The conditions of such an arrangement with Canada and the other Colonies might be discussed at the proposed Conference. It is admitted that Canada has, by the construction of its great railway, which now connects the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, made a very important contribution to the defence of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) Before the Rocky Mountain section of the road was ready for general traffic, a consignment of naval stores was sent from Quebec to Vancouver in six days and a half; now, in case of need (and I have authority for saying this), ten thousand troops could be conveyed from Halifax to Vancouver in a week. Canada is prepared to join hands with the Australasian Colonies across the Pacific Ocean, and hopes to have, ere long, cable and steamship communication with them in that direction. The Colonies and the Mother Country being bound together for defence, there would be a growing desire for commercial intercourse, and that desire would tend towards the removal of fiscal and all other difficulties. I will not longer trespass on your lordship's time.

LORD BRASSEY: I will now ask the Hon. P. Vanderbyl, Member of the Legislative Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope, and head of the great Dutch House established at the Cape for 16 generations, to address your lordship.

MR. VANDERBYL: My lord, after the able speeches of Mr. Service and Mr. Redpath it is very difficult for me to add anything, but I have been asked to say a few words. At no time during the history of England has there been a question brought before the public of more vital importance to the welfare of our United Kingdom and of the Colonies. I have just been on a visit through the Australian Colonies, America, and Canada, with the object of seeing the different administrations and the different conditions of the Colonies, for the future benefit of my own Colony; and I have besides taken the opportunity during my stay in England of observing the condition in which I find England now as compared with what I saw when I was in this country thirty-five years ago. The object of our gathering here to-day is, I take it, to strengthen and unite the bond of federal union—a union of the United Kingdom and a union of our British Colonies. I am perfectly satisfied that, so far as Australia is concerned, there will be very little or no difficulty in a union with the United Kingdom. The most difficult Colony to deal with is my own Colony; and the cause of that, as I have no doubt your lordship is aware, is the critical position in which we have always been in connection with our native wars and Colonial wars, which has always prejudiced a certain section of our community against England. That feeling has mostly been caused by misrepresentation in England; but all these things are gradually dying out, and I can say, speaking as a Colonial man and connected with the Cape Colony, that there is no Colony under the British flag more loyal than our Cape Colony. I am perfectly satisfied that if at any time a call was made upon the Cape Colony she would be prepared to use every effort in protecting England's interests. In my travels through the Australian Colonies, I have visited every port and every institution; and from what I have seen, and comparing it with the Cape, I consider that there is no Colony better situated to protect the interests of England than the Cape. All we want is the works and the guns—we will find the men ourselves. In corroboration of my statement with reference to that, I need only refer to our late Commander-in-Chief, Sir Leicester Smyth. When I parted with him at the Cape, his last words were that, if proper steps were taken, the Cape might become a second Gibraltar. It has all the advantages of a central situation, being midway between England and India. A block on the Suez Canal would check the advance of troops by that route, and the only other that would be available would be by the Cape. The healthy state of our climate, and all the advantages we have in the way of graving docks and other docks, railway appliances, coal, and provisions, would make the Cape not alone a first-class naval station but also a first-class military station, from which troops could be transferred to any part of the world. We have at the present moment telegraphic communication from the East, and we intend laying a cable now on the Western coast, so that in case of war we shall always have facilities of communication either the one way or the other. I do not think it is necessary, my lord, for me to enter into further details about the history of our Colony. We are, as I stated, at this moment under responsible Government. Our Colony has not prospered as well as it ought to have done during the past two years, but things are righting themselves. We are not in a position of ourselves to place our Colony in a defensive position; but if England is prepared to make some sacrifice in the direction I have alluded to, I have no doubt she will meet with the cordial support of our Government. I only hope that before we leave England (because there are now in this country perhaps more Colonial men than there are likely to be again for years to come), we shall come to an understanding with regard to this, the great question of the day. We shall never have the opportunity again; we might now do in a week what might take perhaps years in correspondence. Knowing the position and the power of other great countries on the Continent, we think the time has come for definite action. Russia is making great strides in the East; so is Germany. We do think that, as our position is now more critical than it has ever been before, we should take advantage of the present opportunity and take every step in our power to strengthen our hands. We have plenty of room for your overplus population. Australia is large enough and strong enough to hold millions and millions of your surplus population; the Cape Colony is the same, for we have an immense breadth of land; and so it is in New Zealand and the other places I have visited. I have no doubt that a federal union, for the purposes of defence and of commercial intercourse, with a proper laying down of cables and so forth, might be developed into a great Empire, so that we could, I might say, defy the whole world.

LORD BRASSEY: My lord, the last speaker I will ask to address you is Captain Colomb, M.P. for the Bow and Bromley division of the Tower Hamlets.

CAPTAIN COLOMB: I shall not presume, my lord, to detain you at any length; but in accordance with the arrangements of the Committee,

it becomes my duty to impress upon your lordship that the object of our meeting here to-day is to ask you, my lord, as the head of Her Majesty's Government, to take a definite and practical step as stated in the resolution. It is, in short, simply to call together responsible and practical men, representatives of the self-governing communities beyond the sea, to meet those of the Mother Country, to consult and discuss freely and fully the way to do the practical business of the defence of the Empire, which is a common concern to all, and to promote the commercial and postal and telegraphic communication between them. That, my lord, is a very rational and very reasonable step. Perhaps you will allow me to add that this is not a hasty resolution. It has been well considered and sent to the different branches of the League throughout the Empire. Its principle was approved of by Mr. Forster as the first practical step that should be taken; and, seeing this deputation here, I trust your lordship will see that we are taking a very common-sense view of our position. We never have had a consultation between the self-governing communities and the Mother Country; communications are filtered through departments and through all sorts of forms. With regard to defence, I would only say this, that there has been an immensity of correspondence, there has been a Royal Commission, and very little at all has come of it. Therefore we feel that the first step to be taken is not to consider what scheme is to be adopted but to bring together those most competent to discuss in a practical way practical questions; and we have no doubt that all that should be left undone now will be left undone, and that all that can be done now will be done, by such a Conference or Royal Commission.

LORD SALISBURY, in reply, said: My lords and gentlemen,—I should say in the first place that this proposition which you have made to me to-day is one that I could not answer on my own authority, because I must take counsel with my colleagues, and ascertain the will of the Cabinet, before any definite reply could be made. At the same time, I should say that I am here rather to listen to the observations which you have to make and the information which you have to give to Her Majesty's Government than to comment on it in any detail myself, or to go more deeply into those questions of policy which must be the subject of careful consideration on the part of the Government. I cannot underrate—it would be difficult to overrate—the importance of this deputation, and of the cause which it has in hand. I do not ever remember any feeling having grown up so suddenly and obtained such a rapid increase, both in this country and in the Colonies, as the desire which is expressed by the wish for Imperial Federation. This growth is all the more remarkable that this wish has not yet formed itself in the shape of definite propositions. It expresses more a sentiment, an instinct, a consciousness of a want, than the proposal of a formed policy to which men can pledge themselves. That seems to be still in the future; and I have known some of the most important advocates of this scheme deprecate earnestly the premature formation of definite and detailed proposals. (Hear, hear.) I believe that that is a very wise conclusion, because the subjects with which you have to deal are of enormous complication and difficulty; but I think it would be a very great mistake to imagine that, because we have not definite propositions before us, therefore the movement is shadowy and unreal. (Cheers.) On the contrary, I should say that there is a force of feeling and sentiment which has been slowly gathering, and which will find an outlet some way or another. It is for those who are charged with the destinies of the commonwealth, both at home and beyond the sea, to do all they can to guide that feeling into right channels, so that it shall assure, for many generations to come, the greatness of the Empire. (Cheers.) The difficulties that attach to this question have been indicated in the very interesting discussion to which we have listened to-day. Mr. Service touched upon the questions of foreign policy, and his remarks went to show not only the enormous difficulty of them but the absolute necessity of sufficient communication between the Governments at home and in Australia, and between the populations at home and in Australia, in order to bring public feeling into harmony, and to inform it sufficiently of the task to be performed. I may say that when he spoke of negotiating the Germans out of New Guinea, and the French out of New Caledonia, I think he was not dealing with matters within the immediate range of practical politics; but it indicated to me how large and difficult the field was, and what an absolute necessity there was for abundant intercommunication, in order that misunderstandings of the real nature of the problem we have to deal with might be avoided. Then another observation dropped, I think from one of the other speakers, to the effect that greater postal and railway communication would be attended with freer commercial intercourse, and that that would tend to the levelling, as I understood him, of fiscal barriers. How delicate that question is I need not observe, but it is one of the most interesting connected with the subject of Imperial Federation, and requires, both at home and abroad, very careful and assiduous discussion before the public opinion of the various communities will be sufficiently in unison to give rise to common and united action. (Hear, hear.) The proposal to-day is of a more limited and practical character; and if it is wise for the Imperial Federation League to avoid going too far into a speculative field, and entering upon matters which are not ripe for discussion, of course it is still more incumbent upon Her Majesty's Government to do so. We must be very glad, therefore, to see that the matters with which it is proposed that this Conference, if it should come to pass, should deal, are matters which are advanced very far to maturity, and on which, probably, there is a great deal which can be done within a reasonable space of time. We all of us must feel that, fully as our telegraphic and commercial intercommunication has been pushed, it can yet be pushed a great deal farther, and be made a great deal more perfect by a full understanding between the Colonies and the Mother Country. That is still more the case in respect to the somewhat urgent question of Imperial Defence. As you are well aware, this matter has been under the consideration of the Colonial Governments and of the Home Government for a long period of time. The difficulties in the way of an adequate solution are better known, perhaps, to Lord Brassey than to anybody else. They are difficulties which are not only connected with fiscal, but with many other questions; but they

are eminently difficulties which communication between the Colonies and the Mother Country will be able to overcome. The Colonies have lately shown, in a very remarkable case, how practically they are prepared to take part in the defence of the great interest of the Empire, and what sacrifices they are prepared to make in that interest (hear, hear), and I believe they will be met, as they have been met, in a corresponding spirit by the Mother Country. I hope that the day may come when not only we may contribute to the support materially of the means of defence, but that the men who give their lives and careers for the defence of their country may be drawn together more closely in an organised whole for the defence of the whole Empire. These are matters upon which I should be sorry to enter into detail. I do not underrate the difficulties that there are, but I do not believe that those difficulties are such as to prevent the arriving at an ultimate solution. (Hear, hear.) The great object which is before this League, and which it has been the desire of this deputation to enforce, is that the Mother Country and the Colonies should act together on those matters which concern their common interests. That is a desire which I believe statesmen will always have to keep before them, and I am quite sure that Her Majesty's Government will reciprocate the feelings that have been expressed in this room. I will lay before them what you have suggested, and take care that your arguments shall be carefully considered by the Cabinet; and I am sure that we shall approach this question and consider the representations of this deputation, feeling that we are dealing with questions which will affect, for many a generation to come, vast portions of the earth's surface, and many, many millions of the subjects of the Queen. (Cheers.)

LORD BRASSEY: My lord, I have to thank you very much, on behalf of the deputation, for your kindness in receiving them, and for your sympathetic words.

The deputation then withdrew.

THE PRESS ON THE DEPUTATION TO LORD SALISBURY.

THE *Times* allows that "the idea of a Federal union between the different parts of the Empire has emerged from the region of mere theory and aspiration, and come to be reckoned among the practical problems awaiting solution at the hands of statesmen;" and, after reviewing the rapid ripening of the question and the events which have placed Federation in its present fore-front position, it proceeds:—

The deputation had thus a great deal to go upon, both in the way of recognised need and incipient achievement, when they pressed Lord Salisbury to take up immediately the whole question of Imperial defence and communications. And the Prime Minister, in his reply, recognised to the full, not only the growing strength of the Imperial sentiment, but the highly practical form which on this occasion that sentiment had taken. His tone was evidently satisfactory to the deputation, and, if he gave no definite assurances of an intention to comply with their requests, he went, perhaps, as far in that direction as the circumstances justified; for the Federation League, important body though it is, and representative of Colonial as well as of English feeling, is nevertheless not accredited to speak in the names of our self-governing Colonies.

The *Daily Telegraph*, in an appreciative article, remarked:—

The condition of the public mind with respect to Imperial Federation was described with his usual felicity by the Prime Minister. He could not, he said, remember any movement which had shown such remarkable growth, both here and in the Colonies; and he added, with much force, that though this movement gave expression less to any very defined policy than to "the consciousness of something wanting in the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies," it could not be said that the question itself "was shadowy and unreal, for all must be aware how much could be done in the direction indicated." We could wish that "all" were indeed aware; but there are, unfortunately, too many persons of limited imagination who argue from the generally vague character of that "consciousness of something wanting" to which Lord Salisbury referred, that the aim of Federationists must in itself be visionary. It is not, however, the magnitude of the end, but only the impracticability of the means, which can justly earn the description of "visionary" for any political project, and it would be easy to show that it is to the former cause that the Federation scheme owes the sole difficulty of its acceptance. No great work achieved by man was ever otherwise than vaguely conceived of by the great mass of men before its actual accomplishment. Individual men of imagination and insight must first convince the multitude of their slower-thinking and shorter-sighted fellows, step by step, that the successive stages of the enterprise are attainable, and to wait patiently for the operation of the great truth that "seeing is believing" to enable them to realise the grandeur of the completed whole. In accordance with this eminently judicious mode of procedure the League are acting. They invite the action of a Conference or of a Royal Commission to consider certain specific proposals of improvement in the relation of the Colonies to each other and to the Mother Country; and with these proposals even men who are sceptical of the possibility of Federation on a comprehensive scale must, of course, be willing to co-operate.

The *Standard* considers that the speech of Lord Salisbury "marks the very great advance which has been made within the last few years towards recognising the policy of a closer combination with our Colonies." It proceeds:—

Though we do not altogether agree with Lord Salisbury's remarks upon Democracy, we are happy to think that at all events the reaction against these doctrines has been a thoroughly popular movement, and that it was the English Democracy which saw much sooner than the middle classes the folly and madness of losing our hold upon our great Colonial Empire. The Federation, if ever it is effected, will doubtless

be formed on a Democratic basis, nor is it unnatural that it should be so. But, at the same time, there will be the widest sympathy on the part of our Colonies with every class which has helped to build up the Empire and make the name of England glorious; and we may gather from the speech of Sir Adolphe Caron at the Mansion House the spirit which actuates not only Canada, but all our English Colonies throughout the world. It is a sense of English greatness, a pride in belonging to so famous and ancient an Empire, a generous enthusiasm for all that is noble and sublime in our common history, and not merely commercial or utilitarian advantages, which bind the Colonists to the Mother Country. Care must be taken to show that England recognises and appreciates this sentiment; and that the delay which may occur in clothing it with a practical form is due to no lukewarmness on our own part, but only to a laudable anxiety that the true principles of Federation should suffer no injury from any premature attempt to act upon them.

The *Morning Post* is of opinion that the question of Imperial Federation is not a matter for the British Parliament only, but for the members of the British Empire to settle. It says:—

The Prime Minister sees this vitally important phase of the case, and he expressed it with admirable felicity. He seized at once on the point as one on which there can be no difference of opinion. He did not conceal his opinion that the question had now been fairly brought before the public mind, both in England and in the Colonies, and he promised that the representations of the deputation should be carefully considered by the Cabinet. This assurance will be taken as sufficient by all those who, while deeply anxious for the success of the scheme of Imperial Federation, do not shut their eyes to the dangers that wait on any premature attempt to formulate a hard and fast plan. The subject has now taken a foremost place in the thoughts of all Englishmen. It is best to let public opinion work freely upon it. No definite scheme has yet been drawn up; but the committee of the Imperial Federation League will no doubt have many conferences on the subject with the eminent men from the Colonies who are now in England. In this way the question will, we believe, be more rapidly, and more successfully matured, than by the interference of the Legislature. When the right moment comes it is certain that Lord Salisbury's Government will be found ready and willing to give practical effect to the views of those Englishmen—the vast majority of the race—who desire that the British Empire shall be in a fuller sense than it has ever been, one and indivisible.

The *Daily Chronicle* points out that the Premier gave utterance to sentiments which show that he is in sympathy with the object which the members of the League have in view, and says:—

It was not to be expected, however, that Lord Salisbury would commit himself to any definite statement as to the policy which his Government intended to pursue on the subject, or that he would even promise to appoint a conference or a Royal Commission to inquire into the best means of giving practical expression to the public feeling upon it. There are great difficulties in the way of formulating such a scheme of Imperial Federation as would command the serious attention of the Home Government and the Governments of the various dependencies of the Crown. As Lord Salisbury pointed out, these difficulties relate not only to fiscal but to naval and military and various other questions. While, however, his lordship did not underrate the difficulties involved in the consideration of the question, he expressed the opinion that they are not such as it would be impossible for the united efforts of the Imperial Parliament and the Legislatures of the Colonies to solve.

In the *Morning Advertiser* a highly sympathetic and able article commenced with the words, "Yesterday the cause of Imperial Federation took a grand step forward." It declared that:—

In effect Imperial Federation had merged out of that realm which cynics are disposed to speak of as dreamland. We said ever so long ago that it was a reality. To-day everybody recognises that it is one of those first facts with which statesmen have to deal. We are glad also to notice that the Imperial Federation League, when it waited on Lord Salisbury yesterday, displayed so entirely practical a spirit. It did not sail away into the empyrean, trifling with imposing phraseology and bewildering sturdy English common sense. It was eminently methodic and business-like. It confined itself to what is obtainable within a limited and reasonable period.

The "success achieved by those earnest and patriotic thinkers who wish England to rise equal to the emergencies promised in her future" was described by the *Advertiser* as "remarkable." It affirmed that:—

The condition of the world at large has made patent to every Englishman of average intelligence that, if his race was to retain its old position in the councils of the two hemispheres, it was to be accomplished only by the binding closely into one of the scattered members of our earth-overspreading nationality. The Russians, under the autocratic régime of the Czar, are building up a colossal power which is a terrible danger to Asia, and may prove to Europe as formidable a foe as ever were the Huns of Attila. They already treble the population of these isles. Their natural rate of increase is great and they are now adding new millions to their numbers. Germany is absorbing Central Europe, and is rejoicing in a remarkable industrial revival. The United States stands as regards population at between fifty and sixty millions, and soon they will have three hundred millions of inhabitants. It is evident that if we are not to speak with bated breath in the presence of the Colossi ranged around us, if we are to hold towards foreigners the attitude which we held in the days of Raleigh and Drake, of Marlborough and of Nelson, we must expand as a State far beyond the limits of this island. We have done so, as a matter of fact, already; but our cohesion is loose, and so loose that many people have ventured to dispute its existence at all. It is essential that England,

the greater England, when she has to deal with the other surrounding Powers of the earth, should give voice to the meaning of not thirty-five millions alone, but of sixty million Britons, and that in the near future. Till by some method every Colony is represented in the Imperial Council, this is palpably impossible. A great Empire is a great blessing to those who have the privilege of belonging to it. How great a blessing it is, is perhaps only realised by those who have lost it. Its outcome is pleasure, safety, pride. We enjoy our goods in peace because we are strong. We can look any foreigner in the face without heartburning because we are great. We feel confidence and pleasure in immunity from attack, inasmuch as we know that no one would lightly assail us or could do so with impunity. How cruelly, then, should we not feel our position if, with all that heritage of independence which we have taken from our sires, we were compelled to the demeanour of incompetence and insignificance. The horror of such an anticipation has, we doubt not, worked powerfully with the British people all the world over to make the necessary effort which shall enable us to give the lie to all prophecies of gloom.

The *Globe* says:—

The sum total of the advantages to be gained by Imperial Federation can as yet only be roughly estimated. But the result will probably surpass all prevision. The substantial commercial gains seem obvious; the gain of political strength seems likely to be immense; and yet both will almost certainly be greater than is generally anticipated. The difficulties and dangers, on the other hand are not slight, but they are not such as need be shrunk from by men of courage and judgment. Any Government, holding power at this critical and interesting period of our Imperial history, will be deeply to blame if it neglects this great opportunity. Lord Salisbury's Government will certainly not be guilty of any dulness in dealing with this important question, nor of any intemperate haste, which would be almost as fatal a mistake.

The *St. James's Gazette* considers that the League "took a thoroughly judicious step" in sending the deputation, and notes that the prevailing tone of the Premier's speech was such as to give satisfaction. With regard to the request for a Royal Commission it says:—

Whether a Royal Commission, as suggested by the deputation, is the best way of acquiring information on these subjects, is a question for the Government to consider. The English public are a little too much inclined to regard a Royal Commission as a polite name for a shelf, to make the English supporters of the present proposals specially anxious to see that particular method of inquiry adopted. With regard to postal and telegraphic improvements, it would decidedly seem that the Postmaster-General, with the ordinary sources of information at his command, should be able to produce a working scheme more quickly and better than a Royal Commission. Mr. Raikes, of course, is a member of a Ministry which has got to make peace in Ireland; but he must still have a good deal of time left for the work of his department. As to joint measures for defence, perhaps there is more to be said for the erection of special machinery. The War Office and Admiralty will probably be busy for some little time with matters which cannot wait, and the Ordnance Committee is, perhaps, not the institution to which one would recommend a visitor to go for advice. But whatever steps the Government may eventually decide to take, they cannot go far wrong in promoting both the objects proposed yesterday by the friends of Federation.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in reference to the words of Lord Salisbury, "It is the duty of those who are charged with the destinies of the commonwealth to do all they can to guide the feeling for Imperial Federation," said:—

That is an excellent motto for the new Government to adopt on its entrance into office. We shall all wait with some anxiety for Lord Salisbury's first attempt to make it good. There is one step—the condition precedent of all others—which might and should be taken at once. The great need, said Lord Salisbury, is "a full understanding between the Colonies and the Mother Country"; but that will never be effected until the means of communication are improved. This simple matter of a cheapened postal and telegraphic service with the Colonies is an admirable touchstone of politicians' sincerity in this matter. The Ministry which does not think it worth while to spend any money or trouble on securing a cheap Colonial post, need not talk of its devotion to the idea of Imperial Federation. Platonic love does not count in politics.

The *Echo*, relapsing into its old and pernicious habit of carping at everything of a patriotic character—a habit which we thought from its recent utterance on a great question of Imperial politics it had, by a manly effort, got the better of—saw nothing in the proceedings and speeches but an illustration of the difficulties in the way of Imperial Federation. "Nothing," it confessed, "was more necessary" than what the deputation urged, but:—

Study the speeches of the different Agents-General, and it will be found that they ask for much and offer nothing. We do not blame them. They are but following the example of older and mightier States, and it is not for English statesmen who, when the Colonies were poor and weak paid scant attention to their wants, to rail at them. But we must look facts in the face; and the cardinal fact of the situation, as regards Federation, is that the interests of the Mother Country and the greater Colonies, as interpreted by their leading men, are not identical. The fate of the New Hebrides, and even of New Guinea, matters to which the Australians attach such importance, are of but secondary concern to England; the progress of Russia in Asia, about which England is always uneasy, does not interest the Colonists in the slightest degree; the right of American fishermen to buy bait in Canadian waters would be readily admitted in England, it is hotly contested in the Dominion. And so, in many other matters, there is

concord between England and her Colonies only because they agree to differ. Attempt to tighten the bonds of union, and this wise tolerance would no longer be possible.

Space will not permit us to give excerpts from the London weekly press and the provincial press. We cannot, however, refrain from remarking that legions of leaders have appeared, and that they show an almost universal consensus of opinion in favour of the objects proposed by the League.

HERE AND THERE.

It appears that a new departure is to be taken in the publication by the Board of Trade of a newspaper, giving information on such subjects as trade movements in foreign markets, tariff charges, foreign commercial legislation, port and harbour regulations, and so forth.

ON Thursday, the 5th ult., the Baroness Burdett-Coutts was received at the entrance to the Exhibition in the Cape Court at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition by the Master and Court of the Turners' Company, and, with them, inspected the various models of the diamond mines of South Africa, and the operations showing the actual manner in which diamonds are found, and the processes of cutting, polishing, and mounting and setting into jewellery. Some years ago the late Professor Tennant received from South Africa some soil, which, on examination, he concluded must contain diamonds. When this opinion was verified, it was proposed by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts to him, as Master of the Turners' Company, that the Company of Turners should award prizes for the best specimens of diamond-cutting. This they did, with the result that a great impetus has been given in recent years to diamond-cutting in this country.

THE Canadian artillerymen, whose victories at Shoeburyness were as unexpected as they, to Canadians, must have been gratifying, on the 16th ult. visited the Royal Arsenal at Woolwich, and were entertained at luncheon by the 3rd Kent Artillery Volunteers. In acknowledging the toast of "The Canadian Detachment," Colonel Armstrong said:—"They were glad enough to win prizes; but they believed they had won, moreover, the esteem and admiration of many, and friendships which would last for many a day. He believed these gatherings would do something to bind together the Colonies and the Mother Country, and he hoped, if he lived to see the allotted span of life, to see the Colonies represented in the Legislative councils of the Empire." These and similar sentiments were heartily cheered.

THE party of Colonial visitors, on the occasion of their visit to the Torpedo and Steam Launch Works of Messrs. Yarrow & Co., at Poplar, were conveyed in vessels remarkably illustrative of the peculiar conditions of naval warfare in our times. Vessels with a rudder at either extremity, with cylindrical decks and a shot-proof tower for the helmsman, are those by which future battles will be decided, rather than by floating islands like our ironclads. The vast extent of coast line in the Colonies, and the distances to be traversed between the various coaling stations and islands of remote seas and oceans will render speed of movement essential to any vessels to be employed for the defence of our Colonies. The visitors had ample opportunities of observing the various designs of torpedo boats now in construction for the British, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, Chilean, and Spanish Governments. They might perhaps be surprised that only two torpedo boats had been ordered by this country out of seven in course of construction by the firm. As, says the *Newcastle Daily Journal*, the projected plan of Colonial defences includes a large provision of vessels adapted for coast purposes, the visit of the Colonials may result in some good orders to our famous builders for the latest designs of torpedo boats and steam launches.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury is getting quite an adept at making after-dinner speeches, and says not a few neat and pretty things. For example, when recently the Mayor of Canterbury entertained some two hundred of our Colonial visitors on the occasion of their visit to that ancient city and the fine old cathedral located in it, the Archbishop, appropriately enough, was present, and, replying to the toast of "The Primate," said:—"We knew how in ancient times Plato spoke of the Greeks being always young, and of their going like young children to Egypt. In what a wonderful way was that old parable fulfilled with us. Egypt had in those days become a venerated centre of the world, and the Greeks turned affectionately towards it. Now, when other nations appeared to be coming to the last days of their civilisation—when they were split and torn and cut asunder, and turning from the principles which made them great—now it was that we found England greater than ever, more full of promise than ever; and this time did her sons select to revisit the old scenes. The Greeks also had a magnificent custom of sending out all their Colonies complete, with one

of their foremost citizens at its head. The pledge and warrant of his right to found a Colony was that he carried with him a particle of the sacred fire, and his business it was to see that it never went out until conveyed to the new shore. He knew not whether it was possible to realise the great scale on which that ancient systematic practice if now observed would have to be carried on; but there were approaches to it, and it might well be said that wherever the Colonists had gone they had founded themselves without ever allowing the sacred fire to be extinguished."

FEDERALIST.

LORD ROSEBERY AMONG OUR COLONIAL VISITORS.

ON the 25th ult. the Colonial and Indian delegates in Edinburgh visited a number of places of interest in the city and its neighbourhood. After luncheon the majority of the visitors drove out to Dalmeny Park, which had been thrown open by its owner. Lord and Lady Rosebery were at home to the Colonials for several hours. The Forth Bridge was visited, but a number of others preferred a drive to Roslin and Hawthornden. In the evening the visitors were entertained by the Corporation at a banquet in the Waterloo Rooms. Lord Provost, Sir Thomas Clark, presided.

LORD ROSEBERY was the principal speaker, and in the course of his speech said:—"My Lord Provost, you will recognise the temptations there are in the way of an orator interested in Imperial Federation to take the opportunity of dilating on one of his favourite subjects. I shall not yield to that temptation, but I will say this—that Imperial Federation, apart from all other schemes which may represent the dominant sentiments of Her Majesty's subjects, may come in one way, or it may come in another; but of this every one is as convinced as myself, that in some shape or form it will come. It may not come in the form of a cheap inter-Colonial postage, though I think that will come very soon. (Cheers.) Of course one of the great drawbacks of inter-Imperial sympathy and communication is the fact that if you write to Australia you have to wait three months for an answer and pay 6d. for the postage. But I need not dilate on the various schemes formed for promoting Imperial Federation. One of them, however, is not a direct form, but perhaps the most interesting of all. I allude to the great inter-oceanic route which has been carried out by the enterprise of the Canadian people—(cheers)—and which forms one of those Imperial epochs in the history of the world, in the history of a nation at any rate, not always sufficiently noticed at the time, but which is sure to be recognised and noticed by the chroniclers of the period. Put the question of postage aside, which is a most important one, and put the question of the Imperial Canadian route aside, which is also a most important one, and you stand face to face with the fact that we find the older Empires of Europe are struggling to obtain some little foothold on any continent, or any part of a continent, however barren it may be, which may afford them some shadowy imitation of the British Empire. In these days we cannot fail to recognise that the tendency of the various portions of this Empire, whether at home or abroad, must be either one way or the other, must either tend to separation or must tend to close union. (Cheers.) Now, my prayers, my hopes, my faith, are all on the side of closer union. (Loud cheers.) People say "You have no plan." Why, it is only a few years ago since they said it was impossible to connect the British Islands with the American continent by telegraph, while now companies are competing for the honour of laying lines between Britain and America. (Cheers.) Why, for many centuries we, on the south side of the Forth have been unable to communicate with the northern side of the Forth except by a shivery packet boat. Some of you saw to-day the great effort of engineering science which is to bridge over the space, and which is to make an enormous saving in communication between England and Scotland, besides adding greatly to the engineering triumphs of our country. When we see all these things, that man is a fool who says that anything is impossible; still more is a man a fool who ventures by a cut and dried scheme to anticipate the moment when possibility becomes a reality; still more, in my opinion is the man a fool who endeavours by some system on the foundation of a proposition of Euclid to unite, in the way constitutions were made at the French Revolution, Great Britain and her Colonies, without having beforehand the sympathy, the advice and opinion, of all the parties concerned. (Loud cheers.) But my Lord Provost, I need not detain you one instant longer. I have at the commencement of what I had to say pointed out that if I were a legislator I would appoint the test of travel to our Ministers—our Colonial and Foreign Ministers. That is why I welcome this great representative gathering to-day. I hope that your visit here will draw many of our fellow-subjects at home to see the Colonies and to see India for themselves. (Cheers.) But, on our side, while we come to learn the newer life of our race in our distant regions, we on the other hand, think it right to welcome you here, to ask you to see our ancient cities, our ancient legislation, our cathedrals which represent the immeasurable past in our country, our scenes in Scotland which are endeared to you by the greatest of novelists and one of the greatest of poets. I say we have a right to welcome you here and to ask you to come here, because we ask you to come to the home of the British race. (Loud cheers.) Whatever scheme may be promulgated for uniting the British race, I will never for my part doubt its future as long as that race in Australia, Canada, and India know the British Islands by the name of home. (Loud cheers.) I will not trespass any longer on your time, excepting to ask you to drink to "Our Indian and Colonial Empire" coupled with the names of Mr. Adye Douglas and Mr. P. Kavasjee. (Loud cheers.)

MR. ADYE DOUGLAS (Agent General, Tasmania) and MR. P. KAVASJEE (India) returned thanks.

Among the other toasts were "The Colonial and Indian visitors," and "The City of Edinburgh."

MR. H. TYRRELL ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

ON the 10th ult. Mr. H. Tyrrell, of the Temple, delivered a lecture on Imperial Federation at Milton Hall, Kentish Town, Mr. Turner, of Belmont Street, N.W., in the chair.

MR. TYRRELL remarked that nothing was clearer than that Imperial Federation must be a most important matter for the attention of the British Government in the immediate future, whatever party were in power. Moreover, it not being a party question, the consideration of it need not be interrupted by a change of Government. The problem presented for prompt and serious solution was whether the British Empire, including its vast Colonies and possessions all over the world, should be united in one comprehensive bond of union, or separated into minor fractions; whether it was most for the advantage of the Empire that Great Britain should henceforth mean all that we now exercise control over being joined in one universal Federation, or whether we should retain only a Great Britain composed of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and see each of our large Colonies form itself into a separate and independent nation. His proposition was that the preferable alternative would be that English-speaking people (that was to say emigrants, or men sprung from English people) all over the world should be federated, rather than that there should be a number of English-speaking nations with one language but widely different interests. (Cheers.) If no such federation were effected, the interval must be very short before Australia would become a separate Kingdom or Republic of itself, if not several. On the other hand, it was not for us in these little islands at home to dictate to our immense Colonies, and say to them peremptorily, "We insist upon your coming into the Federation whether you like it or not." We must hold out inducements by showing that it was to their and our mutual advantage. When that had been accomplished with all of them the rest would be comparatively an easy task.

The inquiry therefore divided itself into two branches; first, would Federation be of advantage to Great Britain? Secondly, would it benefit the Colonies?

That the first must be answered in the affirmative was obvious, because Great Britain separated from her Colonies must at once sink into a second rate—a very second rate—European power.

The next question might be safely answered in the same way because, other conditions being satisfied, it must undoubtedly be an advantage for a Colony on the other side of the globe to have one great central European power to rely upon in case of emergency; and Great Britain confederated must beyond all doubt be the most powerful nation in the hemisphere.

The lecturer then dealt with the difficulties which had to be met, and the obstacles which had to be overcome. He noticed the race difficulty, Federal administration, Imperial and local interests, fiscal arrangements, &c., and concluded as follows:—

The grand desideratum of course would be to make the interests of all perfectly identical if that were possible, and to have the same laws for every branch of the Federation; but here came in what some politicians feared would be the fatal stumbling-block of the whole scheme, viz., the free-trade question. If it were intended that the proposed Federation should last through all future generations into eternity, that question must be settled once for all at the outset. (Hear.) He trusted that at the numerous meetings about to be held all over the country for the discussion and elucidation of the difficulties he had referred to, solutions would be arrived at sufficiently satisfactory to enable the grandest idea of modern times to be successfully reduced to practice. (Cheers.)

After some complimentary remarks to the lecturer, in which the audience cordially joined,

MR. RICHES delivered a congratulatory and hopeful address, predicting that the Protectionist policy of other countries need not trouble us after the Federation was effected, because our own Colonies could now abundantly supply us with every necessary of life, and if for a few years our patriotism made our Government a little more expensive, he did not believe the people would mind the temporary cost of creating so vast and magnificent an Empire. (Cheers.)

MR. READY, who had travelled much, also urged the speedy adoption of Federation, having Canada especially in his mind, for the old Monroe doctrine that every part of the American continent, North and South, was the natural and predestined property of the United States, was anything but dead in the American mind, and in view of recent Irish complications, there was no telling how soon it might be revived.

Discussion having been invited,

A gentleman suggested that it would be advisable to dispose of the main obstacles in detail, one by one, and that at the forthcoming meetings the greatest difficulty (*i.e.* the adoption of universal Free Trade throughout the Federation) should be dealt with first. (Hear.)

THE CHAIRMAN thought the suggestion a very excellent one. (Hear.)

MR. A. A. REES, in a vigorous address, then pointed out, as another illustration of good sometimes coming out of evil, that the mischievous disruption scheme, as he termed it, of the late Prime Minister had done more to cement the unity of the different parts of the British Empire than anything that had ever happened in its entire history.

MR. BARTLETT then moved a resolution in favour of the Federation policy as beneficial to the Empire generally, and spoke at length upon the valuable and striking impetus given to the movement by the Colonial and Indian Exhibition.

MR. T. WILLIAMS, a Welsh gentleman, who said he was of rather "advanced" views, but would nevertheless cordially second the motion, cautioned whoever had to settle the ultimate arrangement, that there were 200,000,000 of people in India who, like his countrymen, were utterly distinct from the English in language, thought, and sentiment, and always would be, and from their vast numbers they would require very delicate handling.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks to the lecturer and chairman terminated the proceedings.

COLONIAL TARIFFS.

ON July 28th, too late in the month to be noticed in the last number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, Mr. Stephen Bourne read an able paper on the above subject in the Conference Room at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. The chair was taken by Mr. Andrew Robertson, of the Harbour Commissioners of Montreal. Mr. Bourne remarked that there was so much diversity of opinion on the topic he was about to discuss that he could not hope to exhaust his subject within the limits of a single paper. In spite of the numerous interests involved in the fiscal arrangements of the various parts of the Empire, it was necessary, if the Empire was to be Federated, that some agreement should be come to on the matter of tariffs. The principal objects of import duties were three in number, namely, to raise revenue, to protect home industries, and to keep out of the country any articles which were deemed prejudicial to the safety and welfare of the people. The last of these, however, need not be discussed on the present occasion, as there was little disagreement regarding it. England had gone from the extreme of Protection to almost absolute freedom of trade, and if Free Trade was a benefit to her, why should it not be to the Colonists also? Protectionist views had gained some ground of late; but Mr. Bourne expressed the opinion that if differential duties were adopted England could not continue to be the great trading and manufacturing country she now was. Canada and New Zealand were the most protective of the Colonies, and New South Wales had made the nearest approach to Free Trade. In Canada about 800 articles were specifically subjected to import duties, and in New Zealand nearly as many. A large proportion of these were taxed mainly for purposes of revenue, but a great many merely to benefit the colonial manufacturers. It was unfair to England that, whereas she admitted colonial goods free, her exports were taxed in the Colonies. These colonial protective duties heavily handicapped the colonial producers themselves, by compelling them to pay more for the materials they imported and to give higher wages. If an article cost more to produce in a country than it cost to import from elsewhere, some one or other must sustain a loss for the benefit of the manufacturer; while if it cost less there were no need to protect it at all. It was not fair that the Canadian wheat grower should pay protective duties on his provisions or implements while he had to send his wheat to a market where he obtained no advantage from protective duties. But even for revenue purposes the complicated tariffs of the Colonies were hardly desirable. Duties were sometimes spoken of as though they yielded so much income to the State, instead of merely transferring it from certain persons to the Government. Uniformity of tariffs throughout the Empire was what we should aim at, although we might endeavour by our fiscal arrangements to compel foreign countries to trade with us on equal terms. Reciprocity would not arrest the downward tendency of our export trade, and it would injure our carrying trade; but we should simply deny to foreign countries which would not take our goods the free-trade facilities of our own ports. If France would not take our cottons, we should refuse to take her cheap sugars. The question was, would this bring other countries to terms? Mr. Bourne believed it would, if a prohibitory, not a protective, duty were put on their goods, to be taken off when they admitted ours. But for the success of this plan it was necessary that several of the chief Colonies should join with us, and we could then rely upon Colonial resources if we were cut off from other countries. Complete equality of trade throughout the Empire and uniformity of tariffs were the objects we should strive for. Other countries should be admitted to the same terms, provided they reciprocated, but otherwise they should be prohibited from sending us their goods. With our immense variety of soil and climate, and our enormous carrying facilities, we need fear nothing. Mr. H. Moncrieff Paul thanked Mr. Bourne for reading his able paper, and remarked that everything said on the subject by Mr. Bourne, who was a great statistician, came with authority. He (Mr. Paul) felt sure that fiscal union lay at the very basis of Federation, and alluded to the attempts which had been made to levy duties between New South Wales and Victoria. Sir John Hall protested against the doctrine that Federation and fiscal union must go together. No more fatal argument than this could be used against Federation, for any proposal to Federate the Empire on the principle of interfering with the fiscal liberty of the Colonies would simply be shelved. It had not been at all shown that the one scheme was inseparable from the other, the object of a Federation being simply to unite for the purpose of establishing a common foreign policy and for common defence in time of danger. Mr. Arch. McGoun thought that it would be suicidal for us to cut off our supply of breadstuffs from foreign countries, although we might place a small duty on them and admit Colonial supplies free. Mr. J. B. Perry, of Toronto, remarked that one of the aims of Imperial Federationists was to direct the stream of emigrants from the United States to the Colonies. If a prohibitory duty were placed on United States wheat the vast resources of Canada would then have to be developed, and the emigrants from our shores would then naturally go there. After a few words from the chairman on the tariff question in Canada, Mr. Bourne replied to the criticisms which had been offered on his paper, maintaining that the Canadian tariffs had artificially stimulated the cotton manufacturing industry until it was completely overdone. The proceedings then terminated with the customary votes of thanks.

IN the plan we gave in our last number of the tables at the Imperial Federation League Banquet appears the name of Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster. Mr. Arnold-Forster was not, however, able to be present, not from lack of interest or sympathy, for he is, as is well-known in Federation circles, an enthusiastic supporter of the League and its work, but because he was absorbed in a keenly-contested election at Darlington. The place assigned to him was occupied by Mr. James Stanley Little, whose name does not appear in the plan.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

SHALL THE MOTHER COUNTRY OR THE COLONIES TAKE THE INITIATIVE?

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—As a colonist in New Zealand and Australia for twenty-five years I take the deepest interest in the Imperial Federation question, and my stay for the last three months in the Old Country (as we call it) has convinced me there never was a time in the history of England when she more required to take some important step to assist her in holding her supremacy among the other Powers of the world.

It must be done at once, as it is not to be supposed that the Colonies will be content to remain long in their present insecure and unsatisfactory position; as they are liable at any time that England engages in war (without having one word to say in the matter) to be immediately attacked, and their trade destroyed; they must either federate with England or lose her, so as not to be placed in this unenviable position.

I regret to see that the Chairman of the Imperial Federation League, the Earl of Rosebery, and a late Minister of the Crown, in speaking at a conference held in the Exhibition building a few days ago, gave it as his opinion that any further steps in this matter must be taken by the Colonies themselves. I beg with all due respect to his political knowledge to entirely disagree with him, and say that any proposal for Imperial Federation must come from the people of England through their representatives in Parliament, and until it does it never will be an accomplished fact. The people must force this question before their representatives with no uncertain hand, and as a national question of the most vital importance.—I am, &c.

C. F. BARKER.

[This letter came to hand just too late to appear in August number.—ED.]

LORD SALISBURY ON THE LEAGUE.

IF ever a man gave evidence by his manner of feeling to the utmost importance of every word which fell from his lips, that man was Lord Salisbury in the speech which he made on the occasion of his reception of the deputation of the Imperial Federation League. The Prime Minister spoke in a quiet, direct conversational manner, as a friend would speak to a friend upon any subject deeply interesting to both. There was an earnestness and a sympathetic calmness in his words. He evidently felt that he was the central figure of an assembly whose meeting that day was destined to become historical. To say too much, to say too little, might prove fatal to the project under discussion. Showing a deep sympathy with the purpose of the League, the noble Lord was careful to keep well before his own view and that of his suppliants the immense difficulties which confronted them. But he assured his audience that he for one was ready to meet these difficulties in a brave and prayerful spirit, and he sent the deputation away full of hope and confidence for the future.

J. S. L.

COLONIAL DEFENCE.

ADMIRAL GEORGE TRYON, C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Australian Station, has, in a circular, given the following description of the vessels required for the defence of the Australian coasts:—In the opinion of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the most suitable vessels for the proposed service are vessels of the *Archer* class, and also fast sea-going torpedo vessels. The *Archer* is a vessel of 1,630 tons displacement, will steam 17 knots, and be armed with six 6-inch breech-loading rifled guns, and would also carry torpedoes. The recently designed fast torpedo-boats have a displacement of 430 tons, steam 19 knots, and will be armed with three tubes for Whitehead torpedoes, with one 3-inch breech-loading rifle gun, four quick-firing, and two machine-guns. As to the number to be provided, this is naturally a matter that is dependent in a great measure on the funds that are disposable for the purpose; but in their Lordships' opinion, five *Archers* and two sea-going torpedo vessels in time of war would, with the squadron on the station, give a very fair offensive and defensive protection.

The estimated cost is given in a telegram from the Admiralty, dated April 25, 1886:—Original cost: *Archer*, £106,486; torpedo-catcher, £46,729. Annual maintenance; *Archer*, £25,456; torpedo-catcher, £11,029.

PERSONALLY, we should like to see in London, as a tangible illustration of the unity of the Empire, an Irish Guards regiment and regiments from the Dominion of Canada and from under the Southern Cross. But first the Army must be remodelled, and as an indispensable prelude to that, Imperial Federation must be established.—*The Universe*.

"ALL AT SEA."

"ALL at sea," physically speaking, but all very much on land, on *terra firma*, and "no mistake," as poor Jack Brag would have said. Thus this phrase describes the bodily and the mental condition of the passengers on the *Roslin Castle* who accompanied that vessel in its trip round the Nore on August 6th. With a more enthusiastic company of Imperialists it has rarely been my lot to be thrown. In proposing the toast of "The Colonies and India," Sir Donald Currie said that Englishmen at home and in the Colonies were alike anxious to uphold the honour and credit of Greater Britain, for they knew that their power as a people was grounded in union—the union of honest hearts and sound principles. England, said he, "is but a province of a great Empire," which Empire was sustained so effectively by Colonial enterprise and patriotism, that our realm had no parallel in ancient and modern history. Sir Graham Berry, in whom we hail a staunch ally and champion of our cause, is always apt, effective, and brilliant. He dwelt on the enormous change which had come over the feelings of home-resident Englishmen in these latter days. The Colonies had erstwhile been the Cinderella of the Empire, but Britons at home now vied with each other as Cinderella's loving sisters, tending and waiting upon her whom they had once neglected and despised. He believed this change of feeling would bear lasting fruit. Consolidation was no mere dream, for the heart of the Empire now knew its extremities; it knew that patriotism and love of freedom had descended beyond the seas, where the old sterling spirit not to suffer an injustice was as strongly nurtured as it was in the metropolis of the Empire. The great aim must be to evolve some system, with wisdom, patience, and forethought, whereby all the conflicting elements might be welded into one homogeneous whole. This could not be effected by cheers alone, nor by speeches ever so eloquent—writing ever so profound; it must be effected by a steady determination to be men, as our fathers were men before us, remembering that no great result has been achieved save at the price of the exercise of the qualities of self-abnegation, wisdom, tact, and fairness. The Hon. Gordon Sprigg, in an equally brilliant speech, in which he claimed for *all* Cape Colonists that which Mr. Vanderbyl claimed in speaking before Lord Salisbury, that they were loyal to the backbone. Speeches, instinct with a strong Imperial animus, were delivered by Mr. Fleming, the new Colonial Secretary for Natal; Mr. Gilles, M.P.; and Sir Robert Biddulph. All these deliverances were received with expressions of the liveliest satisfaction, Mr. Morton Green, that sterling and typical Colonist and ardent Imperialist, leading off the applause which undoubtedly found an echo in every heart.

J. S. L.

ACCORDING to the Hamburg Geographical Society, Germany has annexed within the past year 34,508 square miles in New Guinea, 3,399 in New Ireland, 9,349 in New Britain, and 15,261 in the Bismarck Archipelago, altogether 62,517 square miles, or an area as great as the States of South Carolina and Indiana.

COLONEL PASKE is known to our readers as a staunch supporter of the Imperial cause. At this time the gallant Colonel, with whom we are always in the closest sympathy, is especially entitled to our warmest and most sympathetic feelings. It is not only the fact that he has lost his eldest son, it is the manner of the losing that demands the expression of our heartfelt sorrows. For, while Colonel Paske is ever ready to help the Imperial cause at home, his son has lost his life in forwarding the Imperial cause abroad. The surveyor, no less than the soldier or the missionary, is the pioneer of colonisation and of Imperial extension. Mr. Paske met his death under striking and painful circumstances in New Zealand, and it will be seen from the following account, for which we are indebted to the *Surrey Advertiser*, that he was engaged at the time in that all-important work of surveying, which is the first necessity in the direction of preparing a new Colony for the settler. Along with another officer, Mr. Thompson, who also died, Mr. Paske was, it appears from an official report submitted to Sir W. Gordon, Governor of New Zealand, taking a survey party across a high mountain pass. A severe snowstorm came on, and the sufferings of the whole party were great, as they were quite unprepared for such an event in the way of proper clothing. The snow froze as it fell on their faces and clothes, and the packs on the pack horse were solid masses of ice. It appears that Mr. Paske, under the terrible ordeal, thought only of his duty, and behaved bravely to the last. The one horse, used for loads, was set apart for his use in crossing the pass, and he was repeatedly urged to mount. Had he done so and ridden forward he would have escaped. But nothing would induce him to take an exceptional advantage, and with the rest of the party he struggled on on foot till he lost all power of motion, became delirious, and then all was soon over. The conduct of the survivors was most praiseworthy. At the risk of their own lives they remained with Mr. Paske and Mr. Thompson till the end, helping them forward, and never leaving them till both had passed away. The record of such a heroic struggle against the forces of nature, in a far-off land, and in the path of duty, is as bright as that of any on the field of battle.

M.P.s ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

In our last issue we stated that we had sent out a circular to Parliamentary Candidates, asking them in view of the fact that events have of late, both at home and in the Colonies, forced the question of Imperial Federation into the greatest prominence, to favour us with their views on the subject. At the same time we published some of the replies we received. In this issue we proceed to give additional ones, simply remarking that they are all replies from successful candidates, as the greatest interest naturally and necessarily attaches to these, and our space is too limited to allow, at least in this number, of the replies of unsuccessful candidates being given.

The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P. for Manchester, wrote :—

In answer to a letter recently received from you with respect to Imperial Federation, I beg to say that, while I am strongly in favour of any practical scheme for drawing closer the bonds which unite us to our Colonies, I am unable to commit myself to any of the various plans which have been from time to time put forward to attain this desirable object.

Mr. J. Corbett, M.P. for the Droitwich Division of Worcestershire, wrote :—

In reply to your inquiry, I can only confirm what I have repeatedly said—that, I go the whole length of the opinions of that able, honest, and lamented statesman—the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster—as to the untold advantages likely to follow Imperial Federation; and, whether in or out of Parliament, I will do all in my power to further a consummation of such vital importance to the British Empire.

The reply of Mr. Edwin Hughes, M.P. for Woolwich, was as follows :—

I am in favour of Federation for Trade and Defence when the plan is drafted. I shall enter upon the subject in the hope that it may be practicable and acceptable.

Mr. A. Raymond Heath, M.P. for the Louth Division of Lincolnshire, sent the following reply :—

I should certainly be in favour of any well-considered scheme of Imperial Federation, considering, as I do, that anything which tends to knit closer the bonds between England and her Colonies strengthens the power and adds to the welfare, moral and material, of the whole Empire.

The Hon. M. Finch-Hatton sent to us in reply a copy of his election address in November, and of a speech he delivered in the House of Commons on the 12th of April last on the subject of "Home Rule for Ireland," in both of which he declared for Imperial Federation. From the latter we make the following extract :—

Imperial Federation might be called a visionary dream, but if it were a vision, it was the most glorious one that ever unfolded itself to British eyes, and it was one in the fulfilment of which our Colonies believed, and for which thousands of hearts were watching and waiting. If it were realised we should see convened to the Palace of Westminster the most august assembly the world had ever witnessed—a truly Imperial Parliament, which should constitute a Court of Appeal whose decrees would be impartial in their justice, irresistible in their force, and welcome to all as proceeding from a tribunal on which all were represented. There too we should see our Colonies, giants alike in strength and in gentleness, still yielding a graceful hegemony to the Mother Country; and, not the least interesting figure in the group of nations, he could discern Ireland herself, kneeling no longer as a suppliant for English justice, but in thankfulness to heaven that her representatives were not allowed on this great historic occasion to sell her birthright for a mess of pottage, that birthright which was the proudest to which any human being could lay claim, the citizenship of the Greater Britain which he had described—the one great Civitas of Modern History.

Mr. Brooke Robinson, M.P. for Dudley, wrote :—

In answer to your circular, I have to say I cannot imagine anything of greater importance to the future of the country than a Federation or Zollverein union between the Mother Country and her Colonial Dependencies; but undeniably a great difficulty in the way of bringing about this desirable result is our present commercial policy. As long as we continue that we have no inducement to offer the Colonies, but rather the other way, to fall into our suggestions.

Mr. J. W. Sidebottom, who represents the Hyde Division of Cheshire, replied as follows :—

In my opinion the question of Imperial Federation is one of the most important and pressing questions which we can possibly have to deal with. I have touched upon it in most of my election speeches.

Mr. A. McArthur, M.P. for Leicester :—

I am in receipt of your circular. But as I have been an active supporter of the Federation movement from its commencement, it is scarcely necessary for me to say I highly approve of it.

Mr. W. A. McArthur, M.P. for the Buckrose Division of the East Riding of Yorkshire, wrote :—

I enclose you a copy of my election address, in which you will find a reference to the Federation of the Empire, which, with so many others, I am anxious to see carried out.

His election address contained the following paragraph :—

I have a firm belief in the greatness and destiny of the British Empire, and I consider its power and influence can only be consolidated by a scheme of Federation, of which I regard Home Rule for Ireland as an initial stage.

LITERATURE.

The Month.

The August number of this periodical contains an article on "The Indian and Colonial Exhibition and Imperial Federation." The writer is Mr. A. Hilliard Atteridge. The first part of the article relates to the Exhibition, and is chiefly of a descriptive character. The second part is devoted to Imperial Federation, the idea of which, as the writer remarks, the Exhibition has been helping largely to enforce. The article is well and clearly written, and, doubtless, the readers of the *Month* will be all the better informed after a perusal of it. Mr. Atteridge acknowledges his indebtedness to the special number of this journal, *Fifty Years' Progress*, and we commend his example to others. We are glad to see the information we supply made use of by writers for the press; we are more glad when due acknowledgment is made for it.

Physical Geography. By W. J. Stewart, B.A., Exeter College, Oxford. *The British Colonies and Dependencies. Asia and Africa. Geographical Reading Books, Edited by F. W. Rudler, F.G.S.* London: Longmans, Green & Co.

These works are a great desideratum. Repeatedly in these columns has attention been called to the importance of the more thorough and systematic instruction of the young in geography, and especially the geography and resources of the British Empire. Thousands of young English people have been growing up in ignorance of their great inheritance, and it is high time that something was done to dissipate this ignorance. The works before us are excellent text-books. They are illustrated—we may even say, profusely illustrated—and do not deal with the subject to which they are devoted in the dry-bones fashion characteristic of the text-books we were familiar with in our own school days, but in a way which cannot fail to give the study a charm which shall make it a pleasure. We are especially pleased with *The British Colonies and Dependencies*. In this we have treated of: The Extent of, and Numerous Varieties of, Climate and People in the British; Influence of Climate and other Geographical Causes on Mankind; Commerce of Mankind; Causes of the Extension of the British Empire; Discovery and Colonisation of America, Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland; as well as of a considerable number of other cognate subjects which have hitherto not entered into geographical school studies. We trust that the publishers will be rewarded by a large sale for their enterprise in issuing this excellent series of reading-books, which, we understand, has already been adopted by the Liverpool School Board and introduced into their schools.

Six Months in Cape Colony and Natal. By I. J. Aubertin, Author of "Flight to Mexico," etc. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1, Paternoster Square. 1886.

We congratulate Mr. Aubertin on his successful production of that rarest of rarities—an entertaining book of travel. He writes with a light free hand, and his pages carry with them the aroma of the scenes he has visited, and the imprint of the lands and peoples he describes. The book is conceived and carried out in the best possible taste, and only when the author is writing about the Convention following upon our disaster at Majuba Hill does he become violent. If this be a sin he sins in company with all recent writers upon South Africa of any repute—Mr. Rider Haggard, Mr. Nixon, Mr. Stanley Little, and Mr. Greswell. On his voyage out Mr. Aubertin puts in at Madeira and he is tempted to ask why we did not keep that island when we once had possession of it. No doubt the Portuguese will be very glad to sell it to us some day, and its huge importance to this country cannot be overstated. The author has something to say upon the original naming of the Cape of Good Hope—Cabo Tormentoso, or Cape Stormy, a name which it might only too appropriately have retained. There are some very sensible remarks on the necessity of having a continuous line of railway between Cape Town and Simon's Town, only £50,000 being required for this work. This is one other fact to make up the sum total of the case Captain Colomb has so often and so ably advanced. The author is only too accurate in his twice-repeated phrase—"The English govern, the Boers possess, and the natives overwhelm." This exactly describes the reasons of the deadlock in South Africa, and Mr. Aubertin sees clearly what all well-informed persons have long ago seen, that without the infusion of an immense number of emigrants, and the attraction of a great deal of capital, there can be little hope of better days. Coal and gold will, may be, bring about the necessary influx. The censure passed on the Cape vinegrowers for their stupidity in naming their wines after European vintages, has already been insisted upon by Mr. Stanley Little and Mr. R. W. Murray, while Mr. Aubertin's remarks on the humiliating position in which Englishmen have found themselves in the republics and elsewhere where the Dutch predominate, have also been attested to by those gentlemen. There is some interesting writing on the wine question, and the old difficulties about fermentation are discussed. Mr. Arnold White's recent eulogy on Cape mutton does not find an echo in these pages. The oft-repeated appeals to common sense on the subject of the denudation of forests and artificial irrigation are herein reiterated. A well-deserved compliment is paid to the great skill as drivers displayed by various sections of the Africaner races, but the remarks of a recent writer on the slovenly and ungentlemanlike system of driving in vogue in Natal, where too often the rules of the road are treated as things of nought, and pedestrians as so many unconsidered particles, are confirmed. Altogether we have nothing but the warmest praise for this book, which brings our knowledge of these Colonies down to date. In a second edition we would suggest to Mr. Aubertin that on page 117 he should print "Nixon" for "Nix;" on page 126 "phantastic" should be "fantastic;" and somewhere, we think, "Clanwill" is printed where "Clanwilliam" is intended. Nor do we think the author's comparison of the boats in Table Bay, which he viewed from the signal station, as looking like "small white butterflies upon a bright blue meadow," a happy one. We may mention in conclusion that Mr. Aubertin considers Federation "to be the great and growing question of the day." There are some excellent chapters on Tenerife and Madeira.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

At a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

All who are interested in the movement can become members by sending in their names and One Shilling, as Registration Fee, which must be renewed year by year.

The annual subscription of members is One Guinea, and upwards, which entitles those who subscribe it to receive all the publications of the LEAGUE free.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

OCTOBER 1, 1886.

GOOD NEWS.

As we go to press, a message of good hope reaches us. At last, in the fulness of time, the Government of the United Kingdom—the chief political organisation in the Empire—has recognised the great truth for which we are contending.

The following paragraph is from the QUEEN'S Speech, on the adjournment of the Imperial Parliament:—

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which in an increasing degree is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects; and I am led to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A LARGE portion of our issue this month is devoted to an exposition by MR. HENNIKER HEATON, M.P., of the question of an Imperial penny postage. The matter is one which from the earliest foundation of the League has received close and constant attention, and we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity to lay before our readers so complete a *résumé* of the facts and arguments connected with the subject, as that contained in MR. HENNIKER HEATON'S contribution to our columns. The great reform is now fairly in sight, and it is only necessary for all friends of Federation, who have influence, talent, or position at the disposal of the cause, to redouble their efforts, and to shorten the interval which must elapse before the realisation of our hopes can be attained.

SOME months ago we were anxious to present to our readers a tabulated statement of the trade and commerce of our great towns, with a view of showing how far their respective populations were indebted to Colonial trade and Colonial produce for their livelihood. It would be very satisfactory if a lecturer upon Federation in Bradford, Birmingham, or Glasgow, could get up and say to his audience, "You want to know why the Colonies and Colonial matters are your concern? I will tell you. One man out of two in this room would be starving if the Colonial trade did not exist"—and, having said it, was able to prove it by a demonstration which no one could contradict. There is no doubt whatever about the truth of the assertion in many an English and Scotch town, but, unhappily, owing to the miserable inadequacy of the statistical information available in our great commercial centres, there is no tabulated record which can furnish the desired proof. We found in the course of our inquiry that though there were many ardent friends of the cause in every town in which we sought information, yet that in no case was there a sufficiently accurate record of local trade to enable our friends to furnish us with the information required. There is evidently an opening for the new Labour Bureau and its capable president.

It will be a matter of regret to members of the League to learn that MR. STANHOPE has felt himself compelled, out of deference to the responsibilities of his new office, to resign the post which he has hitherto held, of Vice-President of the League. In communicating his decision to the Committee, the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES explains that it is from no want of sympathy and good will that he now retires from the position which he assumed so readily and with so much advantage to the League a few months ago. He points out that the one office in the Cabinet, the tenure of which is incompatible with the position in the League which he has hitherto filled, is that which he now has the honour to occupy. We are reluctantly compelled to acquiesce in the soundness of MR. STANHOPE'S judgment, and are willing to part with him for a time for the greater advantage of the cause. We shall, however, claim his services again, though we trust that the day may be somewhat remote when the obstacle which now separates him from us may be removed. It is not the fortune of every day to have an avowed and capable supporter of Federation installed at the Colonial Office.

MR. CHARLES F. ULRICH is the New York Emigration Commissioner. Here is something he has said showing the value to the United States of emigrants to that country from Europe:—

Castle Garden has received during the last five years and a half over 2,000,000 immigrants—6,000 have been returned. The immigrants that were allowed to land brought more than 150,000,000 dols. (£30,000,000) into the country, their productive value runs into the 1,000 millions. The State Board of Charities, with ample facilities and power, has returned since 1880 448 paupers gleaned from the various institutions of New York State. How many of these had passed through Castle Garden is not known to me, although I have endeavoured to ascertain. Assume that every one of the 448 came through Castle Garden, does not the wealth and productive power of the vast mass of the millions completely swallow the pitiful and to-be-pitied 448? The Chamber of Commerce might do service to the entire country by studying immigration in its relation to our commerce.

MR. ULRICH is right, and his reasoning is good. The advice which he gives to the New York Chamber of Commerce to study this question of emigration and immigration in its relation to commerce might well be given to Chambers of Commerce and other similar bodies in this country. Happily, the efforts which we and a few others have made to direct public attention to the subject have not been in vain. This is seen in the action of the Government in establishing an Emigration Bureau. It is to be hoped, however, that this good ship of the Government will not,

to adopt the words of the homely proverb, be "spoiled for a ha'p'orth of tar." From what we hear we fear it is likely to be. The sum of money, which, as we understand, has been allowed by the Treasury for the purposes of the Bureau is ridiculously inadequate, and will probably be only so much money wasted. The wisdom of the past has told us that "what is worth doing at all is worth doing well," and this applies with special emphasis to the work to which the British Government has seen it to be its duty, but with so much tardiness, to put its hand.

THE Government has declared, through SIR JAMES FERGUSSON, in reply to a question from DR. TANNER, that no decision has been taken to abandon Port Hamilton. It was not added, however, that a decision had been taken to retain it, the official reply to DR. TANNER's question having in fact a very suspicious look. Port Hamilton was taken possession of by our forces in May, 1885, and it would be interesting to know why there should now be any discussion as to giving it up. If it be in consequence of the reported action of Russia in regard to Port Lazareff, which it is believed was only intended to accelerate the hauling down of the British flag at Port Hamilton, then it must be pronounced most ill-judged and ill-timed. By those who speak with the authority of knowledge, we are told that to own Port Hamilton is to incur no increase of responsibility, while to be without it would be, under quite conceivable—and in view of the constant menace of Russia not improbable—circumstances, most awkward for us. We must not yield to the menaces of Russia in this matter, which menaces only reveal to us the wisdom and the duty of securing every possible strategic and other advantage in view of a possible—indeed it may be said, judging from the policy Russia so persistently pursues, *certain*—conflict with her some day.

THE British Association has accepted an invitation to Sydney on the occasion of the New South Wales centenary two years hence. A representative deputation from the Association will attend the Sydney meeting in January, 1888, and be back in time to report at the ordinary meeting in the autumn. SIR SAUL SAMUEL rightly said that this would be a step towards Imperial Federation. It accentuates, at the same time, the fact that England and her Colonies have a common language, a common literature, a common science, and a common art.

WE noted with much pleasure that the *Gazette* of the 7th ult. had the following:—"Essex Regiment, LIEUT. A. ANDREW, from New Zealand Rifle Volunteers, to be lieutenant."

It is gratifying to us to observe how increasingly influential and useful this Journal is becoming. We note with satisfaction that it is being more than ever referred to and quoted, not only by newspapers in the United Kingdom, but throughout the Empire. We observe, too, that original matter which has appeared in these columns is frequently used up in leaders and other articles. We have not the slightest objection to this, but quite the contrary. The reflection is a pleasant one, that we are able to supply grist for the mills of our usually hard-worked and harassed brother journalists. Moreover, what we desire is the extensive diffusion of Imperial Federation facts and arguments. At the same time, where it is possible—it may not be possible in every case—in the interests of this Journal and the League we shall be glad to have acknowledgment made, or at all events, a passing reference, to IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

GREATER BRITAIN SETTLEMENT—AND SELF-SUPPORTING EMIGRATION.

By MR. HENRY KIMBER, M.P.

LAND is the source of all sustenance and all wealth. England holds too many people for her land to support. Her Colonies have too few people to make their land productive. If the surplus people of the one be settled in the others, good must result—more land made valuable—more people become land-owners—more trade created with the Mother Country—more work, and therefore more wages, for our overgrown and overgrowing numbers. "In all labour there is profit" as regards labour expended on land producing food which the labourer has not other means of getting. Reflection upon these premisses, and applying them to actual facts gathered by personal travel and observation in the Colonies and other new countries of the world, induces the writer to submit the following practical propositions for consideration, in the hope that they may assist in a solution of our present grievous depression of trade and labour:—

I. There is between the value of land unsettled which can be bought for a few shillings per acre, of excellent quality, and which for special settlement would be obtainable for nothing, and the value of that same land when once settled by a community, a difference which may safely be taken at £10 per acre (an average of town lots and outside land).

Here, then, is a profit to be made by the nation on millions of acres, and in an operation beneficial to millions of people. Let us see how to make it.

II. To call that value into existence three factors are required, viz:—

- (1) The Land—which is there ready and waiting, and its value vouched for by our Colonial Governments.
- (2) The Settlers—they are here and waiting to go, on being assured as to what they are going to. And
- (3) The Money—(a) to provide a house or home for the settler on arrival; (b) to pay settler's passage; (c) to provide implements and twelve months' subsistence.

Given these factors worked together, the result in profit and advantage to numbers of people is certain, unless it be alleged that land—which, as above stated, has hitherto been the source of all the world's subsistence and wealth—will no longer render those services.

III. Having the first two factors in hand, the questions remain, How to raise the third—the money? and, How to work the three together to complete the operation?

The answer to the latter question solves also the former. The operation itself of bringing the settlers to the land, once effected, creates a security which can be made available to raise the whole of the money. In short, the union of the first two creates the third.

Note, first, that the money required is far less in amount than the increased value given to the land by the operation.

Note, secondly, that the land is therefore a good security for the money, and, as the following figures show, can easily repay it all with interest, and leave a profit in the shape of a freehold house and land for the settler.

Assume the families emigrating to average five persons each, the outlay would be, per family, say:—

(1) Passage out	£60
(2) House	120
(3) Implements	40
(4) Maintenance for first twelve months (in excess of consumables actually raised), 5s. per day maximum, say	90
	£310

Land, say fifty acres at 2s. 6d. per acre, or £6 5s., but already paid for in fact, being owned by the Colonial Governments, who could easily afford, and would be only too glad, to give it for nothing for such an object, as it would add to their producers and consumers, and, therefore, their taxpayers.

Of these items (1) the Passage Money is really the only money sunk and not represented by value; (2) the House is a fixed and permanent addition to the value of the land; (3) the Implements are a property for the settler, and (4) the Maintenance of those who labour is reproductive, as that labour produces the year's crop, which is the maintenance for the second year.

But, assuming the whole £310 to be advanced and sunk except the house, we have, per contra, as security, the increased value of £10 per acre given to the (at least) fifty acres allotted to the settler family, which would be £500, and the house £120—total value £620, to secure £310. The implements might be considered "a gift" to the settler, subject to the condition of his remaining and cultivating.

Such a settlement as is contemplated would comprise, not one family, but probably 100, and it is probable that the above figures might be economised and much reduced. Certain I am that £310 is an ample capital to start a settler family of five persons, and many instances could be shown of men who have started well and made an independence out of much less.

Multiplying the 50 acres per family by 100 families, the area dealt with would be, say, 5,000 acres at least, and might of course be more, and the people would be 500 or more.

The total outlay in getting the 100 families out, and building their houses, and finding them £4,000 worth of implements, and £9,000 for subsistence for one year, would thus be about £31,000.

The increased value of those 5,000 acres of the settlement, with 500 people settled upon them (to say nothing of the increased value given to adjoining lands), would be

At £10 per acre	...	...	...	£50,000
Add the value of the 100 houses built	...	...	...	12,000
				<hr/> £62,000

which would be an ample security for £31,000.

The interest on £31,000 at 4 per cent. would be £1,240, which, divided among 500 settlers, would be equal to a rent-charge of about £2 10s. per head, or £12 10s. per family, for which each family would get a freehold house and 50 acres of freehold land, worth £620, besides £40 worth of implements of husbandry, and £90 towards a year's subsistence.

It requires now to find the way of making that prospective value available in advance as a security upon which the money can be raised to set the operation going.

Here it is, I submit, that the legitimate function of Governments, both Imperial and Colonial—and in our present political and commercial condition, their plain duty, steps in—not to find money, but to give the initial force necessary to bring together the three factors required. Government has the best, if not the only, official machinery necessary to do this on any large scale, such as is now needed. And it can be done, as I shall show, without a penny of ultimate loss or cost to the State. The State alone can give (1) that voucher for the fitness of the land for settlement, and (2) that guarantee that the settlement will really be effected, which are required to induce—

Sufficient confidence in the settlers to go there, and

Sufficient confidence in capitalists that the settlement will be effected to justify them in advancing the money on the security of such a rent-charge as above described.

The Government, too, being the owners of the land, can, by the most simple process, create the rent-charge, and make it as easily negotiable and transferable as consols by rent-charge certificates. The Government could give the settlers their deeds of grant of their freeholds subject to such rent-charge. The rent-charges should all be made payable to and collected by the Government or the national bank, and form part of one large homogeneous stock, and, in course of time, as such settlements increased, would constitute a "Land Consols" of a most valuable character in many ways—interweaving the interests of all in the stability of the Empire. The certificates should be transferable either by delivery or by registration, and the interest payable either in the Colony or in England, and circulatable all over the world.

It is the first start of new settlements that requires to be ensured. There is a certain nervousness and uncertainty in all original settlers as to whether others will remain there as well as they—if they do so themselves. Uncertainty and nervousness are detrimental to progress. They arise partly from a doubt whether the land is good, and for which the settler ordinarily has to rely on unauthoritative statements of interested individuals, and partly from a doubt if they shall find the means of subsistence until they can get a first crop and a good permanent home afterwards. And in my opinion it is unreasonable and hard to expect poor men, and women, and children, to emigrate without capitalists or capital going with them, to at least the extent necessary to ensure those results.

The mere fact of Government initiating and conducting the movement will, by removing these feelings and giving the confidence, ensure success. One such settlement really planted would set the ball rolling and be followed by others.

The Government, confident that, if they have the settlers, the land value will be secured, might even itself advance or guarantee the advance on the security of the rent-charge on it, quite as safely and quite as legitimately as advancing money to our suffering Irish fellow-countrymen to buy out their landlords. I prefer, however, to do without State pecuniary aid, if possible, and set an example of self-help. The idle capital now afloat would find excellent employment in the "Land Consols."

The settler would have his freehold grant of fifty acres land and his house and implements, conditional, of course, on actual occupation, and charged only with the interest on the actual advances made for him as a permanent rent-charge. He will, in effect, have had £310 of capital advanced for him without ever having to repay it. The rent-charge would be only two per cent. on the value of the freehold he would have acquired. Should he ever wish to redeem the rent-charge, he can do so by simply buying the equivalent amount of Land Consols in the market, or from the Government, and having it cancelled.

Some of the settlers in each group should be selected from such callings as would enable them to be employed in the erection of their own houses, so that the money which would be advanced for their erection would be an additional means of employing and supporting them during the first year. A

temporary dwelling is provided by most Colonial Governments for all immigrants on arrival.

The Government have in the case of Ireland adopted the principle of State advances to tenants of the whole of their purchase money of their farms at a very low rate of interest. Are not English workmen and English labourers, who are out of work by thousands, equally deserving of the advantage of State help to enable them to settle the new and valuable uncultivated and unsettled land in the Colonies, when the very act of their doing so would be to increase the trade and call for the manufactures of the Mother Country? It is, indeed, a much more justifiable operation than the other. The Irish plan is of very doubtful expediency and utility, and only justifiable, if at all, to alleviate very exceptional and acute circumstances. That plan, also, may only help one class, whereas this plan will help the whole community. That can never produce a profit to the State, and is almost certain to bring loss; whereas this plan, applied to new lands in the Colonies, is commercially a profitable transaction to the whole Empire, and may help our Irish fellow-countrymen too.

However, as before stated, I do not ask for State pecuniary aid, even as loans, but only official and Governmental assistance, as I feel sure that with that we can, in the land-secured consols or rent-charges which I have described, show to capitalists such a security as will induce money to flow naturally, as a matter of business and investment.

Having myself made, or taken part in, several experiments more or less successful in colonisation work, I am convinced, not only of the perfect feasibility, but the certain profit of the above plan. At the same time, not claiming for it absolute perfection, I have no doubt it may be capable of improvement, and very willingly submit it for criticism, which I shall be happy to receive in a friendly spirit.

There is one all-important point, in conclusion, upon which I am perfectly convinced, as the result of a survey of the present circumstances of the world at large, and of Britain in particular—viz., that in proportion as England, which is the most overcrowded part of the earth's surface, neglects her evident duty to not only multiply, but to be "fruitful and replenish the earth" in the wide and beautiful, but as yet silent and unoccupied, domains which have been committed to her charge, she will suffer from congestion at home, and her capital and her labour will alike, as indeed is now the case, both be unemployed, and therefore unproductive, until the day may come when other nations, learning from our experience the lessons we refuse to read, shall pass us in the race, and gain those profits and that power which we shall have wasted away. When will the nation awake and realise its position? And, instead of quarrelling over our miserable few acres at home, extend our energies where there is "bread enough (and land enough) and to spare"—wealth for honest labour—ample scope for manufactures and trade—and peace and plenty for the asking, from a bountiful but unappreciated Providence. What shall a people deserve who spurn such opportunities?

Of course, the figures in this paper would be subject to variation, according to the particular Colony selected, and the cost of passage and quality of land selected, etc., but it may be taken as axiomatic that, assuming the land to be ordinarily well selected (and there is an abundance of good land awaiting), the value produced by the operation must far exceed the cost of it.

The extensive lands of private corporations, who are developing them for the express purpose of settlement, can, by a very simple arrangement with the Government, be brought under the operation of the "Rent-charge Consols," should their lands be desired or selected for the purpose of settlement.

HERE AND THERE.

THE London correspondent of the *Natal Mercury*, in describing the Imperial Federation League Conference, makes special reference to the speeches of Mr. G. R. Parkin, of New Brunswick, whom he describes as "that eloquent Canadian orator." Of Mr. Parkin's speech on the first day of the Conference he says, "Mr. Parkin's speech was a masterpiece of convincing argument and splendid rhetoric. He demonstrated the magnificent greatness of the British Empire in words of such power and pathos, that his audience were fairly overcome with enthusiasm and admiration for his remarkable gifts." This will be appreciated, doubtless, by Canadian friends.

It appears from the Melbourne *Argus* that an instance recently occurred of a man-of-war arriving in Hobson's Bay without having been signalled from any point along the coast, or from the Heads. The French sloop *Guichen* steamed up unobserved to an anchorage off Port Melbourne, having passed Queenscliff during the darkness of the early morning. The vessel was on her way to join the fleet at New Caledonia, and merely put in for a supply of fuel. When she anchored, Lieutenant Gough, of H.M. Colonial turret-ship *Cerberus*, conveyed Captain Thomas's compliments and offers of any services

or assistance required to the commander of the vessel. The steamer was brought through the Heads and up to the bay through the South Channel by her commander, who was a perfect stranger to the port.

A TUNNEL under the sea from Port Patrick to Donaghadee would be a totally different thing from a submarine tunnel from Dover to Calais. The one is to be deprecated, and the other desired. The way in which the latter would multiply Old England's dangers, and increase the burdens of the British taxpayers, has been sufficiently pointed out by Lord Wolseley and other authorities; the way in which the latter would diminish our dangers and confer advantages not only upon Old England, but upon "Ould Oireland" too, scarcely needs to be pointed out. It is, therefore, pleasing to learn that Mr. Douglass, engineer to the Board of Irish Lights, has been engaged for several weeks in taking soundings with a view to such a tunnel, and equally pleasing to be informed that the London and North-Western Railway Company regard the project favourably, and, what is more important, that the executive authorities of the Empire do also. The proposed tunnel would be another link in the Federation chain.

ON Thursday, the 16th ult., the natives employed at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition were entertained by the Crystal Palace Company, when a special display of fireworks took place at the Palace. The Reception Committee have now, I understand, concluded their work so far as the organisation and carrying out of excursions and entertainments are concerned. The office will, however, remain open at No. 6, "Old London Street," until the close of the Exhibition, and the list of visitors can be consulted there on application to the Secretary.

SOME ten years since, says Prof. J. K. Hosmer in an article recently contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, at the time of the centennial anniversary of the early events of the American Revolution, the writer remembers to have seen a certain patriotic fellow-citizen of his own greatly taken aback by what, to most Americans perhaps, would seem a very profane suggestion. "One hundred years ago," said the patriot, "my great grandfather stood among the 'embattled farmers' at Concord Bridge, and there fired one of the first shots in resistance to British aggression." As he stroked his chin in complacent certainty that his listeners must necessarily admire a man whose ancestor had been so heroic—"Well," said an old man of the group, "was it worth while? Was the American Revolution worth while? Would it not have been better if the British Empire had remained undivided?" The company stood aghast at the audacity of the man who at the very time when the air was full of the flap of the great spread eagle dared without fear of his beak to ask whether the separation of America from England were worth while.

FEDERALIST.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

The Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

DEAR SIR,—Your paper grows and becomes important as it expands. Thousands in this Canada of ours would be glad to know that such a journal exists. I should be glad to see it in every house, not only here but throughout the whole Empire. The union of the Empire has been to me from my youth up a subject of the deepest interest. I hope the day may soon come when all the English-speaking people on the globe will be united as one people in one great political union, with a government similar to that now in existence, and Her Majesty, or some of her family representatives, at its head. I see now and again objections on the ground of expense to the present Royal House. Now, a single election in the United States for President, is, economically, a greater tax on the people than the entire charge of the Royal Family in a whole generation. The Republican institutions in our American States are on trial, and must before long be altered by agreement or revolution. It is unsafe to permit ignorance and disturbance as elements in government. Something more than mere manhood must be had as a qualification for taking part in the guidance of the affairs of a nation. The nations of the past that allowed the uninstructed and restless elements among the people to dictate in State affairs have always perished, and must of necessity do so. There must be wisdom to direct government, and authority to enforce the dictates of wisdom. It is a grave question whether in the nature of things the great body of the people can be sufficiently instructed in the science of government as to give intelligent direction to the national forces. The Catholic Church has clearly settled that it is impossible. If a political head be necessary, then why leave it to the chance of a conflict at the polls under circumstances that make the result vastly expensive and doubly doubtful. Permit me to express the hope that the day is not far hence when the question of a Federal Union of all the English-speaking people will be a live issue in politics, and that in the interest of the human family everywhere it will soon be consummated.—Yours truly,

W. BLAIN.

Toronto.

FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

THE Federation of the Empire has been discussed for some time without—so far as I have heard—any proposition being made as to where the work should begin. There seems, however, to be an impression among the advocates of the measure that an Imperial Council or governing body should be constituted for the whole Empire. It is to be feared that a long time must elapse before the details of such a scheme, if at all practicable, can be arranged; and it may be worth while to consider whether some

PRELIMINARY AND VERY NECESSARY STEPS

might not at once be undertaken. Among the most pressing, a military organisation of the whole Empire is worthy of consideration, especially when we look at the vast armies of the great Continental Powers as compared with that of the United Kingdom, and contrast them with their relations to each other at the beginning of the century. Wars now are short and decisive, and the country best prepared has an overwhelming advantage. It may therefore be well to consider whether our condition is a safe one as regards ourselves, or such as entitles us to the respect we ought to have from the other Great Powers.

In discussing the subject, it may be of some service to

LOOK BACK A HUNDRED YEARS

and review the course of events during that period. After a protracted struggle in attempting to subdue the revolted American Colonies, the military power of England had proved insufficient; and when the French Revolution broke out she was not well prepared for the twenty years' war which followed, and had no Colonies from which aid could be expected. In the vast territory now known as the Dominion of Canada there were then about 150,000 French, in what is now the Province of Quebec, and about an equal number of English scattered over the present maritime provinces and Ontario.

With the exception of a small penal settlement, the Australasian Colonies were unborn. The East India Company had gained a large footing in India, but, instead of affording any strength to Great Britain at the beginning of the period mentioned, it required a military force to garrison it. The two islands had therefore to enter on the war depending entirely on their own resources; yet, at its close, notwithstanding the enormous expenditure of blood and treasure during the twenty years' struggle, the naval and military power of the country aggregated above one million of men; while, in the last struggles, the Continental Powers had become so exhausted that, to enable them to bring a very moderate force into the field, our Government had on two occasions to distribute subsidies among them amounting each to over eleven millions sterling, besides large supplies of arms and clothing.

Not the least extraordinary consideration connected with this protracted war is, that it was entered on when

THE POPULATION OF THE TWO ISLANDS

did not exceed fourteen millions, and ended when it was considerably under twenty millions. If we contrast how our military strength compared with that of the other Great Powers then, and how it compares with them now, the contemplation is by no means gratifying. But from another point of view the contrast is still greater. During the last seventy years the population of the United Kingdom has doubled, and the wealth of the country has increased in a greater proportion. The Mother Country is now surrounded by a vast Colonial Empire, populous and wealthy; and India, instead of being a cause of weakness, has become a source of great strength. There is nothing therefore to prevent the Empire from organising a military force so powerful that, though some Powers may feel a degree of jealousy, more will seek our friendship, while none will care to provoke our hostility. An Empire that contains three hundred millions of people, and raises annually for ordinary purposes a revenue of £200,000,000 sterling, can be at no loss for either men or money.

When considering this subject some years ago, I thought, as the undertaking would involve some expenditure of money, Imperial statesmen might feel a degree of delicacy in proposing it to the Colonies, and therefore that the overture had better come from Canada as the oldest and

most populous of the Colonial possessions; but when a conference is to meet, it may be discussed without appearing to originate in any other quarter. Let it not be thought that when I speak of the expenditure of money I propose the raising of standing armies in the Colonies. We in Canada have satisfied ourselves, and given proof to others, that we can make

GOOD SOLDIERS

without withdrawing our young men to any considerable extent away from their ordinary occupations. The late rebellion in the North-West, so successfully quelled by our militia, has proved this. When our young men were so suddenly and unexpectedly called out, thoughtful people—who knew that many of them had never experienced the difficulties of a long march, over bad roads, at an inclement season of the year, and that at its termination they would have to cope with a hardy race who, as prairie hunters, were inured to toil and expert riflemen—could not fail to have some misgivings as to the success of the expedition; but when, after some preliminary fighting, they at last came face to face with the enemy in a well-chosen position, entrenched in rifle-pits and sheltered by trees, and after failing in three days with both artillery and the rifle to dislodge them, at length received orders to charge, they without faltering dashed in on the unseen foe, and at the point of the bayonet drove them from tree to tree and from rifle-pit to rifle-pit, till they completely expelled them from their strong position, the anxiety was all removed, and it was felt that had our militia been at Tel-el-Keber, side by side with the regulars, they would not have been the last to scale the earthworks and cross bayonets with the Egyptians. I have referred to this to show that a colony on undertaking to contribute to the military strength of the Empire need not necessarily form a standing army.

Without referring to the smaller possessions of the Empire, I think it is time for the Dominion of Canada and the Australasian Colonies to consider whether they have not reached a stage of progress when they ought no longer to be considered as mere dependencies, but ought rather to claim to take their place as

IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE EMPIRE,

and to declare their willingness to assume the responsibilities of such a position. Assuming their readiness to contribute to the military strength of the Empire, I have no doubt that the great western Colonies (west from Canada), although less populous than Canada, from what we know of their wealth, enterprise, and loyalty, would manifest a commendable rivalry with the older Colony. Judging from the readiness with which the Government of the Cape of Good Hope responded to Lord Carnarvon's appeal, in his despatch of 30th January, 1878, for the organisation of a force for the defence of the Colony, I have no doubt the Cape would contribute its full quota; and that Colony's importance is not to be measured so much by its wealth and population as by its geographical position and its proximity to India. I shall not refer to the other Colonies individually, but assume their willingness faithfully to discharge their duty to the Empire.

THE CANADA MILITIA LAW

might perhaps, to some extent, serve as a pattern to other Colonies. Under it all males capable of serving are constituted a reserve, excepting a force embodied for three years, which is termed the active militia. Its numbers at present nearly 37,000. Besides frequent meetings in drill sheds, and for local rifle practice, the city militia meet at their headquarters, and the rural in camp, annually, for twelve days' drill and exercise. The general at present in command thinks the time too short, and recommends that it should be extended. The importance of so altering the law as to provide that after serving three years in the active militia, the men should be enrolled for an additional term of three or four years as an effective reserve, was recently discussed in the Dominion Senate, and the House was informed that the Government have the matter under consideration. By adopting this course the force might be doubled should a necessity arise. In the event of a war with any of the European Powers, one of the most important services this force could render to the Empire would be the protection of coaling ports for the

Royal Navy on both oceans. As long as the fleet can be guaranteed an ample supply of coal at Nova Scotia and Vancouver's Island, so long will it command both oceans, for the protection of our own commerce and the destruction of an enemy's. As soon as the leading Colonies can be brought into such an arrangement, I would suggest the annual publication of a Blue Book containing, among other matter, the extent and population of the different portions of the Empire, the annual revenue raised by each, the strength of the navy, the whole military force, including the regular army, army reserve, militia, volunteers, Indian army, and the quota of each of the Colonies, which would doubtless increase as they increased in population. If thought desirable, the whole force could be further augmented by forming

A RESERVE TO THE ARMY OF INDIA,

as well as by contingents from the best disciplined of the armies of the native princes. Detachments of our militia, both infantry and artillery, have frequently gone from Canada to compete at Wimbledon and Shoeburyness, and their opportunity of associating with the military of the Mother Country must have an excellent effect. But similar meetings of a much more practical character might be held at some suitable point in North-West India, near the Afghan frontier, where occasional competition might take place between the British troops, the Indian army, and some of the militia from the Australian Colonies and the Cape, who could be brought at little expense by some of her Majesty's ships stationed in those seas. Ample publicity being given of the time required to assemble such a force, it would operate advantageously in different ways. It would afford an opportunity for the Indian troops and the Colonists to become acquainted. It would show the former, if their country were threatened with an invasion, how rapidly aid could be drawn from various quarters, and it might serve to convince Russia that if she ever attempted a descent on India, a force could be got ready to crush any army she could assemble in Central Asia. The number of men collected on these occasions would not be of so much moment as the various forces they represented, and the brief time required to bring them together.

The Blue Book to which I have referred would have an excellent effect on our militia. Placed in every drill-shed and camp, its perusal would cause them to realise the fact that they are not merely members of the company or the battalion to which they belong, but that they form part of the most powerful military organisation in the world. In foreign countries it would not be perused with less interest.

How to deal with

INDIA AS A PART OF THE CONFEDERATED EMPIRE

is a question of the gravest character, but in connection with the present subject I may suggest that occasionally a detachment of men from the native army might, as a reward for good conduct, be favoured with a visit to Britain, where they might meet their fellow-soldiers at Wimbledon; and also be given an opportunity of seeing the vast arsenals, ironclads on the stocks and afloat, the large fleets of merchant shipping in the docks, the great factories, and in fact everything calculated to send them home deeply impressed with a sense of the greatness of the centre of the Empire of which their country forms a part. The knowledge thus acquired would be extensively circulated among their countrymen, and doubtless with the best result.

Having thus called attention to what I think ought to be considered one of the strongest ties to bind the Colonies to the parent State and to each other, I shall now refer to another which may be made equally strong, and if possible of still more importance—I mean

THE COMMERCIAL TIE.

If we are to become one people, a united Empire, we cannot too soon set about revising our revenue laws and removing the restrictions on the trade between the different parts of the Empire. This will require time, but it may be brought about much more speedily than many would think possible. It has only to be gone about energetically and judiciously and men will gradually see its advantages and consent to the tariff changes. Different modes of raising revenue will be adopted which, while unshackling commerce, will not add

in the slightest degree to the burdens of the people; and the ultimate result will be that every producer will be able to choose, out of a population of three hundred millions, the best market in which to dispose of his goods, and every consumer will have a like privilege to choose the cheapest market from which to supply his wants. Thus the best interests of every individual, and of the whole population, will be promoted, and the result, general prosperity.

If sixty millions of people in the American Republic, divided into such a number of states, can freely interchange their products, why may not five times the number of people, all under the same Government, do so? The Empire could then treat the hostile tariffs of other states with indifference, as their influence on the general prosperity would scarcely be perceptible. Such states would soon begin to seek to form liberal commercial treaties. With the freedom of trade would come more equal distribution of capital. Instead of money being pent up at some points where it cannot find profitable investment, it would find its way to where a demand for it existed, and thus add to the general prosperity.

I shall now refer briefly to a third subject, which, in any scheme for the Federation of the Empire, should claim the particular attention of both the Imperial and Colonial Governments—

A JUDICIOUS SYSTEM OF EMIGRATION.

How to control the overflow of population from the parent state and direct it to the Colonies has never yet received sufficient consideration. Intending emigrants should have more care taken to direct them to the Colonies, and when there to get them suitably settled. The subject is too large to enter on its discussion here, but there is no doubt that the population in many parts of the United Kingdom, both cities and country, requires thinning out; and, if accomplished, it would add to the prosperity of both those who leave and those who remain behind.

By possessing a powerful military organisation the Empire may pursue a peaceful policy of extending the blessings of liberty and civilisation, not only among its own numerous populations, but throughout the world, without interference from any other power. By removing the restrictions from trade the commercial prosperity of the whole Empire will be greatly increased, and by removing the unemployed able-bodied to the Colonies, instead of being a burden to others, they may enjoy all the necessities and comforts of life as the fruits of their own industry.

The above suggestions are the result of a good deal of consideration, and I trust they will not be thought undeserving of the attention of others who take an interest in the subjects to which they refer.

DAVID WARK,
Senator of the Dominion of Canada.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN.

LORD WOLSELEY, G.C.B., *Adjutant-General of the British Army.*

"The closer union between this country and her Colonies is a subject in which I have always felt the deepest interest, and, in my opinion, is of great national importance, and well worthy of the earnest consideration of every serious statesman."

SIR CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G., *formerly Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, and Premier of Victoria.*

"The politics I have retired from are party politics. My interest in Australia, or in Ireland, has not at all diminished, and I will gladly co-operate in any way I can in pushing the Federation of the Colonies into the field of practical politics."

SIR LEONARD TILLEY, K.C.M.G., C.B., *Finance Minister for the Dominion of Canada (formerly Premier of New Brunswick).*

"I am heartily in sympathy with any practical movement for the Unity of the Empire, and wish you every success."

THE HON. LAVINGTON GLYDE, *Recently Colonial Treasurer in South Australia.*

"I sympathise entirely with the principle that 'the Unity of the Empire should be permanently maintained,' and I think I may venture to say that nearly all the prominent public men in South Australia share the same view."

THE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

By MR. W. WESTGARTH.

I BEGIN with two preliminary remarks on my title, The Federation of the Empire. (1) When this question was first opened in earnest by the Royal Colonial Institute, now nearly twenty years ago, its usual title was that of the Unity of the Empire. Federation was then regarded as a possible or probable means. But now we are all agreed that the Colonies, as remote offshoots, having their respective peculiarities of local circumstances, must continue in that freedom of government in local matters already conferred upon them, and that the unity is possible only by some form of Federation. This is a distinct step of advance in our question. (2) As an alternative title I might have headed this article "Imperial and Colonial Federation," as we are mostly, or indeed all, agreed by this time that the federating of our natural Colonial groups, such as the Canadian, Cape, and Australasian, is the best preliminary to Imperial Federation. Who doubts, for instance, that the "Dominion," as now happily constituted, can deal more easily and effectively with Imperial Federation than if still a congeries of quite independently governed Colonies as it formerly was, and as Australasia still is? In this conviction we have another step of advance. But in view of simplifying my subject by keeping to one thing at a time, with reasonable length of article, I shall drop further allusion to Colonial Federation, and confine myself to that of the Empire.

Let us take stock of the position now reached in the question. The subject is now generally understood, it commands very general consideration; there is a strong concurrence of favourable views as to its necessity and advantage; and, lastly, the successful formation last year of an Imperial Federation League, with the support of many leading public men—co-operating indiscriminately as regards Home party politics—has tended to a definiteness of practical aim which was previously wanting. The League indeed already contemplates the issue of its own Journal.

The question before us, then, is as to that mode of Federation which shall most effectively give to our Empire all the strength of unity possible to its circumstances. The special circumstances are that we have many rising Colonial offshoots which are not "constitutionally" a part of us. Being unrepresented, they are only "dependencies." As all the larger and self-supporting of these dependencies have separate and "constitutionally" free Governments of their own, the inevitable tendency must be towards a separate life, political and social. And it is for us in the Mother Country to join with the Colonies in arresting this separative tendency by securing for the Empire the true union of a constitutional or representative basis. The unimpaired strength of loyal national feeling in the Colonies is still good to accomplish this change. We must not be lulled to sleep, as though such feelings were everlasting, or were sufficient of themselves to give the Empire its maximum strength. Germany used to show much of this national loyalty; but it was mere feeling, and the curse of separate Governments has not seldom arrayed its sections even in mutual war. The political reconstruction of 1866 has given the German people their full power. A Continental newspaper, as I well recollect, in alluding some years ago to this federative movement for our Empire, made the significant remark, that in the event of success, the consequent increase of British influence and power would be so decisive as to call for a reconsideration of the world's political balance. We, at least, are not to regard this result as objectionable or alarming.

Our diversified Empire comprises India, and many so-called "Crown Colonies," of other races than our own, which could not be left out of consideration in any comprehensive project of political consolidation. I confine myself here, however, to our Colonies proper—those which are substantially of our own race. As to them, how stands to-day the Federation question?

I will first proceed negatively towards ascertaining what have been already indicated by general opinion as impracticable modes of procedure. Naturally enough the first ideas on the subject ran in the direction of a Federal Parliament, representing equitably the whole Empire, and dominating or superseding the present Imperial Parliament, which, although so called, really represents only Great Britain and Ireland. Only institute this wider assembly, it was said, and the object is once and for ever attained. The theory is perfect; but as revolutionary change of this kind is not our political method, which has been heretofore successful rather by adaptation within the traditional or constitutional lines (within which we have made wonderful changes with comparative ease), it is probable that we should find ourselves always on the brink, ever approving the theory, but never taking the step. When would our present Parliament ever really begin the work of effacing itself? And would our Colonies, each of which has already its own Parliament, send to this country a large body of elected representatives to form another and predominating Parliament? This practical difficulty or disturbance guides us to still another case of the negative. The attempt to convert the present "Imperial" Parliament into a real representation of the Empire, by admission in adequate proportion of the Colonial element, would certainly

prove impracticable. Even if our Home Parliament would receive such a disturbing influx, which is quite unlikely, the Colonies would not be at the cost and trouble of sending it. Some much simpler, more direct, more manageable method is wanted.

It has been proposed to represent the Colonies here by means of ambassadors, like foreign States. The late Sir R. Torrens had this idea. Such ambassadors collectively might become a power in our State. Analogous to this is the oft-proposed "Council of Advice" to the Colonial Office, or, as a sort of alternative, the institution of a Colonial Committee of the Privy Council, to consist of Agents-General, ex-Governors, and other Colonists of experience and position. The objection to all such political paraphernalia is that they would be utterly ineffective for the one grand object of uniting the Empire into one national power. Lord Loftus, with his experience as a Colonial Governor, in his criticism of Lord Grey's proposed Colonial Board of Advice (*Pall Mall Gazette*, May 6), indicates the true principle in the case—the principle that the democratic Colonies will confer no political power or consideration except to the elected. A proposed Board, not of this origin, would, as he properly adds, work only confusion. It would not prove better than the Agents-General are already.

At an early stage of the discussion in the Institute, more than a dozen years ago, Mr. R. A. Macfie, then M.P. for Leith, made the suggestion that a proportional Colonial representation should be introduced into the Cabinet, that body thus representing the Empire. This has always since seemed to me the happiest solution, undoubtedly the easiest, and perhaps the only one practically possible. The Cabinet itself is one of our happy and facile adaptations, concurrent with the "constitutionalising" of the Crown. By this final expansion the Cabinet would virtually become a federative assembly of the Empire, with the full powers which the necessities of its circumstances enabled it to exercise.

Such a solution removes as by magic, a mountain of difficulties. But there is a great deal to precede such a simple step, and one so easy to take at the right moment. Two preliminaries, in particular, are indispensable; first, a clear understanding as to the Colonies' contributions to Imperial expenses; second, the due satisfaction of the principle recognised by Lord Loftus. I conclude with a few words upon both.

Considering that the Colonies have respectively their own expenses of government, very much as we have at home, the Imperial contribution from them need not go beyond a fairly proportionate naval and military maintenance, available, of course, for the Empire. Mother Country and Colony would probably agree to this as the solution. The Colonies of late, when a real danger confronted them, as part of the Empire have not been backward in their defences, and even now, when not held to be under political obligation, they have promptly offered their Mother military help. Where any Colony, whether from labour exigencies or other cause, preferred a short proportionate maintenance, it should make good the difference to Imperial account in pecuniary or other ways.

The principle of popular election is what we must found upon in our question. One representative or two to a whole group will be as effective as fifty, if appointed by full popular consent, and by those processes which bring the people to consider and discuss what they are about. The federal discussions in Australasia have hitherto lacked body in this respect, having been of a too "nominative" character. Whatever form be adopted, the question must pass thoroughly into the public mind of the Colonies, and power is to be delegated only by free and general election.—*London Chamber of Commerce Journal*.

THE PROPHECIC OBJECTION TO FEDERATION.

BY H. R. NICHOLLS.

THE main argument against what is called Imperial Federation is, although it assumes many forms, that what has never been can never be. It is curious to see how this argument is used by all sorts of persons in all sorts of ways, apparently with the greatest confidence that it cannot be successfully assailed, and that it is an answer to everything and everybody. Writers in English periodicals employ it with the greatest satisfaction to themselves, they coddle and nurse it with the greatest care, and they put it before the public with all the self-consciousness of persons who have finally settled a controversy which others have failed to deal with. Now,

WHAT DOES IT ALL AMOUNT TO?

We are asked to look and shudder at the bare idea of Great Britain being reduced to "a mere canton," to think how terrible it would be for the House of Commons to be a mere local Legislature, and to recoil from the bare idea of the seat of the Imperial Government being somewhere else than in England. Readers of the "Water Babies" will remember that when the Pow-Wow man rattled his thunder-box at Tom, he screamed out, "Don't you feel afraid?" and Tom said "No." Then the Pow-

Wow man rattled his thunder-box again, still more furiously, and cried, "Ah! you're afraid now!" and Tom still answered, "Not at all." Then the Pow-Wow man gave up the job. The Pow-Wow men are at it again. They have got hold of a tremendous thunder-box, which they have filled with the dry bones of by-gone days, and they seem, as far as I am able to judge, to have come to the conclusion that whenever they rattle the box the whole of the Colonies at least tremble, and cease at once to propose any change. The plain fact is, that we see no warrant for all this. We do not concede the premisses. Not only do we not concede the premisses, but we actually, such is our depravity, do not see that there are any premisses to concede. The argument against Imperial Federation—accepting the term as quite sufficient for my purpose—seems to be based on the assumption that the British system of government is fixed and unchangeable, beyond the shocks of time and chance, and is not actually undergoing change. The first inquiry must be directed to solving the question whether this is the fact, because if there is a misconception on this point the whole aspect of the argument is changed so much as to render it not only of little value, but actually absurd, seeing the positive manner in which it is put forward.

It does not require a very close examination of history to discover that so far from the Government of Great Britain being fixed, so far from it having reached its final development, it is

RAPIDLY UNDERGOING THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY CHANGES.

Those who opposed the first Reform Bill were quite right in declaring that it was but the beginning of changes, the ultimate result of which no one could foresee, though the Bill itself was as inevitable as the consequences which follow from it. Since 1832 there has been a succession of changes, which may be developments in the direction of good government, or may be as disastrous as some of the old Tories declared. One thing is certain—that the old system has vanished, never more to return. When Burke delivered his famous speech on reconciliation with America in 1775 (just about one hundred years ago), he had no idea of the changes which would take place both in the government of the Mother Country and in the relations of the Colonies to it. He could not conceive that the Colonies could be allowed to tax the imports of the Parent Country, as that must mean flat rebellion at once; and yet we see this done every day. Even differential duties authorised are actually proposed, as in the Tasmanian treaty, against the Parent Country, and yet there is not only not separation, but no lessening of the good-feeling between the two. Surely, here is a phenomenon of which sufficient account has not been taken. In conjunction, moreover, with this alteration of the relations of the Colonies and the Mother Country, we have the

WONDERFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,

which is going on at a rate that more than fulfils the prediction of Lord Sherbrooke when the Reform Bill of Lord Beaconsfield was under discussion in 1866. Lord Sherbrooke's contention was, that it would be impossible to stop, for the change of the House of Commons from what was practically a House of Notables to one of Representatives, would compel a change which would make the House of Lords a Senate, unless there was to be actually government by one House alone. This is one of the problems of the present day. We find that Mr. John Bright and others are pleased to say that they do not propose to destroy the House of Lords all at once, but are willing that it shall have certain modified powers, such as the right to reject a bill in one session only, something after the fashion of the reforms that once found favour in Victoria. There are also proposals for the House of Lords to reform itself, by allowing the creation of life peers and additions to its ranks in various other ways, all of which indicate that a fundamental change is in progress in the form of government which we are asked to believe is "solid set and moulded in colossal calm." Carlyle, who generally managed to see to the root of the matter, contended that the House of Commons had been so successful because it was composed of men who were accustomed to governing in various ways, such as lord-lieutenants of counties, persons in responsible positions, and selected generally for the stake they had in the country. He insisted, even as Lord Sherbrooke did, that if the character of the House of Commons was materially altered by what he described as "the shooting of Niagara," there must be a great change in its capacity to deal with large and difficult questions, and he declared that it would be a failure. We need not go so far as this, but we may say confidently that the change in the House of Commons which has already taken place must bring with it eventually many great changes in the system of government, so that we may expect to see it assimilate to the forms in use in these Colonies, or in Canada, if it does not develop on the lines adopted in the United States. Whether these changes will be rapid or slow, whether they will be brought about suddenly or by the broadening-down process from precedent to precedent, will depend on many things, but I incline to believe that they will go on at an accelerating rate. In any case, it must be admitted that the

CHANGES ARE AT HAND,

so that, instead of the Government of Great Britain being a solid and unalterable thing, it is really about as unstable as that of any country, within certain limits. When I say unstable, I do not mean that there is danger of revolution, but only that it is developing in a way and at a rate for which we shall not very easily find a parallel. For it seems to be certain that the attack on the House of Lords, predicted by Pitt as the inevitable development even in his day, is about to take place, and the question must arise as to whether there is to be Government by one House or two, and if by two, what form the second chamber shall take. There will also arise the question as to whether the second chamber shall deal with money bills, as the Senates of the United States do, or whether the House of Commons, when it has become a House of Representatives, shall continue to exercise the privileges which it has guarded so jealously, and often with such absurd and inconvenient results.

It seems, therefore, as idle to draw arguments against Federation from what is, as it would have been for the States of America to come to the conclusion that they could not be united because there were no examples of such a union. We have no doubt that many writers could be found to prove to their own entire satisfaction, if the fact was not under their very eyes, that east and west, north and south, never could unite. Yet, when California was cut off from the east by a whole continent, it was a faithful member of the United States, and did not propose to set up for itself, because it had to rely on pony expresses as the most rapid means of communication. In America there is, beyond question, a centripetal force which is independent of time and change. Whence does that force come? How has it arisen? Why does it seem to grow from more to more? Certainly, it does not arise out of self-interest. It is not born of fiscal advantages, or dependent on the Customs Union of the States. It exists, like the love of a mother for her child, apart from all self-interest, and may be said to be justified of itself in the same manner. Those very wise historians and others who fix their minds solely on the material aspects of things have never yet been able to account for this, never been able to explain why the selfishness shown in foreign relations utterly vanishes within the country itself. They have never been able to show the abstraction which produces surely a most wonderful result, and which has operated on the actions of people ever since the history of the world began. When Xenophon counselled the ten thousand to face all the difficulties of a retreat to Greece, rather than settle down in the midst of plenty, with beautiful Persian and Median women for wives, his strongest argument was drawn from the love of country. In fact,

THE POWER WHICH HAS SHAKEN THE WORLD HAS BEEN
THE UNITY OF RACES.

Nothing can be shown comparable to it in force. It is the one great influence which has risen, superior to all other considerations, which has caused a people to face all the horrors of war, and to sacrifice their most evident material interests. It is quite true that we have no examples of this great force operating precisely in the way in which it must operate before Imperial Federation can be a great fact, but what warrant have we for placing a limit on its sphere of operation? It welded the United States into one, and kept them so, although enormous forces were at work for their disruption, and it has thus produced something which never was seen in the world before. A passionate desire for a great nationality is in operation there still, so much so that some of its manifestations are actually grotesque, and have been called spreadeagles. It is denied, however, that the present race of British people can ever have any such desire, although no one has yet taken the trouble to demonstrate that its existence is impossible. The assertion is repeated in various forms that what has not been cannot be, but no answer is given to the pertinent query, Why not? We see around us new developments, many of them of quite a startling description; change is the characteristic of the times, on all sides nations are being formed, and there seems to be a decided tendency to the formation of great states. Why should we suppose that the British people alone are imbued with the opposite tendency, and are disposed to separate rather than to unite?

Professor Seeley says that the average contemporary view of a great event is almost always shallow or false. This is because those who are near to a large object cannot see its outlines. Distance not only lends enchantment, but clearness to the view. We may take comfort, therefore, from the very positive manner in which Imperial Federation is decrified. There can, at all events, be no great harm in trying, and there may be great good. Already those days when the late Tasmanian Premier drank to "the Australian Republic" seem remote, though he is still able to go home as Agent-General. The change has been quite in the opposite direction from what was predicted. Why should it not go in the same direction? I can see nothing to prevent it becoming more and more a power which shall shape the policy of statesmen until they are pre- to accept

THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH ALONE A PERMANENT SYSTEM
OF FEDERATION CAN EXIST.

Those conditions were laid down by Adam Smith more than a century ago, when he was considering the position of the American Colonies, and I am not aware that anything has occurred since to shake his conclusions. On the contrary, they seem to have grown more certain from the developments which have since gone on, such as the power of taxation exercised by the Colonies, and the practical abandonment of all control by the Mother Country. Adam Smith's view was that, as the Colonies grew in strength, they would be expected to assist in the defence of the Empire, and that "when this point is reached, they will claim to be as powerful to advise as they are strong to help." It follows from this that the Colonies can only, under these conditions, be kept as a part of the Empire by being placed on precisely the same footing as the Mother Country—that is, they must have an equal voice in all Imperial concerns. This would not only necessitate equal representation, but, sooner or later, the making of the seat of government movable, or fixing it in some central spot which had been agreed upon, just as the seats of government in New Zealand and Canada have been fixed, and Washington made the political centre of the United States. In these days we can dispose of Burke's objection,

NATURA OPPOSIT,

by merely pointing to what science has done, and relying on what we know that it yet will do, which we may illustrate by the facts that a scientific congress has recently sat at Canada, and that a message from Queensland was flashed to it while in session, and its comments on the discovery thus conveyed flashed in return all over the world. The real difficulty, so far as there is any, is a sentimental one merely, arising out of the horror which some persons profess to feel at the bare idea of a British Parliament sitting anywhere than in London. They forget that the Parliament has sat at Oxford and other places; that it used to follow the King in his journeys; and, moreover, that it is not proposed to touch the present British Parliament at all. What is deemed to be necessary is a Parliament altogether different from the existing British one, and dealing with matters which do not only affect great Britain but the world-wide communities where British people are to be found. Such a Parliament we are told can never exist, that the conditions laid down by Adam Smith never can be fulfilled, but surely we have a right to ask the reason why. Surely it is begging the question to say that the Colonies will never agree. This is the very point in dispute. At present, at all events, the signs of the times point to the development of what may be called an Imperial national feeling, which if it but once fully developed will sweep away the objections and obstacles, even as they were swept away in the centripetal force which made the American Union, and which even now leads it on to absorb territory after territory, and threaten British Columbia itself. Ἀρχὴ ἤμισυ παντός.

JUDGE HALIBURTON ON BRITISH FEDERATION.

MUCH has been said and written on the subject of the Federation of the whole of the English-speaking races, but we have failed to find anything to surpass the 'cuteness of the language of "Sam Slick." If anything was written on the subject previous to Judge Haliburton's book, we have not seen it, and in the absence of anything to the contrary, must give to the Judge the credit due of some original thoughts on a great question. "Sam Slick" says:—"It shouldn't be England and her Colonies, but they should be integral parts of one great whole—all counties of Great Britain. There should be no taxes on Colonial produce, and the Colonies should not be allowed to tax British manufactures. All should pass free, as from one town to another in England; the whole of it one vast home market from Hong Kong to Labrador. They should be represented in Parliament, help to pass English laws, and show them what laws they wanted themselves. All distinctions should be blotted out for ever. It should be no more bar to a man's promotion, as it is now, that he lived beyond seas, than living on the other side of the channel. It should be 'Our Navy,' 'Our Army,' 'Our Nation.'" That's a great word; but the English keep it to themselves. . . . "Blot the word Colonies out altogether, incorporate them all with England, body and breeches; our people, our country, our Parliaments." The same great and honest thinker, for that is what Judge Haliburton really was—a far greater and more clear-headed statesman than many who have received from the world higher names in statescraft—says further on, in alluding to a possible union in the future between England and the United States of America, "Now we are two great nations; that's a fact—the greatest by a long chalk of any in the world—speak the same language, have the same religion, and our constitutions don't differ no great odds. We ought to draw closer than we do. We are big enough, equal enough, and strong enough, not to be jealous of each other. United we are more than a match for all the other nations put together, and can defy their fleets, armies, and millions. Single we couldn't stand against them all, and if one was to fall, where would the other be? Mourning over the grave of a relative whose place can never be filled. . . . Now foreign possessions, like full-grown children, are expensive. In times of peace 'colonies help trade, but in time of war how are they to be defended? There must be incorporation or separation. United you stand, divided you fall. . . . Our duty and our interest is to unite, and humanise, Christianise, and civilise the whole world. . . . Now we have our country (the United States) all in a ring fence."

We noticed in a Wellington exchange a day or two ago, an article in

which it was assumed that because America was able to carry on without a large navy that therefore England can do so, but as "Sam Slick" says the United States "is all in a ring fence." The States cannot be attacked by any foreign power; the only great danger to their commerce is that from piracy. But the great ocean police of Britain keep the seas clear as much in the interests of American commerce, and that of the rest of the world, as for the trade of England and her Colonies, and up to the present time all the costs of that great fleet have been solely paid by the British taxpayer. Some of these days, doubtless, as a matter of common honesty, backed by reasonable self-interest, we shall pay our share. In the meantime we are protected from foreign nations and our ships from piracy, at the expense of the Mother Country, and that protection has been given over and over again in a most unselfish and liberal manner for the Colonists. We shall return the kindness when called upon to do so, no doubt, but by all means let us never forget the country and race from whence sprang those great ideas of self-government and progress that have put in our hands the power "to humanise, Christianise, and civilise the whole world." The union of the English-speaking people all over the world means, we firmly believe, peace and happiness for all, not only for our own people but for those who surround our possessions. In the meantime we require a good navy to keep down piracy, and for other purposes, and if America does not so much require one, she knows well enough that wherever the British flag flies her ships can get British protection if they go the right way about it, and they usually are 'cute enough in that direction. It is well that it should be so for, as the American commodore said in China on one notable occasion, "blood is thicker than water," and we firmly trust and believe that the time will never come again when Americans and Englishmen shall find it necessary to fight against each other. Amongst English-speaking people we can do all that is necessary to our continual advancement by means of free speech and a free press. Why should it not be that within a few years "Sam Slick's" advice be carried out to the full extent, with Free Trade and Home Rule wherever the British flag flies?

RAILWAY EXTENSION IN THE COLONIES.

In a paper read by him on the above subject at the Conference Room, Colonial and Indian Exhibition. Mr. J. S. Jeans pointed out that this was a subject of almost equal interest to the Colonies and the Mother Country—to the former because no other single influence could so materially aid their development, and to the Mother Country because she would for a long time be called upon to supply the greater part of the materials of construction, and because the Colonies would take more of our home produce, the more they were able to export themselves. The experience of the United States had shown that there was a close relation between railway facilities and the development of foreign trade, and that the more the exports were increased, the greater was the volume of imports, although the two did not exactly nor necessarily run on all fours. Britain now imports over £125,000,000 worth of food supplies, of which America furnishes fully £30,000,000 worth. It is of great importance to England to endeavour to assist the Colonies to take the place of the United States in this regard, because the United States were a hostile nation in commercial affairs, imposing, as they did, an average duty of 45 per cent. on the whole of their imports, with a view to the exclusion of foreign commodities. The immense development of the trade of the United States within recent years was clearly traceable, in great part, to railway extension. There were now 130,000 miles of railway opened in the United States, whereas our Australian Colonies had only 7,000 miles for an almost equal area, and Canada, for a larger area, excluding Alaska, had only 10,000 miles. Assuming that a railway contributed to the opening up of a country for 20 square miles on either side, the railways of the United States would be equal to opening up about 5½ millions of square miles, or nearly double the absolute area of the country, excluding Alaska, whereas the railways so far built in Canada were only equal, on the same basis of estimation, to opening up about 400,000 square miles, or very little more than one-ninth of the whole. The railways of India provided for opening up about half a million square miles, or rather over one-third of the whole, and the railways of Australia provided facilities for 280,000 square miles, or one-eleventh of the whole continent. The total mileage of railways now constructed in the British Colonies was about 30,000 miles, being an average of one mile to every 7,379 of the population and every 269 miles of area. In the United Kingdom there is one mile of railway to every 6½ miles of area, and in the United States one mile of railway to every 25 miles of area. If our Colonies had the same relation of railway mileage to area as the United States, their total railway mileage would be upwards of 330,000 miles. The freight rates of our Colonies were generally higher than those of Europe, but in India and in Canada they were lower. The latter country had to arrange railway rates so as to compete for trans-continental traffic with the United States, where, within the last ten or twelve years, the rates had been reduced on an average by one-half, and where freighters were now paying the railways a hundred million pounds per annum less than they would have had to pay for the same volume of traffic in 1872. It was of great importance to our Colonial progress that the rates should be kept low, as this would develop traffic more rapidly, and better enable the Colonies to compete with the United States. That they were able so to compete had been sufficiently proved by the enormous increase in their exports of bread-stuffs to Europe within recent years. With the exception of India, Queensland, and New South Wales, in each of which the railways were now paying over 4 per cent., the Colonial railways were not generally so remunerative as to tempt capital on their merits. Canadian railways only paid an average of 1·4 per cent.; Victorian railways, 2·91 per cent.; New Zealand railways, 2·51; and Cape Colony railways, 2·65 per cent. Railway promoters should endeavour not only to ascertain the traffic actually existing or available, but also the traffic likely to be created. Experience had shown that in the Colonies traffic developed very rapidly, and in some cases a net

traffic of less than £300 per mile per annum was equal to yielding a dividend of over 4 per cent., whereas it required over £1,700 per annum to pay the same rate in England. It was of the greatest importance to the Colonies that they should be furnished in the shortest possible time, and on the greatest attainable scale, with railway facilities, in order to transport the produce of their wheat-fields and vineyards, their sheep-runs and their cattle-ranches, to the markets of Europe, and for this purpose Colonies were justified in undertaking an expenditure and incurring a debt that would not be otherwise justifiable.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

DUDLEY.—The *Evening Express* and *Star* of the 10th ult. has the following:—"A meeting in furtherance of Imperial Federation was held on Thursday evening at the Blue Boar Inn, Stone Street, Mr. W. Tiney in the chair. There was a numerous attendance, amongst those present being Messrs. S. Sproston, T. S. W. Good, H. V. Mayer, W. Brooke, J. Tizey, Hipkins, Brownhill, Kinsey, and others. Mr. H. V. Mayer, hon. sec., reported that he had sent copies of the various publications published by the Imperial Federation League to upwards of thirty of the leading gentlemen of the town and district, and still more would be sent. He congratulated them upon having reached their first successful stage—immediate affiliation with the parent society having been resolved upon. He was a Federalist because he thought that Imperial Federation and patriotism were synonymous. He believed it to be one of the best possible modes of maintaining the prestige, improving the position, and increasing the power of the Mother Country and her Colonies. Mr. Good and Mr. Brooke likewise addressed the meeting at some length, and a paper in advocacy of Imperial Federation was read by Mr. W. Mayer, and was well received. A vote of thanks was given to that gentleman, and the customary vote of thanks to the chairman concluded a most successful meeting. Several new members were enrolled.

SALFORD.—At a recent meeting of the Salford Working Men's Constitutional Union the following resolution was passed, and copies of it were forwarded to the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill:—"That this meeting respectfully invites the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the favourable character of the present time for furthering a policy of Imperial Federation. It is furthermore strongly of opinion that Her Majesty's present advisers are eminently qualified to inaugurate a cautious policy on this great subject, seeing that they have been returned to promote a policy of union." Mr. E. Edeson (secretary) has received replies from the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill thanking the members of the Union for their vote of confidence. The Prime Minister also assures the members that Her Majesty's Government are determined to strengthen the bond of union at present existing between England and Ireland and other countries.

UITENHAGE, SOUTH AFRICA.—We have information that a very able paper on "Imperial Federation" was lately read, in connection with the Literary and Debating Society of this place, by Mr. Philleppson, of Pretentse Kraal. The paper is described as fixing the attention of the audience throughout, and eliciting frequent bursts of applause. Mr. Philleppson pronounced strongly in favour of the Federation of the Empire, which fact, as he is one of the most active members of the Afrikander Bond, is not without significance. A vote of thanks proposed by the Mayor was carried by acclamation.

WOODSTOCK, CANADA.—Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, of Ingersoll, has been taking steps towards the formation of a Branch of the League in Woodstock.

WE much regret that the names of the following gentlemen who attended the deputation to Lord Salisbury were unfortunately omitted from the list published by us in our last issue:—Lieut.-General Lowry, C.B.; J. Stanley Little, Esq. (representing the Haslemere Branch of the League).

COLONIAL AND INDIAN EXHIBITION.—THE BURMESE REGALIA FROM MANDALAY.—From King Theebaw's Palace at Mandalay a magnificent collection of jewellery and plate has been sent to England by the Viceroy; and it has been lent to the Exhibition by the Secretary of State for India. There are gold vases of different sizes, dishes of quaint shape, some in the form of a duck, betel boxes, reliquaries to hold the teeth of Buddha or other objects of veneration, jade ornaments, daggers and swords, dresses, hats, slippers, and a state umbrella; and, most noteworthy of all, drinking-cups with large cone-shaped covers which envelop the vessel, a gold bottle with a crayfish-shaped head, and King Theebaw's horoscope written on palm leaves. Most of these articles are heavily set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls, and other precious stones. The collection has been placed in cases adjacent to the Ceylon Court.

SPECIAL

JUBILEE NUMBER

OF

"Imperial Federation."

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THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES IN 1837 AND 1885. By J. DENNISTOUN WOOD, late Attorney-General of Victoria.

THE LAWS OF THE EMPIRE. By SIR JOHN E. GORST, Q.C., M.P., late Solicitor-General of England.

GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE EMPIRE. By F. P. LABILLIERE, Barrister-at-Law.

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITY. By SIR HENRY BARKLY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., late Governor of Cape Colony.

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LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

MR. L. SERGEANT having resigned the post of Secretary to the League has been succeeded by Mr. A. H. Loring who for the last two months has acted as organising Secretary to the League.

THE Secretary requests us to state that numbers 1 and 2 of the *Journal* are now out of print and cannot be supplied.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other undertakings of Imperial interests being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures, on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to the map during its absence from the office.

MR. FREEMAN'S "GREATER BRITAIN."

IF the blood of the martyrs be the seed of the Church, wholesome criticism is the pruning-knife which secures healthy and continuous development to the young plant of a constitutional change. It goes without saying that anything written by Mr. Freeman on the subject of Federation is worthy of all consideration, nor is the value of the work lessened by the fact that it is severely critical of the Imperial Federation idea, the very name of which appears to him an absurd contradiction in terms, and its realisation a hopeless impossibility. The book consists of two lectures, one on "Greater Greece and Greater Britain" and one on "George Washington, the Expander of England," and an appendix on "Imperial Federation." The first of the two lectures contains an historical comparison between the conditions of Greek and English colonisation, with certain criticisms on Imperial Federation which are subsequently expanded in the appendix, while the second letter contains a glorification of George Washington, with special reference to one alleged deficiency in the scheme of Federation, viz., the omission of the United States from "participation in the union of English-speaking communities." The title "Expander of England" is also ingeniously made the peg on which to hang some remarks on the dangers of "annexations," and on the old text of "men not walls" (or flags) constituting states. It is characteristic of the writer that considerable space is appropriated to somewhat lengthy discussions of terms. "British Empire" is severely, and "Imperial Federation" remorselessly, pumelled.

Reviewing the colonies of Greece in comparison with those of England and other modern states, Mr. Freeman points out how these differences depend on the primary fact that the unit of Hellenic (and ancient) civilisation was the *city-community*, while that of modern civilisation is the *nation*. The component units of the city-state were *citizens*, owing allegiance to the state; those of the nation or kingdom are *subjects*, owing allegiance to a person. While, then, a Greek colony became by the mere fact of removal from the limits of the city-state a free and equal community, modern colonies, having the non-elastic bond of allegiance to a person, are still the subjects of the king (or kingdom) that founded them. Moreover, while the Greek colony, free from its birth, and having no legal connection with its parent-city, yet retained a sentimental but real attachment to its mother; the modern colony, legally subject to the parent kingdom, has but one goal in front of it—"Disintegration or Federation." For the subjection is unnatural, and therefore destined to be destroyed. Of these two alternatives Mr. Freeman holds that the second is impossible, while he hopes that the former may be effected in such a way as to produce the same kind of sentimental but effectual link as that which connected the Greek colony to its parent state. Thus a number of independent English nations would result, free from all commercial or political rivalry, and united by the strong but ungalling chain of identity of race and sentiment.

It will be convenient to consider the objections to "Imperial Federation" contained in the first lecture, in connection with the appendix. To begin with, Mr. Freeman objects strongly to the term "Imperial Federation," for (he says) what is *imperial* cannot be *federal*, and what is *federal* cannot be *imperial*, in fact it is a "contradiction in terms." But why? Imperial is the adjective of Empire, and is equivalent to a genitive; the word means "of" "in connection with," the (or an) Empire. Empire, originally used of the one Empire of Rome, has long since come to signify a state having sovereignty over other states not primarily or absolutely part of itself. Thus, the Empire of Great Britain includes the whole group of dependencies outside of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This latter expression indicating that theoretically Great Britain and Ireland is one kingdom united in sentiment and government. The word Empire has long been applied to any country which has dependencies thus attached to it. That the word is used sometimes in a manner conflicting with its traditions in no way condemns it; to be used illogically is a disaster to which all words are liable. Understanding the substantive Empire in this loose sense of a kingdom with

1 "Greater Greece and Greater Britain, and George Washington, the Expander of England." Two Lectures, with an Appendix. By Edward A. Freeman. Macmillans.

dependencies attached, the adjective "Imperial" as applied to "Federation," is surely, so far from being meaningless or contradictory, the only possible word which would convey the idea required. The Federation of which we speak is something quite distinct (as Mr. Freeman repeatedly asserts) from any previous Federal union. It is not an ordinary union of independent states, but it is a development of a number of states of unequal age and power, at present united in the Imperial form into a Federal Union. It is a new species of the genus Federation, that is all. It differs from other Federations in so far as it is not a union of equal independent states, but of states (or embryo states) at present united in a different form, viz., the Imperial form of government, hence it is an "Imperial Federation," as opposed to a "Federation" simply.

But to return to the two alternatives which lie before the unnaturally subjected Colony of a modern state—Disintegration or Federation. After pointing out once again that the Federation for the British Empire is distinct from any previous Federal union, since "no ruling state has ever admitted its subject states into Federal relation" (for Rome absorbed her provinces into herself), Mr. Freeman discusses the various forms which this union could assume, and condemns them all in turn. First, there is "total union," which would mean that "the various Colonies should send members to Parliament in proportion to their numbers." This would admit the Colonies to an equal share in the government of the Empire. Natal would become as integral a part of the Empire as Kent. But the cost would be too heavy. The "Colony would sink to the level of the county," and "a share in the control of the affairs of the whole Empire would be bought by the loss of all special control over the affairs of the Colony itself." Therefore this complete union is condemned on the ground that no Colony would care to merge and bury its separate existence into that of the whole Empire. Secondly, there is the proper Federal union, in which the Colonial Parliaments would be preserved, while each Colony would send members to the Imperial Parliament. But this arrangement bristles with difficulties. Either the Colonial members will take part in the management of the affairs of the United Kingdom or they will not. If the former, then the Mother Country will be reduced to dependence on the Colonies; if the latter, there will be the insuperable difficulty of determining what are or are not *imperial* questions. Further, even supposing Federation practically possible as a working form of government, Mr. Freeman is startled by the old objection of the degradation of the British Parliament. Federation is to ask a "ruling power" to abdicate, to ask a "sovereign assembly" to "come down from its seat and give to some other assembly the widest of its powers." To this degradation the people of England would never consent. But beside all this the advocate of Imperial Federation, says Mr. Freeman, is hopelessly illogical; "Not one man in a thousand who has chatted about 'Imperial Federation' has even stopped to think what Federation means, any more than he has stopped to think what Empire means." And his hopeless want of thought is thus exhibited. If the proposed Federation include all subjects of Her Majesty, it must include India, and in that case the black vote will swamp the white. If it is limited to the English-speaking peoples of the Empire, then any such union of English-speaking peoples is absurd on the face of it, since the United States would be omitted. And here the second essay should be considered, being a panegyric on George Washington and the expansion of England, which achieved its political being under his guidance. For any union of English peoples without the United States of America would be a "lame and imperfect Federation."

Such is the case against Federation, as set out by Mr. Freeman. Throughout appears the cloven foot of professorial petulance; the impatience of a doctrinaire at the constant conflict between things as they are and things as they should be—the real and the ideal. It is characteristic that phrases which mean something definite and precise for practical politicians, and which are accepted by them without demur as conveying certain recognised meanings, should be meaningless and vague and illogical to the Oxford professor. Taken in brief the objections to Imperial Federation are these—(1) The *loss of national existence* on the part of the Colonies involved in total union with the Mother Country; (2) The impossibility of discovering what are and are not Imperial questions, supposing the admission of Colonial members to Parliament; (3) The degradation of the British Parliament; (4) The difficulty of India and the United States. None of these objections are new or overwhelming. They have a common vice: *the change of to-morrow is condemned because it does not suit the conditions of to-day.* But to consider them in detail:—(1) There is no *national existence* in the Colonies. They are too young yet to have generated any antagonism of feeling, and now that some of them are just growing into a condition when such antagonism would be possible another factor has arisen to counteract it. This is the tendency of all the wisest and richest Colonial people to connect themselves, in sentiment, training, and manners, with people of the same class in England. And this is assisted by the constant increase of means of communication of all kinds between England and the Colonies. As to sinking to the level of a *county*, in the first place, the "county" will soon be raised for purposes of self-government to the province, and in the second a Colony has no traditions. Apart from her public works and customs policy there is nothing to divide her people. Except in the rare case of South Africa, there is no foreign policy under her control. (2) This difficulty is one for the practical politician to decide when the given conditions have been realised. It is purely hypothetical; but the class to which it belongs should present no difficulties to the statesmen who have worked a constitution so full of anomalies as our own. (3) The British Parliament would not be degraded. It would simply be entering upon a new growth. When the great Council was changed into a Parliament with two Houses, it was not degraded but expanded. The admission of new classes of voters is a regular process in English politics. The ancient boroughs of the south thought is no injustice when new members were assigned to the manufacturing towns of the north. Why should the voters of

England object to giving members to the towns of Canada and Australia? The new Imperial Parliament would be the *filia pulchrior* of a *mater pulchra*. (4) India is a province, and must be ruled as we think best for it. What greater difficulty would there be in the new Imperial Parliament ruling India than is experienced by the present Imperial Parliament? Can Mr. Freeman suppose that a want of symmetry in an expression is any bar to the realisation of a political change? As to the United States, there are signs of a tendency towards union with England manifested, as is to be expected, chiefly in the highest classes. Surely a solid English Federation, with an unique command of the world's trade and highways, would be more likely to command the respect of the younger nation than a powerless and effete community in Europe cut off from the newest and best blood of the race.

Having pronounced Federation impossible, Mr. Freeman states his alternative. "Surely," he says, "there would be no longer the same direct rivalry between the United States and England if there were three or four or five independent English nations," and "would disintegration be too dearly bought if it carried with it the perfect independence of the United States of Australia and a greater chance . . . of the lasting good-will of the United States of America?" Unconnected with England, Canada would be compelled to seek union with the United States, South Africa would as surely fall either to Germany, whose foot is already planted on the west coast, or France, with her late acquisitions on the east. Possibly Australia might preserve her independence. Unsupported by Colonial vigour, England must sink to the rank of a second-rate power, and yield India to Russia. Robbed of Canada she would hardly regard the United States with increased good-will. Is not this at least as credible as Mr. Freeman's forecast? and if there be but ever so slight a chance of its realisation, should anyone so much as breathe the word "sur-render" in connection with our Colonies?

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT TO No. 10 OF "IMPERIAL FEDERATION."

THE RECENT HISTORY OF THE IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE MOVEMENT.

SINCE the first formal presentation to the public of the idea of a penny Imperial postage, the movement has made marvellous progress. It was on the 30th of March last—only six months ago—that Mr. Heaton moved in the House of Commons his resolution in favour of establishing, in concert with other Governments, a universal international penny postage system. In his speech on that occasion Mr. Heaton, after describing the benefits of a cheap postal service, made

A SPECIAL APPEAL

on behalf of the Colonies:—

I may pretend to speak with some degree of knowledge respecting one of the greatest, most prosperous, and, I may be permitted to add, most loyal of the British Colonies—Australia. (Cheers.) To that country a large proportion of the more intelligent and deserving emigrants annually go from "the old country," while a much larger proportion goes to a second Continent, also peopled by men of English lineage, and speaking our mother tongue. Now it is notorious that the mass of these exiles are persons in the humblest circumstances, who work for a daily wage, and calculate every farthing of expenditure as carefully as do their equally indigent relatives left behind in England or Ireland. What is the consequence? All communication between the divided members of the family is looked upon as an expensive indulgence, and economy too often begins with a practical casting off of all the ties that bind, or ought to bind, the emigrant to the land of his fathers. (Hear.) Sir, in these days of industrial crisis and colonial extension, when envious glances mark the extent of our wealthy empire, and keen men of business commissioned as consuls rove up every creek with offers of a protectorate and of protectionist duties, it is surely no sound policy to set a tax of a deterrent character upon indulgence in that natural affection which is so considerable a factor in patriotism.

Then upon the important question,

WILL IT PAY?

Mr. Heaton said:—

I will here lay down what may seem to financiers in this House a somewhat startling proposition. I hold that the State has no right to make a profit out of the Post Office. A large part of the business of life is now absolutely dependent on the postal service. Probably half the letters sent are business letters; and another very large share is sent by persons of small means, who have many stern inducements to take care of their pence. In other words, one half of your postal revenue is derived from a tax on the machinery of trade, and another large share from the poorest class of citizens. This is practically a tax on commerce. Whether the merchant pays the money at the Custom House or at the Post Office is all the same to him. A paternal Government allows the foreigner to introduce his goods duty free, to compete with home products; but he lays a tax, through the Post Office, on the British exporter. I can understand the State charging a tax of sixpence a ton say on coals actually sold, but I cannot understand a tax of sixpence in the shape of postage on the communication or letters leading to that business transaction.

The deficit—if any—must of course be provided for. Well:—

Let Her Majesty's Government propose a Conference, or an extraordinary meeting of the Postal Union, or adopt any other procedure

which in their judgment may be best. It will doubtless be necessary to make elaborate calculations as to the amounts of the initial loss of revenue to be respectively borne by the several States. But these calculations are not more difficult than those already completed by the members of the Union.

In any case there is no doubt as to the ability of the British Post Office to bear its proportion of the deficit:—

The profit now derived from the Post Office is almost £3,000,000 sterling per annum, but the Postmaster-General alleges that this profit is all made at home, and that there is a loss on foreign business. Surely this is an argument in favour of foreign penny postage. Profit made in one direction should be applied to balance losses in another. The revenue from the General Post Office in 1875 was £7,418,324, and the net profit £2,531,306. The revenue last year had risen to £10,053,457, and the net profit, £2,932,267, an increase of more than two and a half millions in revenue, and nearly four hundred thousand pounds profit.

Mr. Heaton then proceeded to point out a few of the anomalies of the present system, and to show

HOW ABSURDLY HIGH ARE THE POSTAL CHARGES TO THE COLONIES

compared with the actual cost of carriage:—

1. The price charged for the conveyance of letters to Australia is 6d. per letter of half an ounce in weight, or no less than £1,792 per ton. There are no post-cards to Australia.

2. The cost of the postage of a newspaper weighing 4 oz. to the ends of the earth is only 1d. A letter of the same weight would cost 4s. We might send eight letters for 1d. But we offer the Government 8d. for the eight letters, for it is only suggested that one letter should be sent for one penny.

3. The cost of carriage by a first-class steamship is only 40s. per ton, or 4½lbs. for one penny to Australia. The postal authorities might pay the steamship owners 1s. per lb. At a penny per letter thirty-two letters would cost the public 2s. 8d. The postal authorities would then have 1s. 8d. for the cost of delivery, etc.

4. The French Government carries a post-card from, say, Calais to New Caledonia—1,000 miles beyond Australia—for 1d.

5. The Post Office charges 2½d. for carrying a letter from, say, Folkestone to Boulogne—a distance of about thirty-two miles by sea; and only 1d. for carrying it to the Orkneys—nearly all the way by rail—a distance of 750 or 800 miles.

Looking at these facts, Mr. Heaton was not at all convinced that there would be a loss to the Post Office in consequence of the reduction he advocated:—

Let us take the case of the great reduction of postage in 1839. In the year 1839 there were carried or delivered in the United Kingdom in all eighty-two million and a half letters. In the year 1840 there were delivered in the United Kingdom 169 millions; and there were delivered last year no less than 1,360 millions, or sixteen times as many as in 1839. Assuming, as I am fairly entitled to do, that the number of letters now carried at a prohibitive price by the Post Office for transmission abroad would be only six times greater than at present, the revenue would be the same as it is now. (Cheers.) But I set no such bounds on the communicativeness of the race. I would appeal to the right hon. gentleman, the First Lord of the Treasury, with confidence, in view of his most recent experience, whether, given a penny postal rate, even with a sea to be crossed, and long railway journeys to be made, the epistolary tendencies of mankind can be “cribb’d, cabined, and confined.”

VALUABLE TESTIMONY

in support of the scheme was brought forward:—

The Consul-General of Denmark writes:—“Between European countries near to each other, as for instance, England and France or Germany, the present charge of 2½d. is somewhat high, and might with great advantage be reduced. As regards Denmark, she would naturally follow the lead of the great European countries in such a matter, and would, I feel sure, take part in an International Conference, and cordially co-operate in any practical scheme which would further develop the great reform of Sir Rowland Hill.”

An American gentleman writes from New York:—“A penny post between England and America would pay well. It is not more expensive to send a letter from London to New York than from London to Scotland.”

A well-known emigration agent writes:—“One advantage of your scheme will be that the friends of the emigrant, instead of writing quarterly, will write weekly; and a great body of persons who never think at present of buying a costly foreign postage stamp, will develop a surprising interest in men and things abroad.”

A gentleman connected with an Agent-General's office writes:—“It will be said that the Colonial postage service will not pay, and that large losses are already borne. The present results are from bad management. Last year Australia sent and received from England 12,000,000 letters, 10,000,000 newspapers, and 1,500,000 packets, at a cost of £270,000. With this enormous subsidy, if the Colonies and the Mother Country would unite, we could have a first-class mail service to and from Australia. From one to three first-class mail steamers now leave Australia every week for England.”

The manager of the Australian Joint Stock Bank, one of our largest institutions, writes:—“I am entirely in accord with you as to the desirability of a universal penny post.”

A well-known Australian writes:—“I wish the Postmaster-General could, in spirit, transport himself into some rough, log-built shanty on the fringe of a virgin forest, where a knot of shaggy, brown-faced men are gathered in a circle to hear a letter from home read aloud. If he could mark the keen interest on every face, the rapt attention, the lively interest displayed in the history, health, and doings of their comrade's family circle at home in England, perhaps even the passing shade of envy at his happiness, and remember that such happiness

would be returned a thousand-fold, when the wanderer's reply reached his friends at home, I am not sure that his official sternness would not for a passing moment relax, and he might think more favourably of your motion.”

A leading merchant of the city of London writes to me as follows:—“There is no doubt the sympathy of the whole commercial world will be with you in your patriotic endeavour of obtaining a uniform and cheaper international postage, which would greatly facilitate commercial intercourse and considerably reduce office expenses, which, especially in these hard times, form a heavy item.”

Mr. S. W. Silver, the emigrant's friend, writes:—“I believe that nothing is more likely to foster that regard which exists between the various members that compose the British Empire than a uniform penny postage. With such rapid communication as now exists, all that is required is to neutralise the expense to the greatest possible degree to render the union more facile.”

The Portuguese Consul-General also writes in favour of the proposal.

The head of a large commercial firm in the City writes:—“The State should look upon the Post Office as a merchant does on an advertisement. The day has passed when the State could tax advertisements. I calculate that the increase of letter writers strictly corresponds to the increased number of children now being educated. Quite an army of letter writers is now being drilled and taught all over the country. The increase in our correspondence with foreign countries, and with our Colonies, must therefore show a great increase during the next few years, fully compensating us for the largest possible expenditure foreseen by the Postmaster-General.”

The Consul-General of Austria-Hungary writes:—“I beg to assure you that I sincerely sympathise with the object you have in view; and I do not hesitate to think that the two difficulties you mention might be easily surmounted by an International Conference.”

The well-known firm of W. & A. Gilbey, whose commercial transactions extend to every country in the world, writes:—“We unhesitatingly and emphatically state that not only would such a result be beneficial to our trade, but it must undoubtedly tend to the advantage of British commerce generally. At the same time, it would greatly cement that international goodwill, so desirable at all times to cultivate, from every point of view. It would also, without doubt, cause an increased revenue to the Postal Department in a very short period of time.”

IN CONCLUSION,

Mr. Heaton made an eloquent appeal, “not merely to the cold, calculating economists of the Treasury Bench, but to the representatives of the hundreds of millions who own our gracious Sovereign's sway”:—

I ask them to make intercourse between their Sundered coasts as easy as speech, as free as air. (Applause.) I entreat them to tolerate no longer this unworthy profit on the expression of their fraternal sympathies and on the natural development of their trade. And I foretell that this reform, when it is ours—as it soon must be—will confer a wide-spread benefit on commerce; it will bring new happiness into myriads of English homes here, in this country, and scattered by the brimming margin of the long wash of the Australasian seas, over pathless prairies in America, over trackless plains in Australia, and along glancing Equatorial streams; and it will form the last, and not the least tenacious, of the ties that bind our Colonies to their beloved Mother Country.

Although 129 Members of Parliament voted for it, the motion was defeated, owing to a somewhat disingenuous objection raised by the Government (of which more hereafter); but the question was immediately seized upon by the

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and Mr. Heaton's aim was everywhere stamped with marks of approval. On the same evening the *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote:—

The establishment of a penny postage system throughout the British Empire is as eminently practical as it is urgently necessary. It cannot be too clearly understood that until cheap communication is established between the different parts of the Empire, all talk about Federation is as sounding brass and as a tinkling cymbal. People talk of the desirability of impressing the working-classes with the idea that in emigrating from London to Sydney or Perth they are no more leaving home than in migrating to Edinburgh or Glasgow. What nonsense, or rather what mockery, all such talk is, so long as our postal and telegraphic tariff is as completely prohibitive of all effectual intercourse as numberless leagues of an unknown ocean. An Imperial Penny Post is the indispensable first step towards Imperial Federation.

The *Morning Advertiser* of March 31st said:—

Nothing would tend more directly to that Imperial unity we all so much desire than a cheap and uniform postal rate between all parts of Great Britain and her Colonies and Dependencies; and it is a question in our mind whether the money loss would ever be felt after the first year or two. Lord John Manners was unquestionably right when he said that England could not go behind the backs of the Colonial Governments and force a reduction of the rate. But would it not be good policy on our part to bear nearly the whole cost ourselves? The step would be extremely popular in Australia, Canada, and India, and according to the estimate of the Post Office, which is not likely to err in the direction of minimising the expense, would cost less than £400,000 a year. When it is considered, however, that the emigrants from England and the friends whom they leave at home are generally people of the poorest class, to whom the present rate is prohibitive of anything but very occasional correspondence, is it not probable that a penny postage would so enormously increase the mails as to make up in great measure the initial loss? And even if this were not the immediate effect, would not another result of the reduction be to stimulate our commercial relations with the Colonies? In France, where taxation is

far heavier than with us, a halfpenny post-card may be sent to any part of that country's foreign possessions, worthless and insignificant as they are compared with our own magnificent Britains beyond sea. These are a few of the considerations bearing on the question which deserve to be carefully weighed; and which, we hope, will induce Mr. Henniker Heaton or some of his 127 friends to repeat his motion year after year until it is crowned with the success which inevitably awaits it.

The *Daily Chronicle* regarded the demand for a universal international penny post as a little too ambitious. But it saw no reason why the boon should not be established throughout the British Empire.

The *Globe*, after assuming that there would at first be a heavy loss, said:—

There is one ground on which even the sternest economist must regard the proposal with favour. This is, that it would largely help to quicken that knitting together of the Empire which is becoming one of the most pressing questions of the day. Federation or Separation: such, according to many eminent Colonial authorities, are the only alternatives for England to choose between. Our Dependencies are rapidly growing in population, wealth, and all the other essentials of national strength and power. They cling to the Mother Country as yet, recognising the advantages, both commercial and political, which accrue to them from belonging to the greatest and freest Empire under the sun. But, while loyal to the backbone, they claim that they ought to have some share in the government of the Empire; and, although the idea is still vague and inchoate, it promises to assume solid shape and substance before long. It is, therefore, of the first importance to seek every means of establishing close and cordial relations between the Mother Country and her distant children before their clamour to have some part in the management of the Imperial household becomes too strong to be resisted. We entirely agree with Mr. Henniker Heaton that any measure calculated to promote and maintain this fraternal feeling would be worth paying for. If, therefore, the establishment of a uniform penny postage rate for the whole Empire would conduce to that end—and who can doubt it?—even half a million would be a most reasonable price for the gain of solidarity. After all, the original function of the Post Office was not to make money for the Treasury, but to promote the public benefit; and, although this fact has been lost sight of, it is as well to recall it to mind occasionally. As matters stand, people who write letters practically pay a tax from which the non-corresponding class escape, while the commercial world is far more heavily mulcted in proportion than those who “toil not, neither do they spin.” Of course, anomalies of this sort are inseparable from any postal system, and they would still exist, in a less degree, even if we had a universal penny postage. But when that reform is opposed on the sole ground of its diminishing the enormous profits of the Post Office, the question of whether revenue considerations should have the first place in a matter of Imperial concern may well be discussed.

The *Echo* gave a concise report of the debate, but, as will be seen, grew seriously enamoured of the scheme some weeks later. Thus, its comic man:—

Henniker Heaton's penny is the long-sought “Universal Solvent” of the old philosophers. What the philosophers would have done with their solvent, had they discovered it, is not easy to imagine—for, as a sceptical person put it, “In what sort of a vessel could you hold it?” But Heaton's solvent is, or should be, in the pocket of every person neither too poor nor too proud to carry a copper coin. But my figure has already run itself out, and I may as well say at once that the new universal solvent is the penny post. The mantle of Sir Rowland Hill has fallen upon the member for Canterbury, the spirit of Elihu Burritt has entered into him, and he prophesieth that an inter-oceanic postage of one penny per ounce will not only impart new life to business, but also, by an illimitable development of letter-writing, dissolve the prejudices and the enmities of mankind, and leave a clear residuum of milk of human kindness.

The *Evening News* said Mr. Heaton “placed a very good case before the House,” and “succeeded in raising a very interesting discussion.” It regarded the rejection of the motion as “a foregone conclusion, in view of the fact that we have a Ministry desperately economical, and even niggardly, in all matters except such as touch Ireland.” It described the scheme as strongly recommending itself to public attention, and predicts that “to this indeed, if Federation with our Colonies means anything, we must come very soon.”

According to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the “advocates of Federation through the Post Office” ought to have “frankly recognised” the heavy loss which the scheme would involve. At the same time:—

They should have gone on to point out that the loss would neither have been proportional to the reduction nor permanent, for to reduce the postage rate from 6d. to 1d. would soon cause far more than six times as many letters to be sent. How is it (Mr. Heaton wanted to know) that France and Germany charge so much less for sending a letter to Australia than we do? The answer is very simple: they think cheap postage with the Colonies is worth paying for as a commercial speculation, and they pay for it accordingly. In our case the commercial advantage of fostering Colonial trade is backed by the political advantage of preparing for Colonial federation; but we do not care to pay the cost. It would mean half a million, says the Secretary of the Treasury, and there to the official mind is an end of the matter. Next time the Federationists must take that loss for granted, and endeavour to impress upon the official mind that half a million spent in drawing us closer to our Colonies would by no means be wholly unremunerative expenditure.

The *Pall Mall* went on to “emphatically protest against the attempts of the officials, of Lord John Manners equally with

Mr. Fowler, to represent that the Colonies are every bit as penny-wise, pound-foolish, in the matter as we are ourselves.”—

Where is the evidence of any such disposition on our part? Ministers and ex-Ministers cannot be expected, of course, to know much of quite recent events, but the new Colonial postage arrangement, to which no reference whatever seems to have been made by Mr. Fowler, is now some months old—a full account of it appeared in our columns six weeks ago and more; and under this arrangement it is notorious that the Australian Colonies are perfectly ready to spend money on the postal service out of mere sentimental affection for the Mother Country. If Mr. Fowler looks into the matter, he will find that the Colonies have expressly bound themselves to refuse any foreign tender—no matter how low—for the conveyance of the mails from Brindisi to Adelaide. And as for the Colonies being perfectly satisfied with the existing arrangement, it is notorious that they feel keenly the necessity of England using every means in its power to obtain a reduction from France and Italy in the rates of overland carriage. That all this should have been ignored in last night's debate is of itself an excellent proof for the necessity of better means of communication between London and Australia.

In another part of the same issue, the *Pall Mall* put the pertinent question:—

But have the officials, in considering the question, really taken into account the principle on which the national penny post was founded, the cheaper the facilities of communication the greater the ratio of multiplication in letters posted.

The chief provincial newspapers published articles on the debate, and the following extracts will be read with interest:—

The penny post is not yet universal, as those who have to deal with foreign correspondence know to their cost. That it should be so all commercial men are convinced, but as yet the Circumlocution Office, with its red tape, is not convinced. Forgetting the well-known fact that distant letters in England cost the Post Office more in transit than local ones to local recipients, Mr. Fowler made a distinction last night, in objecting to a universal penny post, or even a penny post throughout the British Empire, between foreign and home letters. It did not need a Minister to tell us that the foreign postal service is more costly than the home—that is self-evident. Nor was it unknown that the foreign service did not pay, though the loss appears to be satisfactorily reducing itself, it now only reaching £1,000 a day. The profit and loss of a department is, however, to be looked at as a whole, and we contend with Mr. Henniker Heaton that the Post Office is intended for the common good much more than as a source of revenue. The adoption of the inland penny post was a bold effort, but a successful one, and we see no reason to doubt the success of an equally bold effort in the direction of a penny post throughout the British Empire. Our Colonies should certainly enjoy this boon. Mr. Heaton, last night, in proposing his motion—“That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived for the Government of this country to open negotiations with other Governments, with a view to the establishment of a universal international penny postage system,” made a big demand. Let our own Empire in this matter set the example. It would be a movement which would show our Colonies that they were not looked upon as foreigners, an impression our fiscal policy and many of our dealings with them do much to create. Mr. Fowler was obliged to deal with figures, and he very cutely only dealt with the losses our foreign postal facilities (with the exception of those to Canada), resulted in ignoring the surplus of profit the Post Office secured on its entire service. Mr. Fowler estimated that a universal penny post would incur a charge on the revenue of from four to five hundred thousand pounds, but he did not give the figures respecting the adoption of a national penny post. Mr. Fowler's figures must be taken *cum grano*. Loss and ruin were predicted when first the penny post was mooted. The same cry was heard when the halfpenny post was proposed, and more recently in connection with the parcel post. Yet, in spite of bad times, all these prognostications of ruin and loss have been falsified. The vast increase in correspondence which a national penny post would cause should reduce the initial loss which must be expected, and in time, we believe, would ensure a profit. That the proposal is not yet ripe may be gathered from the opposition offered by Mr. Osborne Morgan on the part of the Colonies. He announced that they strongly objected to a cheaper postage if any of the loss was to be borne by them. Mr. A. B. Forwood, knowing what he was talking about, showed that a sufficient saving might be effected by a reform of the existing mail packet system to permit the proposed reduction without loss to the revenue—a statement which somewhat disturbed the Treasury Bench.—*Birmingham Daily Gazette*.

The motion moved by Mr. Henniker Heaton last night in favour of a Universal International Penny Postage involves a splendid conception, and one which, could it be realised, would do much to promote peace and amity among nations. Unfortunately, insuperable fiscal difficulties stand in its way. The Post Office is making a profit of between two and three millions annually. But there is a loss of £365,000 on the foreign postage service, and while that deficit exists no Government will undertake to make a change involving so great a further sacrifice as the reduction of the foreign postage to one penny undoubtedly would at first. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that the motion was opposed by the Government and defeated by a large majority. However desirable, a low uniform universal postage is just yet impracticable. But if we cannot carry out the somewhat admirable proposal taken up by Mr. Heaton, much might be done towards giving effect to a uniform postage between Great Britain and her Colonies. At present, many of our Colonial possessions are extremely conservative in their adherence to high postal rates. It is very unsatisfactory, indeed, somewhat discreditable, to know that the only civilised countries which have not joined the Postal Union are Colonies of Great Britain—viz., Australia, New Zealand, and our South African possessions. What, too, can be more to the disrepute of the nation which should be at the head of the civilised world than the

anomaly that, while letters can be sent through Russia to China and Japan at 2½d., it costs 6d. to send a letter to our own less distant Colony of the Cape, with which there is direct water communication? Mr. Fowler stated last night, on behalf of the Government, that there was a loss of revenue on the postal service to most of our Colonies. But against this statement must be put the fact that the only Colony with which our postal service pays its way was Canada, and Canada being in the Postal Union, the rate of postage for letters there is only 2½d. Probably if our other Colonies joined the Union too, or reduced their postage to a uniform rate, the increase of correspondence would soon make their postal service pay as that with Canada does.—*Newcastle Leader*.

It was not expected, of course, that either motion or amendment would be accepted by the House, much less by the Government. The desire of the respective movers was simply to call the attention of Parliament and the country to a subject of surpassing interest. They have succeeded in doing so, and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when their efforts will be followed up by another, culminating in a reduction of international postage. The desirability of such reduction, down even to the penny stamp, was not disputed by anybody taking part in the debate. Nor is the matter open to dispute, in view of the acknowledged blessings which the penny postage has brought to the United Kingdom. What is more, the practicability of an international penny postage, given the co-operation of the interested States, and considered simply as a paying concern, is not seriously disputed. That difficulty was solved when it was demonstrated that five thousand letters could be carried as cheaply from London to Edinburgh as could Ramsay the banker's solitary epistle. Time has proved that the five thousand can be carried with incomparably greater safety. But the practicability and financial success of this greater scheme would depend, not upon the British Government alone, but upon all the Governments comprised in the International Postal Union; and not only is there no reason to expect the cordial co-operation of many of them in the meantime, but there is not a little reason for supposing that some of them would do their utmost to baffle the attempt to institute an international penny postage. Any way, as Mr. Henry Fowler explained, it is not the British Government but the Postal Union that settles the rates of foreign postage; and as the nations composing that Union do not yet see the advantage of having a penny post within their own borders, it is manifest that some persuasion would be necessary to get them to consent off-hand, or in a comparatively short course of time even, to send letters from country to country at a penny rate. Mr. Heaton fairly contended that the State has no right to make a profit out of the Post Office; on the contrary, it ought to give subsidies to promote increased postal communication, which would encourage traffic. But, then, before there can be an international penny post, not only must our own Government be persuaded to give up all idea of Post Office profit, but Montenegro and Russia, and Turkey and Chili, and scores of other countries, great and small, must also be converted to this humanising doctrine, and induced to carry letters to and fro without profit. After all, England will have to take the lead in this international reform. The Post Office is an instrument of civilisation second, probably, to none. Its value as a commercial channel is inestimable, and greater still is its value as a channel of love and friendship, keeping alive the feelings that time and distance are too apt to smother, maintaining scattered families intact, and causing the thoughts and words and wishes of the distant son and brother to ring at short intervals by the old fireside. The postal system keeps the family circle unbroken, and especially the postal system as we have it in England—the penny postal system. How much this is the case those can tell who remember prior to 1840, when Mr. Rowland Hill's plan was yet unknown, when Newcastle was as far from London as London now is from Madagascar, and when the charges made kindly correspondence impossible to poor folk. There must be, to begin with, a British Imperial penny postage—a postage that would do more for the Federation of the Empire in one year than the harangues of an entire generation. It would smooth the way for the emigrant, soften the sorrow of those left at home, and make the Highland crofter and his son in distant Manitoba almost as good as next door neighbours.—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

The House of Commons gave proof last night of its devotion to the cause of cheese-paring economy in rejecting by a large majority the motion of Mr. Henniker Heaton in favour of an universal penny postage. Red tape and circumlocution were never more forcibly represented than by the speeches of Mr. H. Fowler and Mr. O. Morgan, and in listening to them the House seemed almost transported back to the days when the original penny post was established in spite of the strenuous opposition of the officials of the day. It certainly seems anomalous—not to use a stronger word—that a merchant wishing to communicate with China or Japan should be able to save money by sending his letters to Germany to be posted. The debate turned almost entirely on the possibility, or expediency of cheapening the rates of postage between the Mother Country and her possessions all round the globe. The commercial benefits and the moral and political advantages of facilitating communications are so obvious that they found little space in any of the speeches. The answer of the Post Office is of course the old story—the expense. Mr. Fowler, who was duly crammed with the Post Office figures, makes out that the postal communications with our Asiatic, African, and Australian Possessions, cost us a little over £500,000, of which £365,000 is a dead loss, and any further reduction in the rate, the department has persuaded itself, would be followed by a still greater deficit. We do not altogether agree with Mr. W. Redmond that we are bound to spend twice that sum if it be necessary to enable emigrants to correspond cheaply with the families they have left behind them, but we believe that by a revision of our contracts and our carrying arrangements generally, it might be possible to make some substantial reduction in the postal rates. The vote of last night is not to be regarded as anything more than an expression of opinion that the present is not an opportune moment for trying experiments which may lead to a loss of revenue, and we have no doubt the time will come, sooner or later,

when the House of Commons will see its way to enforcing on the Government the immense stride which it declined to take last night.—*Manchester Courier*.

An international and universal penny postage, which Mr. Henniker Heaton is anxious to see established, would be an enormous boon to the world. Having had a long residence in Australia, Mr. Heaton (who has returned to England, and obtained a seat for Canterbury) must keenly appreciate the advantage that would accrue, to the British Empire at least, by the inauguration of a uniform postal charge.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

We had two interesting debates this evening—one on the establishment of a universal penny postal system, and the other on the proposed disestablishment of the Scotch Church. Mr. Henniker Heaton raised the former by a motion expressing the opinion that the time had arrived for the Government to open negotiations with other Governments with the view to the establishment of a universal international penny postage system. Mr. Heaton is an Australian, and he spoke with a good deal of feeling on behalf of a reduced postage to the Colonies. Anticipating a *non possumus* from the Treasury bench, because of their regard for strict economy, Mr. Henniker Heaton said such a plea for doing nothing to benefit the English-speaking peoples would come with bad grace from a Government which was prepared to give hundreds of millions to an Irish Parliament, and the majority of people not being Welshmen and Scotchmen, will agree with the hon. member for Canterbury. Although an extension of the present postal system was advocated from both sides of the house, Mr. H. Fowler was put up by Mr. Gladstone to ruthlessly oppose it on the ground of economy, and Mr. Fowler had no difficulty in proving that the ocean postal service involved a loss of £365,000, while the proposed extension of the system would create a further loss of £400,000. Mr. Forwood, in a short speech, offered some practical suggestions as to subsidies and the employment of private steamers; after which the House divided, and the motion was rejected by a very large majority. Pending the introduction of the Budget, a number of independent members were of opinion that it were best not to harass the Government by passing the resolution.—*Liverpool Courier*.

Mr. Henniker Heaton is an Australian who represents Canterbury. He takes a great interest in an international post. The subject is an important one, and those who have followed the matter say that the speeches in which Mr. Henniker Heaton's motion is resisted are not much better nor much worse than those in which Rowland Hill's great penny postage scheme was dealt with when it was first proposed.—*Liverpool Daily Post*.

Mr. H. Fowler said last night that we are losing altogether by our foreign and Colonial mail services, a considerable proportion of which are conducted under the Postal Union rate of 2½d., no less than £1,000 for every day in the year. It is undoubtedly desirable to make the facilities for correspondence between our Colonies and Dependencies and ourselves as great and as cheap as possible; but there is a limit to the burden which can be properly laid upon the taxpayers, both there and here, for the sake of such facilities. We are strongly inclined to believe that Mr. Forwood hit the right nail on the head last night, and that it is very necessary that the contracts under which our mail services by sea are worked should be revised. Some of our subsidies are extravagant. They amount almost to monopolies, and have the usual result.—*Leeds Mercury*.

The discussion on Mr. Henniker Heaton's motion in favour of a universal international penny postage only lasted two hours, but was well worth hearing. Mr. Heaton, who represents Canterbury in the Conservative interest, is himself interesting. He has spent the greater part of his life in Australia, respecting which he is said to possess a prodigious amount of information. His library of 30,000 volumes has been collected with a special eye to that subject, and of course includes the hon. gentleman's own work, the "Australian Dictionary of Dates." Everybody sympathised with the desire for closer connection with our Colonies, but Mr. H. Fowler pointed out that economical considerations barred the way of the present proposal.—*Bradford Observer*.

The motion moved in the House of Commons last night in favour of an universal penny postage was decidedly premature, but it will no doubt come to that in the end, and the sooner the better. It was argued that an increase by six in the number of letters now sent abroad would save the revenue from loss, and the mover and seconder of the resolution professed to have no doubt that this increase would speedily be obtained. But the probability is that they are too sanguine on this point. The convenience of a cheap postal service would only be recognised by degrees, and in the meantime there would be a heavy loss to the exchequer, which the finances of the country just now are not in a condition to bear. The revenue has already lost something by the experiment of sixpenny telegrams, and it is too early to make any other changes of a tentative character that would involve further loss. In course of time, when the population of the Colonies has increased, and intercommunication by means of letters is necessarily greater, and especially when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is in a better financial position, it will be both possible and desirable to make a considerable reduction in the charge for Colonial and foreign postage; but even then it is doubtful whether we shall reach an universal penny postage at one bound. The probability is that we shall get down to it by degrees, and the good effects anticipated last night by the supporters of the resolution on this subject will be realised quite as surely, if less suddenly. There cannot be a doubt but that a reduction in the charge for postage would be followed by an increase in the number of letters, particularly to the Colonies, and that it is desirable on what may be termed political grounds to encourage communications with the Colonies cannot be denied; but in this matter, as in all others of national importance, we should only move slowly.—*Nottingham Guardian*.

Mr. Fowler was put up on behalf of the Government to decry the scheme on economical grounds, and we grant that these might to a certain extent apply to the motion. But if they applied to the amendment at all, it was only in an infinitesimal degree, and even admitting

that it would lose us a couple of a hundred thousands a year, what would that be compared with the real gain resulting from bringing ourselves and dependencies into closer union? Mr. Fowler's great argument was that no one ought to propose to increase the national expenditure unless he were prepared to indicate the means by which that expenditure should be met; but how much do the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and his colleagues care for this maxim when they can by any species of political thimble-rigging catch a vote or two? A couple of hundred or even three hundred thousand pounds is but as a drop in the sea compared with the millions they calmly propose to expend on their Irish folly, whilst the beneficial results from this new suggestion are certainly not so problematic as those likely to accrue from even the most successful consummation of the Irish scheme. But though both the proposals were defeated, it is to be hoped that some good will result from last night's debate. As was pointed out, it now often occurs that English firms can send their correspondence abroad and then have it forwarded back to this country and on to its real destination at less cost than they could send it direct. Surely this is an anomaly which ought to be at once done away with. There is no earthly reason why we should submit to this tax on our commercial system, and it is to be hoped the Government will spare some little time from the pursuit of their fads to attain such an improvement. Again, the American mails are nominally despatched on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; but the packets crowd into New York on Saturdays or Sunday mornings, and for all practical purposes there might as well be only one boat. Matters like these may not produce a noise in the country, but they nevertheless require attention.—*Bolton Chronicle*.

It would be a very delightful thing, no doubt, if it could be achieved, but I am afraid we shall be some time before we can induce foreign Governments to make the necessary sacrifice. Still the Postal Union has done a great deal, and may be trusted to do more. At any rate, it is worth the experiment. "A penny postage system throughout the British Empire," and this is surely as possible as it is desirable. As a step towards the suggested Federation of the Empire it is eminently necessary.—*Northampton Chronicle*.

The Conservative member for Canterbury found a seconder in Mr. H. G. Reid, and both gentlemen pleaded the cause of the penny post with much vigour, and brought to bear on it facts and arguments which showed that, in the abstract, the justice of the case was on their side. But they spoke to an irresponsive House, inasmuch as the Government opposed them on the score of expense. The sentiment was all on their side, but they had to battle against the hard facts of a losing speculation. Forty years ago, when Rowland Hill first proposed to introduce a penny postage system, his detractors were persistent in declaring that the scheme would not pay, that there would be a great burden placed upon the Imperial revenue to make up the deficiency of the Post Office, and that the only result would be to make sedition easy. But the experience of the past four decades has amply proved the treacherous falsity of those ideas. The penny post has become not only a great financial and commercial success, but it has been also a great help to the revenue. In fact, it is the best paying speculation the Government has ever dabbled in, and the improvements introduced into its working from time to time seem only to increase its usefulness and its profitability. This being so, the question naturally arises—Cannot the same principle apply to an international penny postage as has been found successful in the national one? If the nations were all agreed to give it a fair trial, we have no hesitation in saying that it would be so. And it is especially necessary in our Colonies, where so many of our own kinsfolk are practically cut off from the means of intercourse by the excessive cost of postage. It seems to our mind a great anomaly that it should cost sixpence to convey a letter to Australia, or even to South Africa, where the whole service is on board one ship, and no attention whatever is necessary during the voyage, while an overland route through Russia to Japan costs only 2½d. per letter, where railway, steamer, and probably camel or mule, are called into requisition to convey it to its destination. These are things which, as Dundreary would have said, "no fellow can understand." The explanation probably lies in the extravagant subsidies which have been given to certain steamers to induce them to take the responsibility of Her Majesty's mails. The intercourse between this country and (say) Cape Colony ought to be much larger than between ourselves and the Japanese, and if there be any virtue in a large business, it ought to pay well to take both mails at equal rates. Of course, the formation of the Postal Union has done a good deal towards reducing the charges and giving something like a uniform postal rate. But, singularly enough, three of our most influential Colonies—Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—flatly refuse to enter the Union, chiefly because of the initial sacrifice of revenue which has to be made. It is for the Mother Country to show them a better example, even at the risk of slightly decreasing her revenue. What though the loss on foreign postage amounts to an annual charge of £365,000, or £1,000 a day? It possibly would not be so great were the principle of a uniform rate universally recognised. And even though the officials of the Post Office may be correct in their estimate of a further loss of half a million by the adoption of a uniform penny postage system, still the Government can afford to sacrifice that amount out of an annual profit of three and a half millions. It must be remembered that the entire loss might not amount to quite so much. Some economy might be introduced by the revision of contracts and subsidies, while a considerable extra revenue might be expected to accrue from the extra business which would be won by the reduction of the rates. Apart from the financial question altogether, the introduction of a universal penny postage system would produce social advantages that can scarcely be stated in pounds, shillings, and pence. It would obviously tend to promote more frequent intercommunication between the people of this country and their friends in the Colonies, and thus, more than any means which could be devised by man, it would strengthen and extend the ties which unite the scattered members of the Empire, besides doing much to foster friendly relations with foreign countries. Furthermore, it would tend to act as

a stimulus to trade, by enabling commercial enterprise to exert itself within reasonable bounds without incurring a ruinous expense.—*North-Eastern Gazette, Middlesborough*.

There can be no doubt that there is too strong a tendency to make the Post Office a good paying, or rather a money-making department, and as those who are not responsible for the supply of sufficient funds to the Exchequer may think it only due to the trade and commerce of the country that every possible facility should be given to the transmission of correspondence, the mere loss of £400,000 or £500,000 a year may not seem to them to be of much consequence. This is, we admit, a question which leaves room for much to be said on both sides; but there can be no doubt that the British Government has always been too hesitating in matters of this description. It is impossible to foresee what would be the effect of a universal penny postage upon the finances at the disposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is easy enough to reckon upon a loss of half a million or more, but when the inland penny postage was first proposed the same gloomy view of the probable result was taken. No doubt it would be a tremendous undertaking, but, after all, high prices stand in the way of every enterprise. The penny postage has been a splendid success so far as it has gone, and what is there to lead any one to the conclusion that it has reached its utmost profitable limit? We cannot satisfy ourselves that the present boundary line is anything but an arbitrary mark, and that its removal so as to give unlimited scope would not yield still more startling and grander results.—*South Wales Daily News, Cardiff*.

At present, however, it would not appear that the heads of the Post Office either in this country or in any other are particularly anxious for the innovation which may be threatening them. The fact is that unless matters are managed differently in respect to the subsidising of the mail steamers the losses incurred by the Postal Departments of almost every great State in the transmission of letters across the ocean can only be made good by the profits of the home service. But then the question of the reduction of the postage between England and her Colonies arises in another form. Mr. Henniker Heaton is an old Australian, and he has just given it as his opinion that the establishment of a universal Colonial penny postage would help Colonial Federation in a large measure. Mr. Heaton says:—"I dare say you don't know that I can send 4 lb. of goods to Australia for one penny. Well, at an ounce each, that is sixty-four letters. By charging a penny an ounce you could make 5s. 3d. profit, and yet you can't send anything to Australia by post but the *Times* under sixpence. I consider that is a most oppressive tax on the working man with friends in Australia. But I would apply that all round. It is absurd that a letter from Dover to India should cost 5d., and from Calais only 2½d."—*Belfast News Letter*.

A universal penny post would be most desirable if it could be obtained cheaply; but the country can scarcely be said at present to be in a position to pay for such a reform, though it will come, as it ought to come, in due time.—*Northern Whig, Belfast*.

Even Mr. Henry Fowler declared that "while he should be obliged to look at this matter with the eye of a cold, calculating economist, he could not refrain from expressing his strong sympathy with the motives and objects of both the motion and the amendment. He was sure that anything which could tend to strengthen the ties which subsisted, not only between this country and its Colonies, but between this country and all the nations of the world, was a step which would meet with the approval not only of the House, but of all sections of the community." It must be confessed, however, that Mr. Fowler's economy was a more potent element in his speech than his sympathy. The former peeped out timidly in the first half a dozen sentences; the latter spread itself arrogantly over the remaining part. However, it must be confessed that though Mr. Fowler's argument, that the settlement of the question on the lines desired by the friends of penny postage did not rest with him, was sound, it failed to meet Mr. Heaton's demand. Mr. Fowler's position was practically a *non possumus*. Already, he declared, there was a loss on our ocean post to India, China, the West Indies, North and South America, Mexico, and the West Coast of Africa of upwards of £365,000 a year; and he maintained that if a universal international penny post was established that loss would be increased by between £400,000 and £500,000 a year. But what the Secretary for the Treasury failed to show was, that this loss of £1,000 a day was inevitable. Mr. Forwood maintained that it was not, and that the subsidies paid to companies like the P. and O., viz. £360,000 a year, were grossly in excess of the needs of the case. Nor does it follow that if the present complicated system of differential rates were done away with, and a universal penny postage substituted, the loss on the revenue would be of the character which Mr. Fowler anticipates.—*Sussex Daily News, Brighton*.

The idea is a good one. In the old days families suffered acutely from the lack of means of communication between themselves and the absent members. Everybody remembers the case in which a poor woman, having a brother serving abroad, arranged with him before he left that a blank envelope should be sent to the country post office in sign that he was well, so that she might escape, by an ingenious artifice, from paying for the letter. No doubt there are hundreds of English people with relatives in the Colonies to whom the high price of postage limits communication. The cheapening of the postage would be an enormous advantage.—*Worcestershire Echo*.

It will have been seen that some of the newspapers understood, and some did not, that the deficit of £360,000 which Mr. Fowler stated accrued annually to the Post Office on account of its foreign and Colonial service is chiefly due to the enormous subsidies paid to steam-packet companies. As this point had a

VITAL BEARING ON THE FINANCIAL ASPECT OF THE SCHEME, Mr. Heaton wrote at once, on the 31st March, to the London papers that "it would be the duty of the 128—or, with pairs, 140—members of the House of Commons who voted for Penny

Postage to show that it will pay, and in a few days many of us hope to be able to announce the formation of a universal Penny Postage League."

THE WEEKLY NEWSPAPERS

followed suit. The *Home News*, while alarmed at the predicted loss, said "a uniform penny postage would be of the greatest convenience, not only to individuals, but to commerce." The *Spectator* urged that Mr. Heaton's argument, namely, "the way in which cheap postage bound different countries together," though sentimental, ought to have succeeded with the House. The *Investor's Guardian* said "so much sympathy with the object in view was expressed on both sides of the House of Commons that we are not surprised to hear of the establishment of a League to continue the agitation in favour of it." *Land and Water* wrote as follows:—

An international scheme is perhaps as yet somewhat chimerical. It must come, of course; but it is a matter of time, and, perhaps, considerable time. But Mr. Hutton's amendment to Mr. Heaton's motion should surely receive the support of all Constitutionalists, Federationists (ought we to say Federalists?) and Conservatives. A penny post ranging not only from the Hebrides to Scilly, but from Charing Cross to Vancouver, the Khyber Pass and Hobart Town, would be a mighty bond of union between the various States of the Empire. The amendment and the motion were both lost; but that matters little. Lord John Manners was, of course, right in saying we should obtain the voluntary consent of the Colonies, and not attempt to coerce them into a postal union. The motion was introduced by the hon. member for Canterbury, an ex-Australian statesman, and the amendment by the hon. member for Manchester, a South African merchant—significant signs these of the willingness of the Colonies. Suppose it does in itself cause a slight deficiency in the postal revenues, argued Mr. Heaton, the duty of the State was to encourage those initial stages of commerce not self-remunerative; a tax on those communications which led to business was indefensible; and, finally, Irish landlords and tenants were not the only deserving subjects of the Queen.

The Boot and Shoe Trade Journal said:—

It is a matter of sincere regret that the Government could not see its way clear to support the motion raised in the House on Tuesday night, by the member for Canterbury, asking for a penny ocean postage. Mr. Heaton is an Australian, and from him the proposal came with peculiar fitness. Unfortunately, however, the Australian sits on that side of the House from which we fear any proposal would receive scant attention by the powers that be; but, as Mr. Redmond said, "it is a monstrous and iniquitous thing" that a letter posted to Australia should cost sixpence, especially when we reflect that from France, *via* England, the rate is much lower. The treaty obligations and the subsidies appealed to by the Postmaster-General are deplorable and should receive early attention. Private enterprise, if it were allowed, would carry letters to the Colonies on much lower terms. This should not be, and the loss which is said to arise ought to be avoided by making better arrangements with the carriers.

The *National Reformer* protested against the arguments of the Treasury Bench:—

The right theory of, and best economy in, conducting the Post Office monopoly should be, not so much to make a financial surplus, as to facilitate the means of correspondence between the various citizens of the State, and also with foreign countries; increasing those facilities to the very highest degree which can be attained without imposing actual financial burden on the taxpayers.

The *Observer* took the same view:—

The business of the Post Office is primarily not to make a profit, but to facilitate communications between one part of the Empire and another. To keep up a high postal tariff for the purpose of raising revenue is analogous to imposing protective duties on foreign trade—for, of course, a tax on communications is simply a tax on foreign trade.

Three typical extracts will serve to show the opinion of the Provincial weekly press:—

One of the most sensible of these proposals was that which was advocated on Tuesday night by Mr. Henniker Heaton, the Conservative member for Canterbury. Mr. Heaton proposes that the penny postage, which has proved so great a boon to the inhabitants of these islands, should be extended to the whole of the countries which are members of the Postal Union. The desirability of such a reform cannot be doubted, and it is regrettable that the Government should have found it necessary to oppose the resolution. The "ins," however, invariably look askance at any project which is likely to increase the expenditure, even when the increase is compensated by an increased convenience to the public. The Treasury benches, whichever party may occupy them, are ever deaf to the voice of charmers who dilate upon the advantages likely to accrue from such reforms as that proposed by Mr. Heaton. Perhaps the present is scarcely the time for increasing our expenditure more than is absolutely necessary. But a reduction of the rates of postage between the various parts of the Empire might be made immediately, and would certainly be appreciated by the growing number who have intimate relations with our great possessions beyond the seas.—*Leamington Chronicle*.

We are glad to see that several members, sitting on both sides of the House of Commons, have taken up in good earnest the popular question of Postal Reform. Mr. Henniker Heaton and Mr. H. G. Reid recently brought before their brother members an important proposal for uniform postal rates throughout the British Empire, and though red-tapeism succeeded in shelving the question for the time, it is certain that sooner or later all citizens of the British Empire will be placed in a position of equality as to postal facilities. There is no good reason why a letter should not be sent from London to Melbourne for a penny just

as it may be from Penzance to Shetland. There is no greater disparity in the relative distances of these places than there is in the existing postal arrangements, for the postage is a penny whether the letter be sent six hundred miles or six hundred yards.—*Sheffield Weekly Echo*.

The keepers of the national money-bags will not entertain Mr. Henniker Heaton's suggestion of a world-wide penny post. However, it will come sooner or later, for nothing will unite us more closely to our Colonies than cheaper means of communication. Meanwhile, there can be no reason why it should cost twice as much to send a letter from this country to several of our Colonies than it does from the Continent. The postage to India, Ceylon, China, and the East is 5d., but from any part of the Continent 2½d.; a newspaper to the same places is 1½d., that from France ¾d.; commercial papers cost 7½d., from France only 2½d.; a 4 oz. package of samples is 3d., but from France or Germany only 1d. Again, a letter to the West Indies or the West Coast of Africa costs 4d., but a person living at the other side of Europe can send a letter to the same places *via* this country for 2½d. That seems the climax of anomalous absurdity. The Treasury officials have no real answer to the statement. All they say is that any reduction of charges would cause a loss of revenue. But this is the objection which has always been made to all suggestions of postal reform, and it has always been falsified by events. In these times, too, we cannot afford for our commerce to be hampered by any restrictions of this nature.—*South Bucks Free Press*.

It may be added that among other newspapers which took the matter up favourably, except so far as they were misled by Mr. Fowler's account of the deficit, were the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Birmingham Daily Post*, the *Manchester Examiner*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *York Herald*, the *Hull Express*, the *East Anglian Daily Times*, the *Nottingham Express*, the *Bolton Evening News*, the *Derby Telegraph*, the *Dover Telegraph*, the *Scottish News*, the *Edinburgh Evening News*, the *Scotsman*, the *Freeman's Journal*, the *Empire*, the *Home News*, the *Retford Times*, the *Birmingham Weekly Mercury*, the *Courrier de Londres*, the *Londoner Journal*, the *Englishman*, the *Court Journal*, the *Sheffield Telegraph*, the *Leicester Mercury*, the *Die Judische Mercur*, the *Natal Mercury*, *Grocott's Penny Mail* (Grahamstown, South Africa), and the *Kaffrarian Watchman* (King Williamstown).

THE NEXT STEP

was taken on June 7th last, when Mr. Heaton asked whether the Postmaster-General "would favourably consider a scheme submitted to him for conveying letters from England to Australia by sea the whole way, at a charge not exceeding 1d. per letter." The reply of the Secretary to the Treasury was that "the Postmaster-General would feel some difficulty in considering any such scheme at this moment, as public tenders for the conveyance of mails to Australia have lately been called for by the Post Office and sent in under entirely different conditions." Meanwhile the announcement was made that the German Government had heavily subsidised the North German Lloyds to carry letters between Germany and Australia at a postage of 2½d. per letter. This again led to the question being very generally taken up by the press. On the 9th of August a long letter from Mr. Heaton appeared in the *Times*, disclosing a correspondence he had had with the Postmaster-General. Appended are Mr. Heaton's letter and the Secretary's reply:—

To the Right Hon. the Postmaster-General.

36, Eaton Square, S.W., June 2.

Sir,—In reference to the efforts I am making to cheapen the rates of postage between England and Australia, I am asked by the managers of a powerful steamship company whether you are prepared to consider a proposition to convey letters by slow post, or in other words entirely by sea from England by steamships starting at regular intervals, and to convey the letters at one penny each, with a fixed *minimum*, or they would be willing to accept a subsidy so as to bring the cost of postage to within the limit of one penny per letter.

If you are open to consider a scheme of this kind I shall place the offer formally before you.—I have, etc.

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

General Post Office, London, June 17.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 2nd of this month, I am directed by the Postmaster-General to inform you that he would feel some difficulty in considering any scheme, such as that you propose, for sending letters to Australia by slow post for a postage of one penny each, seeing that public tenders for the conveyance of mails to Australia, under entirely different conditions, have lately been called for by the Post Office, and are now under consideration.

Any arrangement for carrying letters at a cheaper rate by another route would be unfair to those who have already sent in tenders on the conditions laid down by the Post Office advertisement, after agreement with the principal Australian Colonies.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

S. A. BLACKWOOD.

J. Henniker Heaton, Esq., M.P.

It will be seen that the Secretary to the Post Office returned an answer identical with that which Mr. H. H. Fowler had previously given in Parliament. However, Mr. Heaton was resolved to "peg away," and concluded his

LETTER TO THE "TIMES"

in these words:—

The question now resolves itself into this. All are agreed and sympathise with my project, and tell me that, provided I can show them that no serious loss will occur, they will give me support. I know

how vastly commerce and civilisation and federation will benefit, and peace will be insured by making communication between our sundered coasts "as easy as speech and free as air;" and I have the strongest hope that the very able Postmaster-General who now holds sway in this country will not refuse an inquiry which I propose to ask for on an early day to take evidence as to the feasibility of the project.

In the course of a long leading article devoted to this letter, the *Times* said :—

The charge now made for letters between this country and Australasia is sixpence, by whatever route they are sent. The weight which this charge covers is limited to half an ounce. That the blame for these exorbitant exactions may be assumed to rest with our Post Office Mr. Heaton shows to be probable by referring to its dealings with India. The charge for letters between this country and India is fivepence. For letters of the same weight between France and India the charge made by the French Post Office is twopence-halfpenny. The difference between the two rates suggests some defect of management on the part of our Post Office, and that this extends to our postal arrangements with Australasia is no unreasonable inference. But Mr. Heaton has done something more than call out against an alleged grievance. He has found a remedy for it which might be tried without loss to the revenue which the Post Office yields. He has been in communication with a firm of shippers, who will undertake to convey letters between England and Australia for a penny apiece. The transit offered will be somewhat less speedy than the present one, but the diminution in the charge will be more than a set-off for this. Mr. Heaton has laid his plan before the late Postmaster-General, but it has not been favourably received. It appears that tenders have been already asked for and received for the conveyance of letters to Australasia by the ordinary route, and the Post Office has declared itself bound to do nothing which would interfere with the arrangements it has thus entered upon. Thus stands the matter at present, to the satisfaction of no party. The postal service between England and Australia is carried on under the discouragement of very heavy rates, and its result—in spite of these or in consequence of them—is a financial loss on both sides.

The *Times* added :—

Mr. Heaton makes out his case on the points most essential to it. It is impossible to deny that the present postal charges to Australia are excessive, and there is good reason to believe that they come from bad management, and that they will admit of being appreciably brought down when the two countries concerned make up their minds that the thing is to be done and concert measures for doing it. Mr. Heaton's modest hope is that the present Postmaster-General will not refuse the inquiry for which he asks. On every showing there is occasion for it. Mr. Henry Fowler says that the English Post Office loses largely by its share in the Australian business. Mr. Heaton questions this, but both agree that Australia loses. If there is to be a change made, it must be by the joint action of the two countries, and it ought not to be difficult to secure this in so simple a matter, in which both are alike interested. Mr. Heaton will do well if he can induce the English Post Office to make the first move, and to bring some pressure to bear to obtain a favourable hearing. The result aimed at is worth an effort. We cannot, indeed, quite rise to the level of Mr. Heaton's dithyrambics. Communication with Australia "as easy as speech and as free as air" is more than we can venture to hope for under the laws of time and space and the hard necessities of finance. But that a letter might be sent to Australia for less than sixpence we are in no doubt whatever, or that a reduction would be beneficial in every way, and not least as a means of tying a firmer bond between ourselves and our most important and most distant Colony.

MR. H. O. ARNOLD FORSTER

supplemented this by a letter to the *Times* in which he pointed out that at the present rates, to send 200 letters to Australia costs £5. If, however, he were permitted by law to do so, he might send a parcel containing the same number of letters by a swift, unsubsidised line of steamers for 3s. 6d. They would be distributed in Melbourne by the ordinary postal machinery. At this rate the cost of actual transmission would be one-fifth of a penny, leaving four-fifths for the cost of collection and delivery. Mr. Forster concluded by stating that "Mr. Henry Fowler's whole speech last session was calculated to mislead the general public, but not those members of it who had made any study of the question of postal communication with the Colonies."

The *Derby Post* said on the 12th of August :—

We note with satisfaction that Mr. Henniker Heaton has begun to agitate again in the columns of the newspapers the question on which he moved and lost an excellent resolution in the brief Parliament recently deceased. That one should have failed to carry a motion on any subject whatever in that Parliament, can be no reproach, and need be no discouragement, to the mover; and Mr. Henniker Heaton, we are glad to see, has not been daunted in the least. His scheme for an ocean penny postage commends itself to common sense, though, unfortunately, this is not to say that it also of necessity commends itself to the official mind. Still, we do not despair of the ultimate bringing to reason of the postal authorities; they will come round to the view of common sense in their own good and tardy time, provided their minds be not allowed to slumber on the subject. This, we think, Mr. Henniker Heaton will not suffer them to do. He has only to keep on dinning into their reasoning parts that cheap ocean postage is quite as feasible as cheap inland postage, that a much cheaper system than our own has long since been adopted by nearly, if not every, European Government; he has but to do this, and to draw out his scheme in detail, and by-and-by he will carry the day. The two main questions are Can it be done? and Will it pay? There is no doubt at all that it

can be done, and there is scarcely more doubt that if done properly it will pay.

The *Echo* at this point presents an interesting study. No longer comic or hostile to the scheme, it gives Mr. Heaton a downright earnest support :—

It is now thirty-five years since Elihu Burritt first eloquently advocated a system of ocean penny postage. He showed then, as plainly as facts and figures could show, that, if adopted, it would be beneficial to all interested and injurious to none. He showed that if a letter could be carried from London to Liverpool for a penny, as it now is; that it could be carried to Quebec, or Victoria, or Brisbane, or any other Colonial seaport town for another penny; and from the Colonial seaport to any inland place for another penny. His calculations were precise and conclusive. But thirty-five years have passed away, Elihu Burritt lies in peace in his American grave, and his system is not adopted. The question is now coming up again. Mr. J. Henniker Heaton moved a resolution in its favour in the late short and ill-starred Parliament. As usual, he was met and resisted by the official mind. But the official mind, though generally dull, unimpressive, and obstinate, is not invincible. You have only to keep pegging away with a good idea on the official mind, and if you have patience and endurance enough you can subdue it to your will at last. Let Mr. Henniker Heaton keep pegging away—let him show that the thing can be done without loss to the State and with certain gain to many, and he will get a majority in the Commons—and majorities have a wonderful influence on the official mind. He has got hold of a good idea, and there is sufficient common sense in the world to appreciate and adopt a good idea in the long run—the unimpressionableness of the official mind notwithstanding.

We wish Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., every success in his endeavours to obtain a Universal International Penny Postage. In procuring an offer from a great Australian steamship company to take letters direct by sea to Australia for one penny each he has given such a wound to sixpenny postage between Great Britain and Australia as it cannot recover. From henceforward all persons having correspondence with Australasia will know that fivepence out of each sixpence postage they are obliged to pay is due to the action of the Post Office, who have placed themselves in such a position that they are obliged to pay to the present contractors five hundred per cent. more than they could get the mails carried at somewhat less speed by a powerful steamship company. As a few days' difference in the length of time taken by a letter to or from Australia is of little importance to most persons, especially the poorer classes of emigrants and others, it would be an immense boon to them if Mr. Heaton's suggestion could be carried out. At present sixpence, in thousands of cases, is almost a prohibitive rate, and puts a stop to much correspondence which would bind our poorer countrymen and women, here and abroad, in closer bonds of interest and affection; a circumstance of much importance to the State.

LIGHT ALSO BEGAN TO BREAK IN

upon the press generally, as the following extracts show :—

The question of cheaper postal facilities between this country and Australasia is being freely discussed at the present moment, and promises to be probably the first consideration of the new Postmaster-General when he gets into harness at St. Martin's-le-Grand. Business men, to say nothing of the general public, have for long grumbled and growled at the excessive rate levied on letters passing from England to the Antipodes. When the subject was brought before the House of Commons last session there was a general impression in commercial circles that the discussion would lead to a reduction in the fee now charged. Mr. H. H. Fowler, however, came down with a ponderous mass of figures to demonstrate that the country was losing £365,000 per annum, or £1,000 per day, on its foreign and Colonial postal service. This fairly frightened hon. members who were, if not inclined to vote in favour of the proposed reduction, at any rate, hesitating on the point, the result being that the question fell through. It turns out, however, that £224,000 of this loss is incurred by the Indian service and not one farthing by the Australian. It is preposterous to think that a letter for Melbourne can be forwarded from France for 2½d., while a letter from England to the same destination costs 6d. It is to be hoped, therefore, that Mr. Cecil Raikes will see his way clear to grant the proposed inquiry on the subject which Mr. Henniker Heaton intends to ask for on an early day. Few boons would be more appreciated by our seafaring population than the adoption of a penny postal system between England and her Colonies, or tend more to the Federation of the Empire so ardently desired by all classes.—*Liverpool Courier*.

The efforts Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., is making to obtain a universal International Penny Post are deserving of encouragement. If he succeeds in extending the penny post system to the British Colonies only, a great advantage will have been gained. Increased facilities for communication will have the effect of drawing the Colonials into closer communion with the Mother Country. The immediate result of such a change in the postal arrangements would be an enormous increase in the correspondence with the people in the distant parts of the Empire. Numbers of working men are debarred from frequent correspondence by the present high rates of postage, and if the penny rate were adopted a great boon would be conferred.—*Fireside News*.

We may feel sure, with Mr. Cecil Raikes at the head of this most important department, that a suggestion to cheapen Colonial postage rates will receive attentive consideration. There can be no question as to the desirability of this change. Its convenience to a large part of our population should be taken into account as against apprehensions of increased expenses. There can be no doubt, moreover, that the cheapening of epistolary communication between us and our fellow-subjects abroad will largely help to make our Imperial unity more of a reality than it is already.—*Globe*.

We hope Mr. Heaton will continue to agitate the matter, for our postal regulations with India and the Colonies are unreasonable and ridiculous.—*Home and Colonial Mail*.

Mr. Henniker Heaton was content to make a beginning with the British Empire, and here, as he now confesses, India is a great difficulty. We lose £365,000 per annum by our mail subsidies and contracts, and of this amount £224,000 results from the Indian mail service. That would seem to rule India out for the present. But, surely, a beginning might be made with Canada, or Australia, or the Cape. It is our duty to bring all parts of the British Empire as closely together as possible, and the presence of so many Colonials in this country ought to be utilised to discuss this penny postage, and clear the way for practical proposals.—*York Herald*.

There is one form or instalment of Federation which would be welcomed by everybody as a great step in advance, and which it is by no means chimerical to anticipate. An Empire penny post for letters of the minimum weight, carried to and fro between different points in the British Empire, would be of incalculable service, and it is probable that this end might be achieved without any ultimate expenditure by Great Britain or by the Colonies, such as the working of the service would not speedily recoup. Officials always meet the demand for an Imperial penny post by alarming phophecies as to the financial disasters which would result from it; but that is only the stereotyped language of officialism, and the early experiences of our own domestic penny post should be sufficient to refute it. Many will think that even an Imperial system of cheap postage is not wide or comprehensive enough for the age in which we live, and that the penny post should be universal, instead of being confined to our own dominions. No doubt that is a logical argument; but there are countries which would not be prepared to enter the union, even if they were invited. It may be wise to accept a large instalment, rather than wait indefinitely for something that may never come to pass. But there is much to be done in the way of demonstration and persuasion before the Empire penny post can be obtained.—*Hereford Times*.

When Mr. Henniker Heaton brought the subject before the House of Commons on the 30th of March last, Mr. H. H. Fowler opposed it with the assertion that the loss to revenue on Colonial postage amounts already to £1,000 a day. This appears, however, to be not exactly the truth, as certain charges in the interest of the Indian mail service are included in the alleged loss.—*Gardener's Magazine*.

Mr. Heaton has a good cause and a strong case, and is bound to win if he perseveres.—*Weekly Times*.

Mr. J. Henniker Heaton, the Conservative member for Canterbury, if he succeeds in his praiseworthy attempt to render our present system of penny postage a universal one, will be deserving of universal gratitude. The hon. member has already taken an important step in the matter. He has obtained assurances from a large Australian Steamship Company that they will convey letters to or from the Antipodes at the rate of a penny. By the side of the present sixpenny rate the difference is enormous, and if, as is now evident, a reduction be possible, there is no reason why the country should not be spared unnecessary expense.—*Northampton Chronicle*.

We observe that increased attention is being bestowed upon the proposal by Mr. Henniker Heaton to establish a Colonial penny post. This has arisen through the announcement that certain German lines, fortified by the subsidies they now enjoy, are prepared to enter into competition with the English steamship companies for the mail contracts from this country. The present condition of matters is certainly anomalous. The cost of sending a letter weighing half an ounce from this country to Australia is sixpence, while no post cards are permitted. This contrasts strongly with the system pursued in France, by which penny post cards are sent to New Caledonia by mail steamers calling at Australian ports. Again, with reference to India, a letter from England costs fivepence, and one from France just half that sum. This state of matters cannot long continue, and it is hardly possible that reform will be much longer delayed.—*Journal of Commerce*.

Mr. J. H. Heaton, M.P., to whom we referred a few days ago as the would-be promoter of International ocean penny postage, seems to have taken up the matter with an earnestness worthy of so important a cause, and those who have relatives at the Antipodes, and who now have to pay 6d. for every letter they send out, whilst their friends beyond the seas have to pay a like sum if they wish to communicate with "The old folks at home," will wish Mr. Heaton every success in the mission which he has undertaken. Already we are told Mr. Heaton has procured an offer from a great Australian steamship company to take letters direct by sea to Australia for one penny each. So much accomplished as the obtaining of this offer will, no doubt, give the death blow to the sixpenny postage between Great Britain and the Australian Colonies.—*Hull Daily News*.

The news that the German steamship owners intend to compete for the mail contracts from this country is a serious matter for our English steamship companies. Should the Germans manage by any means to secure a share of the mail business, it could only be on the basis of a much cheaper postage than at present. Perhaps the threatened competition may induce the Government to take into active consideration Mr. Henniker Heaton's proposal for a penny letter rate to the Colonies.—*Hants Times, Aldershot*.

Now provided we realise that in family letters there is seldom the same need of speed as in business, or official, or literary correspondence, and that bags of letters can be carried to Australia, like any other inert matter, at the rate of about £3 per ton, it will become apparent that the Post Office might make a very fair profit by carrying letters at a penny per pound. But all it is asked to do is to carry them at a penny per half-ounce, which would bring in a revenue of £300 per ton. In face of such a fact as this, what possibility is there of maintaining that a Penny Ocean Slow Postage would not pay? We trust Mr. Raikes will look into this matter at once. He comes to the charge of the Post Office with a fresh mind, and with a reputation for financial and administrative ability which could not be exercised in a better cause than one which especially interests the poor, among whom family affection is not less intense than among the rich. But the new Post-

master-General will also recognise that in overcoming the opposition of the permanent officials in St. Martin's-le-Grand to an Ocean Penny Postage, he will be doing much to promote the Imperial Federation towards which we are, almost without light and yet by instinct, groping our way in Great and Greater Britain.—*Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*.

At this point the movement received

AN IMPORTANT ACCESSION OF STRENGTH.

On August 25th, the Colonial and Indian visitors to Edinburgh were entertained at a banquet, and Lord Rosebery, in proposing the health of the visitors, "strongly advocated the scheme propounded by Mr. Henniker Heaton, for the establishment of a penny postage between the Mother Country and the Colonies. He had not the slightest doubt that Mr. Heaton's ideas would be carried out sooner or later, and he saw in them an element of Imperial Federation." This incident further awakened the press to the facts of the case, and we find the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh) writing in an article on Lord Rosebery's speech:—

Lord Rosebery does not think that Federation is impossible, because no scheme has been framed. He rather dreads schemes. He looks for the gradual drawing closer of the Colonies and the Mother Country by the ties of common interest and mutual affection. To him it seems that Federation may come through Mr. Henniker Heaton's plan of a Colonial penny postage, or it may be hastened by that magnificent Pacific Railway in Canada. But it will come. His faith is that of the song:—

"When and how shall I earliest meet her?
What are the words she first will say?
By what name shall I learn to greet her?
I know not now, but 'twill come some day."

That is the sum of the belief of Lord Rosebery on this matter, and of all who think as he thinks.

The *Daily Chronicle* also wrote:—

The resolution which Mr. Heaton recently moved in the House of Commons in favour of this proposal met with a large amount of support, and would probably have been carried but for a wrong impression which many members received as to the present loss to the Imperial exchequer on the Colonial postal rate. Lord Rosebery is thoroughly in accord with the honourable member for Canterbury on this question, and we may rest assured that Mr. Heaton will bring the subject again before the notice of the House at the most favourable opportunity. Its ultimate adoption is a foregone conclusion, because the arguments urged in support of the measure are quite as valid as those by which Sir Rowland Hill, after much opposition, was able to convince the statesmen of his day of the practicability of his great and far-reaching proposal.

Even the *Daily Telegraph*, which had received the scheme somewhat coldly at first (thanks to Mr. Fowler's figures), came completely round. In a special article headed "Penny Postage to our Colonies" it wrote (August 20th):—

This is just the time when it is natural to consider whether it would not be possible to make this great undertaking still more truly a link binding the British Empire together by reducing very largely the postal rates now charged between Great Britain and her distant Colonies and Dependencies. When we are able for a penny to send a letter to Australia or Canada, the much larger interchange of sentiment between the Colonists and the old home, which would certainly follow, is sure to strengthen the ties which now exist. At present the cost of the sea transit from England to Australia for a letter is fivepence, and to Canada twopence-halfpenny. It is for Parliament and the Government to consider whether it would be possible at an early day very greatly to reduce these rates, bearing in mind the ultimate object, namely, to get a penny postage for the whole British Empire. If it could be said that, however remote a place might be, so long as the Union Jack flew there, showing the sovereign ownership of the Queen, the cost of postal communication was absolutely the same as that for internal letters in the United Kingdom itself, the solid gain to the cause of the Confederation of the Empire would be enormous. In human affairs matters go very much by appearance, and a visible sign or token of union is not by any means to be despised. An Imperial penny rate would display, as perhaps hardly anything else could do, the essential solidarity of the different countries which acknowledge the supremacy of the British Crown and Parliament, and those sentimental ties which go so far in linking us to our kin beyond the sea would receive a splendid reinforcement. That a letter to Australia should towards the end of the nineteenth century actually cost sixpence will probably seem as strange to our descendants and future generations of Colonists as we now think the charge of eightpence for the carriage of a letter from London to Edinburgh 200 years ago. Presuming, as we must do, that at first any large-minded and liberal policy of Imperial postage would cause a money loss, there can be little doubt that in the course of time, and with the great development of correspondence which would ensue, this loss would be largely decreased. If the penny post between every part of the Empire is to be introduced, it will have to be advocated not on grounds of pecuniary loss or gain at all. We shall have to recognise that no great benefit can be produced without the sacrifice of something, and that it is well worth the while of a great nation to submit to a pecuniary loss to begin with in order still further to cement the union between the Mother Country and its Colonial offspring. This is the statesmanlike view which Lord Rosebery advocated at Edinburgh, and every credit must be accorded to him for being able to look ahead and grasp the infinite possibilities underlying that "expansion of England" of which Professor Seeley has written. It should be recollected that we are not wholly unacquainted with a certain amount of loss occasioned by giving postal facilities between Great Britain and distant lands. For example, the present report of the Postmaster-General shows that while we lose

nothing whatever by our sixpenny rate to Australia, the service to the West Indies, India, and China costs the country over two hundred thousand pounds yearly. That is the estimated loss on the postal communication, and of this loss India itself bears £68,000. In the same way our comparatively low postal-rate to Canada is a great boon both to that country and to ourselves, but it is a benefit which is reaped at a pecuniary loss of fifty-four thousands of pounds per annum. Our Post Office at present is such a thriving part of the Governmental machine that we are apt to forget that, in the nature of things, the object of such a department is not to make money for the Exchequer, but to give facilities for intercommunication between citizens. Without indulging in any extravagant speculations, it would not be very unsafe to hope that even a loss of a million pounds a year, to begin with, through the introduction of an Imperial penny postage, would be soon recouped by the expansion of telegraph and parcel business which are foreshadowed in the near future.

The following is from the *Glasgow Evening News* of August 28th:—

It is premature to speak of a Universal Penny Postage, extending over the civilised world, or even over Europe; but there are enthusiasts whose idea of the Millennium takes that form. A more practicable extension, and one which lies within the capacity of this country, is the establishment of a penny postage to the Colonies. Much is being done by the opening up of quick and well-equipped lines of steamers to bring the Colonies closer to the Mother Country, and to develop their resources and trades. Government have even begun to recognise in certain circumstances the wisdom of assisting by pecuniary aid this development of communication; but in commercial, as well as in certain political circles, it is felt that this means will remain comparatively ineffectual until aided by cheaper postal and telegraphic rates. For instance, it costs twopence-halfpenny to send a letter to Canada, and fivepence to Australia. Obviously, as has been frequently pointed out, a penny postal rate throughout the Empire would go a long way to visibly cement the bonds of brotherhood; while it has as frequently been argued that the loss of revenue would be so large that it is the height of economic folly to think of it. However, the same thing has always been said about the cheapening of transit; but if one fact has been demonstrated more than another, it is that cheap transit, either of goods or letters, brings its reward in increased business, and ultimately in increased revenue. We are still some distance from a uniform postal rate, but it is coming; and the wonder in the future will be that we were so long blind to the teachings of the inland postal service.

The *Court and Society Review* of September 2nd also spoke of the "great impetus" which the movement had received from Lord Rosebery's support; while the *Home News*, returning to the charge that Mr. Fowler's statement had created "a wrong impression" as to the loss on Colonial postage, pointed out that the opening of new routes to India and the Colonies (*via* the Canadian Pacific Railway and Hong Kong) demanded a revision of the postal rates. "An Imperial penny rate," it said, "would display more than anything else the essential solidarity of the countries acknowledging the supremacy of the British Crown."

The following extracts are specially interesting:—

I am glad to see one Colonial M.P. at any rate, coming to the front in Parliament. Mr. Henniker Heaton's Penny Postal Scheme for the Colonies, of the ultimate success of which there seems to be no doubt, will prove a better bond of Imperial union than any of the wild schemes of Imperial Federation which are talked about by politicians who know as much about the Colonies as they do of the interior of Africa. The Colonies are proud to be a man of the Mother Country. But they have shown us that we must not intermeddle in their affairs, which they know how to manage much better than we can teach them. A penny post extending wherever the Union Jack flies will do more to knit the Colonies to us in sympathy and affection than any paper unions, which they will tear up the moment it became their interest to do so. There is already a strong party in favour of a great Australian republic, which will come into existence unless we forge some links of union which appeal at once to the pride and self-interest of the Colonies. These are a penny post and an Imperial fleet.—*Men and Women*, Sept. 4.

It is probably a question now of a few months only to see the whole civilised world included in one vast embrace, by which parcels as well as letters can be dispatched through the post with safety, certainty, economy, and celerity. But here our commendation of the Post Office authorities must end. On the one point where the public is most interested—a penny postage system of the whole British Empire, extending from Great Britain to the Greater Britain beyond the seas—we find the Post Office lags in the same way as it did fifty years ago, when Rowland Hill started up to flog it into energy. "Thank Rowland Hill for this" was the device on some fancy stamped envelopes which were issued in the early days of the penny post. Another Rowland Hill must arise before we shall be able to thank any one for an oceanic penny post. If not the Post Office, perhaps the Foreign or Colonial Office will help us to obtain this outward and visible sign of the unity of the British Empire. There is a sound of Federation in the air, and it is one of the admitted wants of the age. Could it not begin with a new Postal Union, in addition to the Postal Union which we owe principally to Herr Steffans, of Berlin? To our shame be it said, our Colonies are at present in most cases outside the Union, are altogether left out in the cold. It is partly owing to their own petty rivalry, but principally to the hard economy of our home authorities. This is the one reform desirable, and Lord Rosebery's Edinburgh speech last week shows that if the present Ministers do not grant it, their successors in office certainly will.—*Nottingham Daily Express*, Sept. 4.

Mr. Heaton again stated his case, in the most succinct terms,

in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily News* on September 7th. He put the

FIVE PLAIN AND SIMPLE PROPOSITIONS

which follow:—

1. The most careful computation shows that we can convey a letter half an ounce in weight to any part of the civilised world for one farthing. We shall then have three farthings left for collecting, packing, and delivery. For simplicity in keeping accounts, every country keeps its own postage. In regard to the calculation, an able writer showed that the present charge for conveying 200 letters, half an ounce each in weight, to Australia is £5, whereas a parcel (of 200 letters) of the same weight, conveyed in a swift steamer to Australia, would be 3s. 6d. Four pounds of heavy goods can be conveyed to Australia for one penny.

2. Those who do not like slow post—that is, their letters conveyed to Australia or India, all the way by sea—should understand that steamers are now being built to convey letters to Australia in twenty-nine days, as against thirty-five to thirty-seven days by Brindisi at present.

3. The total cost of the Indian mail service is £360,000 a year. The total receipts, according to the Post Office report, are only £55,000 a year. The latter sum is so small compared with the total of £3,000,000 profit on the Post Office, that the Right Hon. Cecil Raikes might sweep all ocean letter charges away and not miss them from the ever-increasing profit.

4. If it is clearly understood that the present heavy subsidies are given to keep up the character of our merchant fleet, and as a sort of auxiliary naval force, and to convey troops in time of war, let the extra cost be charged to the Admiralty, and not to the Post Office.

5. The present machinery is ample for introducing Imperial penny post. Not an extra steamship or railway train would have to be provided.

Upon this the *Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth) of August 9th wrote:—

We suggested to Mr. Henniker Heaton that if he hoped to succeed in impressing on the official mind the reasonableness and feasibility of a universal international penny post there was nothing for it but to keep on pegging away. Well, he is doing this, and every time he speaks or writes afresh on the subject he wins more friends to his side. In fact, outside the ranks of officialdom, there cannot now be many persons who require to be shown the entire practicability of the scheme he advocates. The question is reduced to its simplest form when it is known that it is possible to convey a letter weighing half-an-ounce to any part of the civilised world for the sum of one farthing.

On September 11th, Mr. Heaton asked the Postmaster-General whether he intended to take any steps with reference to the anomalies and the high charges for postage between England and the various Colonies of the British Empire, and received the following reply:—

The completion of the Postal Union by the adhesion of the few British Colonies still outside it offers the most practical means of removing anomalies and reducing charges. Such a step depends more upon the Colonial communities than the Imperial Post Office; but the hon. member may rest assured that all possible encouragement and assistance will be given towards the entry of the remaining Colonies into the Union and the consequent assimilation of rates of postage. I can assure my hon. friend that I take a great interest in this question, and that I am in continual communication with the Secretary of State for the Colonies with the view of fully ascertaining the opinion of the Colonies on this subject.

Simultaneously the *Times* made the annexed announcement:—

It is understood that the Postmaster-General, the Right Hon. Cecil Raikes, is favourably disposed to the principle of Imperial penny postage and that he is now actively engaged in considering the practicability of a scheme aimed at least at cheapening postage between England and the British Colonies.

This statement has been warmly welcomed, and it remains to be seen how far it will be borne out by the Postmaster-General's reply to the comprehensive review of the case, which, in the form of the following letter, Mr. Heaton has just laid before him:—

To the RIGHT HON. H. CECIL RAIKES, M.P.,
Postmaster-General of Great Britain.

SIR,—The recurrence of the period when new contracts have to be signed for the conveyance of the mails between England and the Colonies is coincident with an extraordinary manifestation of popular feeling throughout the Empire in favour of a cheap and uniform Imperial post. I am in possession of overwhelming testimony to the desire which exists for the great boon of cheap means of intercommunication between the widely-separated subjects of her Majesty, and I venture to express the hope that no new contracts on the existing basis will be signed until the feasibility of a scheme of greatly reduced postage has been tested by inquiry.

2. The proposal I have made is that the ordinary postal rate for the carriage of a letter between any two parts of the British Empire should be one penny, and my contention is that such a service would on the whole be self-supporting. The advantages of such a reform would be obvious, and the sole question to be considered is its practicability. Let us take the case of the Australian Colonies. The sum charged for the conveyance of letters to Australia is 6d. per letter of half an ounce in weight, or no less than £1,792 per ton. But the cost of carriage of ordinary goods by a first class steamship is only 40s. per ton, or 4½ lbs. for one penny. Now the postal authorities might pay the steamship owners 1s. per pound. At a penny per letter 32 letters weighing one

pound would cost the public 2s. 8d. The postal authorities would then have 1s. 8d. for the cost of delivery and other incidental expenses.

3. The case is the same with newspapers. Universal penny post in this particular is established, with the difference that a newspaper weighing 4 ozs. can be sent to the ends of the earth for one penny, whilst a letter of the same weight would cost 4s. Thus in point of weight eight letters could be sent for the penny which takes a 4 oz. newspaper. But we offer the postal authorities 8d. for the eight letters, for it is only suggested that one letter should be sent for one penny.

4. It is very important to observe that where long distances are concerned very little if any increase in the cost of carriage is incurred. I am informed that goods can be conveyed to Australia by the fastest steamers at a less cost than the freight between London and Dublin. Indeed, for the same sum which it costs to convey letters between London and Dublin they can be conveyed between London and Sydney.

5. The most careful computation shows that we can convey a letter half an ounce in weight to any part of the civilised world for one farthing. This leaves three farthings for collecting, packing, and delivering. The present charge for conveying 200 letters to Australia is £5, whereas a parcel (of 200 letters) of the same weight could be conveyed in a swift steamer for 3s. 6d.

6. When, however, I introduced a resolution on the subject on the 30th March last, Mr. H. H. Fowler, then Secretary to the Treasury, stated that already, even at the present high charges, there is a loss of £365,000 a year, or £1,000 a day on the foreign and Colonial service of the British Post Office. On that ground, and substantially on that ground alone, Mr. Fowler opposed and defeated my resolution. But Mr. Fowler did not explain that £240,000 out of the £365,000 is lost on the Indian service alone, nor did he properly state how the deficiency arises. As a matter of fact the amount ought to be reduced by the amount of the enormous subsidies paid for purposes entirely different from those for which the Post Office exists. It cannot be insisted too strongly that the subsidies are not paid by way of making up a deficiency in the postal accounts, but in order to keep up the character of our merchant fleet, and to encourage the establishment of the fastest and most frequent means of intercommunication between the various parts of the Empire. In short, the subsidies are paid as a matter of state policy, and the postal service should therefore not be saddled with them.

7. This view of the matter is by no means a new one. Mr. Fowler does not appear to have been aware that in 1853, Lord Canning, then Postmaster-General, brought up a report from a commission of which he was chairman, and of which Sir Stafford Northcote was a member, dealing with this very question. After reciting the history of the introduction of contract mail-packets, the report explained under what special circumstances heavy subsidies for these packets appeared to be necessary, and expressed it as the opinion of the commission that when use could be made (as is now the case in every instance) of steamers which carried passengers and freight large subsidies were no longer required. The commissioners added that, "After a new route has been opened for the extension of commerce and sufficient time allowed for the experiment, the further continuing of the service, unless required for political purposes of adequate importance, should be made to depend on its tendency to become self-supporting."

8. Taking the case of India, which gives rise to by far the greatest part of the so-called deficit, the question arises what steamers, English and foreign, subsidised or unsubsidised, are there trading between England and India, and whether a law does not exist under which we could compel those steamers to convey the Indian mails for the amount of revenue those mails actually yield—namely, £55,000 a year. And if this process were applied to the foreign and Colonial postal service generally, the artificial deficit of £365,000, which we ourselves created, could be swept away to-morrow.

9. I will carry the argument a step farther. The Post Office itself repudiates the suggestion that the deficit caused by these enormous subsidies should be regarded as a deficit caused by the operations of the department. In 1863 the expense of ocean postage gave considerable anxiety to the postal authorities. A remarkable report was thereupon issued by the Post Office, and I would respectfully invite your attention to the following passage:—

"The claim that the Post Office should be charged with the whole expense of this packet or ocean service must be considered as barred by the simple fact that few of the mail-packets were established either by the Post Office or for merely postal purposes, their expense being far beyond what such requirements would justify. To assume that those packets were really established for Post Office purposes is to charge the Government with the most absurd extravagance. The West Indian packets, for instance, were established at a cost of £240,000 per annum, though the utmost return that was expected from letters was £40,000, leaving the £200,000 a clear deficit." Indeed, as was stated in the House of Lords by Lord Monteagle, who, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, arranged the first contracts for the mail steamers, "the expense of the packet service, which was said to swallow up the whole of the revenue now derived from the Post Office, had no more to do with the penny postage than the expense of the war in Afghanistan or China. It was as distinct from the Post Office as the expense of the army or navy. The great packet communication between Great Britain and the British North American Colonies was undertaken upon much higher principles than any connected with mere consideration of revenue. It was felt by the Government of Lord Melbourne that it was not wise to allow the only rapid mode of communication between the British possessions in North America and the Mother Country to be dependent upon the means afforded by the United States. Means were accordingly taken to establish a line of communication of our own. He admitted that this was not done except at a very heavy expense, but it was not right to place that expense to the account of the Post Office." (See "Hansard, Debate in Lords," June 21, 1842.)

The Report continues:—"Still it is obvious that as these packets do postal work some portion of this expense ought to be charged to the

Post Office, and the question of amount has really to be determined. Upon this question it is necessary to explain that upon a suggestion from the Treasury, viz., that the amount should be measured in each case by the amount of ocean postage received, the following is the rule observed. Whenever the amount of ocean postage is below the cost of the line of packets by which the service is performed, the Post Office debits itself for packet service with a charge just equal to the ocean postage received. In the only two lines of packets, viz., between England and France, and France and England and Belgium in which the ocean postage exceeds the cost, the department debits itself with the whole expense of the packet service."

After this abundant testimony as to the real nature and purpose of the subsidies paid to certain steam-packets it will hardly be contended that the amounts are to be regarded as so much money lost in a purely Post Office transaction. Whether it is worth while for the State as a matter of State policy to continue these subsidies is a question to be determined separately. What I wish to impress on you, sir, is that for the purpose of conveying letters at a uniform penny rate, and by the fastest means, between all parts of Her Majesty's dominions, not a farthing of subsidy is now needed. If subsidies are required for other purposes let them be credited to the proper department—the Admiralty for example—and not to a department which has no need of them. But even if the Post Office were so "absurdly extravagant" as to expend an excess of £365,000 per year in the postal service to the Colonies and abroad: that, after all, is not more, as a clever writer points out, than is spent on the construction of a single man-of-war, and whereas the building of war-ships is at least a measure of defence, the extension of postal facilities would be a promoter of peace. I say that the strengthened union and solidarity of the Empire would be cheaply purchased at the price.

10. As bearing upon this question of subsidies and the purpose they serve, I may mention that three years ago England was the only European country sending regular and fast steamships to Australia. Three years ago the French Government subsidised the powerful line of the Messageries Maritimes to the amount of £160,000 a year. The Company thereupon built for the Australian trade six magnificent steamers—calling them by names which would make them locally popular in Australian waters and cause them to be hardly distinguishable from the English steamers—*e.g.*, *The Melbourne*, *Sydney*, *Yarra*, *Calcutta*, etc. Each of these steamers now takes to France £100,000 worth of Australian produce every trip, and carries some of our mails. I observe that these four-weekly steamers are now to be changed to fortnightly with a subsidy of £250,000 a year.

11. The German Government is equally alert. It has established a splendid line of steamers to Australia with a subsidy of £120,000 a year. These steamers run monthly from Hamburg to the various Australian ports, and carry letters at 2½d. per letter by sea from Hamburg to Australia. Yet the French population of Australia numbers only a few thousands and the German population not twenty thousand, as against four millions English and their descendants.

12. The danger with which these subsidised enterprises threaten our Colonial trade need not be concealed. Foreign countries now purchase from England only 10s. worth of British goods to every £8 worth per head that goes to the Australian Colonies; but are we to assume that the subsidised trade, reaching to the enormous volume of £100,000 per steamer, will not be reciprocated? Happily we have no need to subsidise steamers in order to establish the necessary communication. The communication already exists, and a cheap and easy postage system would be of itself a most formidable blow to the foreign competition with which we are threatened in Colonial markets.

13. I have now shown that financially the scheme is feasible, the terrible deficit of £1,000 a day, which Mr. Fowler conjured up, being a mere bogey, though it effectually frightened the House of Commons, I am sorry to say. What other objections are there? Well, it is stated that the Home Government cannot of its own authority make changes as regards Colonial postage without consulting the Australian Colonies. But, on the other hand, the Australian Colonies, if they do not concede to the Home Government the right of independent action, claim and exercise it for themselves. It is a well-known fact that Queensland will send a letter to England for 4d., whereas England charges 6d. for sending a letter to Queensland. Again, an Australian newspaper weighing more than 4 oz. can be sent to England from Sydney for 1d., whereas the *Times* cannot be sent to Australia if it weighs over 4 oz. for less than 2d.

14. It is alleged that the penny postage service would not be so efficient as the present service. In reply to this I contend that it would be substantially the same service; and I may add that steamers are now being built to convey letters to Australia in 29 days as against 35 or 37 days by Brindisi, at present. Besides, if rapidity of communication is the one thing required, I undertake to construct three first-class cables to Australia—one *via* Canada, one *via* Cape of Good Hope, and one *via* India—in return for a subsidy of £360,000, the amount now lost by subsidising mail-packets; and I will further undertake to convey all telegraph messages at the most nominal charge, thus saving six weeks of time. Therefore, if the State is going to subsidise anything, let it subsidise that which will do the State some service, and not waste its money upon steamers, however fast, or haggle over minute variations in speed.

15. These, sir, are all the objections to the scheme which I have been able to discover. Permit me now to lay before you a few facts which appear to me to tell in its favour. There are in Australia two millions of people—English-born subjects of the Queen—that is, one half of the population. These write to their friends at home one letter each in two years, whereas friend writes to friend in England 40 letters a year. It follows that the British-born inhabitants of Australia should send at least 40,000,000 letters home every year (that is half the average English correspondence) for every million letters they send now. This even at the penny rate would mean a large increase of gross revenue, which would go far to meet, if not to extinguish, the expected deficiency.

16. The British Empire is inhabited by 310,000,000 people. Of these only 36,000,000 live in the Mother Country. The total revenue of the British possessions is £206,335,000. Of this only £90,000,000 is the revenue of the Mother Country. England annually sends to the Colonies £152,976,495 worth of commodities, while the Colonies send to England exports of the value of £137,477,666. The approximate naval defence of the Empire is 500 ships of war manned by 106,000 sailors; but to these must be added at least 500 fast ocean steamers available in case of war, and mainly supported in time of peace by our Colonial trade. It is on behalf of this mighty Empire, this Greater Britain across the sea, that we plead for free communication.

17. This reform would be the death-blow to many provoking anomalies. What could be more extraordinary than an investigation of the pages of different tariffs in your quarterly Post Office guide? What could be more unsatisfactory than that the postage from England to the British Colony of Fiji should be 6d., while from Fiji to England it is 10s.; or that the postage from Queensland to England should be 4d., and the postage from England to Queensland 6d. Anomalistic incidents multiply as we extend our examination to the difference between English and foreign rates of postage.

Why should it be cheaper to send a letter to a British Colony from *en route* France or Germany than from England? Yet there are numerous cases in which this is done.

18. Perhaps I may be permitted to quote from the *Times* of 7th March, 1853, the terms in which it announced the reduction of postage to Australia to 6d.

"We have this day to announce a step which, simple and unpretending as it may seem, is really a greater move towards a complete unity of our independent Empire than the most splendid conquest or the largest annexation."

From a quarter of a million to three hundred thousand emigrants leave "the Old Country" every year. Surely it would be a wise policy to have cheap postage for these poor people, in order to keep up between divided members of families that natural affection which is so considerable a factor in patriotism and an element of Imperial Federation.

Sir, I venture to hope that when you shall have given to this matter that full attention which I feel sure you believe it to merit, you will be able to make a still greater move towards Imperial unity, by throwing open once for all the fullest and freest means of intercommunication between the various possessions of the British Crown. It would be an act in accordance not only with the enlightened traditions of the Post Office, but with the patriotic aspirations of the highest British statesmanship.

In this hope I again beg to press upon you the great necessity for an enquiry into the scheme I have laid before you, and pending the result of the enquiry the abstention by the Post Office from all engagements which might stand in the way of a great reform.—I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES, AND ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE.

BRITISH subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

THE SECRETARY,

Imperial Federation League,

43, St. Margaret's Offices,

Victoria Street,

London, S.W.

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

1. A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.

2. Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—

(a) A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

(b) A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.

Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.

(c) The names and addresses of the members of the Association.

(d) A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for

each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."

3. On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.

4. The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other, with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.

5. It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of Branches.

Such central organisations, if formed, would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.

6. Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.

7. Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.

8. Individual members may be supplied with all publications of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.

9. The General Committee hopes to be furnished with reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.

10. It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of Imperial importance.

11. By the aid of the organisation of the League, information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.

12. It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in Parliament and in the press, etc. etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.

13. The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year.

It is to be observed that the ordinary Annual Subscription by members of the League is One Guinea, but the Annual Registration Fee has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid. Although the General Committee only require the "annual registration fees" to be sent from Branches, still, considering the heavy expenditure which will have to be incurred in carrying out the objects of the League, they will thankfully receive contributions from the Branches as well as from private individuals.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Chairman.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

Vice-Chairman.

THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

A. H. LORING, *Secretary.*

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THE HON. J. W. BRAY (late Premier
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SIR SAMUEL WILSON (late Member
of the Legislative Council,
Victoria).
JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
FREDERICK YOUNG (Hon. Sec. Royal
Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
- That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
- That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
- That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
- That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
- That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
- That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
- That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1886.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"I HAVE pointed out the vital necessity of unity of system and pattern in the scattered armaments of our Empire." Thus SIR JOHN ADYE concludes a long letter on the Ordnance Question in the *Times* of October 1st. We wonder how often this vital necessity must be proved to the hilt, before action is taken! Not once only, but a hundred times have irrefutable facts been published, and contradiction challenged in vain, showing the utterly incomplete, inadequate, and unsystematic condition of our Imperial defences. Must we wait for the rude awakening of war, for unprotected towns to be shelled, coaling stations seized, docks and shipping destroyed, before we rouse ourselves to action, at a cost far exceeding what would suffice to make the Empire well-nigh impregnable, if only we would be wise in time? We subjoin another passage from SIR JOHN ADYE's letter, though people who have Imperial Federation at heart will hardly need this confirmation of their convictions:—

It must be remembered that we are a great naval, military, and colonial Power, and that we have fleets, fortresses, and reserves all over the world. In the matter of armaments unity is strength. Several of the Great Powers of Europe have allowed divergence of patterns of armaments to arise between their sea and land forces, and they deplore the confusion and loss of power which necessarily follow. With them, however, it is not of supreme importance. As a rule they have no colonies, stations, or fleets in distant seas. With us it is far different. If the Navy are to establish an independent committee, and to adopt such patterns of armaments as they choose, ignoring the importance of the question in an Imperial point of view, it may be relied on that in a few years their armaments, munitions, machine guns, gunpowder, and all the details of their fighting equipment will lose all uniformity with those of the land service. Interchangeability will become impossible, and duplicate arsenals of reserve must be created at every station at home and abroad. I should look upon that as a national misfortune, and for that reason I have for years past steadily advocated a policy of one joint committee of Naval and Artillery officers to advise on all changes and improvements, which should be common to both services. Their motto should be "Unity is Strength."

Aye, aye, say we! And when SIR JOHN ADYE's joint committee has waxed into a Commission of Imperial Defence, one of the largest planks in the League platform will have been secured.

"HE did not know," said a French admiral a few weeks ago, "if France would ever have a maritime war on hand, but he was convinced that their navy would play a very important part in the struggle, if only that of *bringing the trade of the hostile Power to a standstill*." Suppose the hostile Power to be the British Empire with its sea-borne trade of over £600,000,000 a year! Suppose a single convoy of merchantmen captured, a single disaster of sufficient gravity to raise the general rates of insurance above the margin of profitable shipment! Would not that be enough to block, stop, and obliterate your export trade, merchants of England? Would it not be enough, working men of England, to raise bread to famine prices, if not to produce actual scarcity? Would it not, Australian, Canadian, and South African friends, ruin and close the best, the only market for your staple products? Read this deliberately expressed design of the French admiral; recall the incident, related in our last number, of a foreign man-of-war steaming unperceived and unreported to an anchorage in the port of Melbourne. Remember that wherever a blow is struck at our commerce, the whole Empire must suffer as surely as the largest frame is paralysed by one drop of deadly poison. And then let him deny it who can, that the need is very urgent and instant for a complete world-embracing system of defence, whereby, protected at all points, our commerce, the life-

blood of empire, may flow unembarrassed by any hostile attempts to bring it to a standstill, or even check its course.

As to the necessity for our system of defence being universal and complete, mark these words of our noble Chairman, the Earl of Rosebery. Speaking at Linlithgow the other day, he said, "We all of us know the ancient apologue of the fagot and the sticks—that singly the sticks were broken, but united the fagot was very strong. But we have to remember one thing in connection with that proverb. It is that if the fagot is to be strong every single stick in that fagot must be strong also. You might have the largest fagot the world has ever known, but if you have a rotten stick in it nothing will preserve that rotten stick from destruction; and we who value nationality and value the Empire have to look to this—that so far as we are entrusted with the management of public affairs, every stick that goes to make up the fagot shall be strong and vigorous in itself."

THE Secretary to the Royal Commission informs us that the Colonial and Indian Exhibition will be closed on the 10th inst. The immense popularity of the show at home is proved by the enormous number of visitors, over 5,000,000 having passed the gates by October 23rd. This far exceeds the totals of the Inventions Exhibition or of the Fisheries. We take leave to say that the excess is amply justified by the preponderating importance of the interests involved.

If there is anything new under the sun, it is seldom that an instance meets us now-a-days. But this great Exhibition, in its scope, its causes, and, as we believe, its effects, has no counterpart in anything that has preceded it. The possibility of bringing such a collection together, as the products of one nation, is something new; even five years ago it must have been less complete, for the Empire has grown since then. The practicability of any such scheme at all is something new, for the harmonious coalition of every Colony was necessary, and the bonds of sympathy, firm-welded now, have been forged within our own memory. What the effects will be, time alone can show; but we shall look for them in new commerce, new knowledge of each other, new goodwill, new strength, and new resolutions to stand back to back for the Empire against the world.

TRAVELLERS say that upon the slopes of the Andes may be found every possible variety of climate and every kind of vegetable growth that the world contains, from Arctic lichens, through the products of the temperate zone, to tropical luxuriance. It is this unique combination that gives a marvellous charm to the region. These grand mountain-sides are no unworthy parallel to the British Empire; like them it enjoys every variety of climate that the heart of man can desire; like them, too, it is rich in all the fruits of the earth, from whose four corners we have just seen gathered together the wealth of north and south, of east and west. Shall it not also stand like them immovable, close-knitted as the texture of granite in the willing fusion of its peoples?

As if to show the leaven that was working in the Exhibition, we find it budding and sprouting into a permanent Imperial Institute. Elsewhere we have traced the various steps already taken in the matter. Here we will content ourselves with wishing the project all good luck and good management.

If evidence were needed to show what close and detailed attention is beginning to be directed towards solving the

problem of Imperial Federation, it would be supplied by a pamphlet forwarded to us by Mr. W. D. DIMOCK, Agent for Nova Scotia at the Colonial Exhibition. This pamphlet gives the Draft of a Bill entitled "AN ACT to provide an Imperial Constitution for the British Empire and to consummate a closer union between its integral parts." It consists of eighty-eight carefully-worded clauses, and bears traces of comprehensive and intelligent appreciation of the main questions touched upon. The author is Mr. H. PERCY BLANCHARD, barrister-at-law, Windsor, Nova Scotia, and he has appended some interesting comments of his own upon the clauses of his Bill.

THE Preamble sets forth that :—

"WHEREAS it is believed that matters of a local nature can be most advantageously dealt with by legislators drawn from the locality,

"AND WHEREAS, since in some matters many districts, localities, and provinces are jointly interested, such matters should receive the consideration of such districts, localities, and provinces jointly,

"AND WHEREAS it is considered right and expedient, and for the safety and advantage of the British Empire, that in legislation upon matters and subjects of direct interest to the Empire at large, the several portions of the Empire should be represented and take part,

"AND WHEREAS it would be desirable and conducive to the welfare of the British Empire and its several parts that the same should be more closely and harmoniously united,

"BE it therefore enacted"

THEN come the clauses and complications, into which we dare not dive at present. We fear, indeed, that any detailed scheme of this sort would turn out a veritable bed of Procrustes, too long for some, and too short for others. But we gladly welcome Mr. BLANCHARD'S pamphlet as showing that there are men who believe in the realisation of Imperial Federation so thoroughly that they can evolve a full-blown Constitution like this, and confidently date its enactment from January 10th, 1888!

WE would suggest to Debating Societies and clubs that Mr. BLANCHARD'S Bill might form an excellent peg for the discussion of the subject of Imperial Federation at their meetings; no doubt it would elicit endless points of opposition, and more differences of opinion than there are clauses. But it suggests much that is worth debating, and will help to ventilate the great idea about which we are all agreed.

THE plot thickens! When we penned the above remarks upon Mr. BLANCHARD'S Constitution, we did not expect that within a few days two more detailed schemes of Imperial Federation would reach us. Curiously enough, one of these hails, like Mr. BLANCHARD'S, from Windsor; but this time it is Windsor in England, not in Nova Scotia. The author is Mr. F. J. STEPHENS; clearly there has been no collusion, for he says of his plan, "It has one advantage, it is first in the field!" This gentleman is even more sanguine than Mr. BLANCHARD, for his Act is to date from June 1st, 1887!

THEN we find GENERAL TOTTENHAM unfolding in the columns of the *Hobart Mercury* proposals which have evidently been the result of mature and earnest consideration of the subject. Our friends are certainly not idle, though we fear they are somewhat anticipating the march of events. But we mark these signs of the times, and, when

public opinion has ripened sufficiently, we too shall come forward with our definite proposals; then, and not till then.

OUR contemporary, the *Hobart Mercury*, is, by the way an ardent supporter of Federation, but it takes a gratuitously despondent view of the situation. "Outside of the Journal which is devoted especially to the cause," it says, "we do not know of any direct advocacy of Federation anywhere in the whole of British journalism." Now, it ought to be very gratifying to us to feel that this Journal penetrates into a quarter of the globe beyond the reach of the English Press, though we doubt whether this satisfaction would be shared in Fleet Street, and other literary haunts. There is, however, no other explanation possible of the *Mercury's* statement; for is not its editor Argus-eyed? Does he not see and read every newspaper that reaches Tasmania? And are not the columns of the English Press crowded day after day with the praises of Federation? It can only be that these same English newspapers never reach the *Mercury* office; so we have gladly compiled in another column a selection of passages which will do more than any mere assertion on our part, to show our friends at Hobart Town that there is no subject which is so unanimously and cordially approved at home as that of Imperial Federation.

THE prospectus has reached us of the British and Colonial Industries League. Its objects are to restore and stimulate our national industries. Various means are indicated as furthering the end in view; lectures, debates, petitions to Parliament, a labour register, a register of inventions, have special stress laid upon them. What the particular measures are by which the League hope to amend the "present critical and unsatisfactory condition of British agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce," can be learnt on application to the Secretary at 18 and 19, Red Lion Square, London.

THE importance of Imperial Federation is well understood by the Plymouth Parliamentary Debating Society. On ordinary occasions the introducer of a Bill is limited to a speech of twenty minutes, but in a recent discussion the standing orders were suspended in order that Mr. BULTEEL might be allowed to speak for three-quarters of an hour in bringing forward the subject of Imperial Federation. The debate, moreover, has had to be adjourned several times on account of the great interest evinced in it.

AN out-and-out Colonial product is the *Canadian Exhibitor*! This newspaper, which has been on sale at the Exhibition, is printed upon paper made at Montreal; the ink comes from Toronto, and the types from a Montreal foundry. The printers are Canadians, and so is the manager and editor, Mr. E. B. BIGGAR, to whose enterprise this very creditable publication is due.

THERE is at present no post-card system between this country and the Australasian Colonies, but we have reason to hope that the wholesome spreading of the League's principles has not been without salutary influence upon the authorities, and that such a judicious and simple improvement in our Postal Service will not long be delayed. We understand that communications are now going on between the Colonial Governments, with a view to some combined arrangement in the matter, and that the POSTMASTER-GENERAL has decided to give a favourable reply to any united request that may be made to him.

"THE Local Post-Office Authorities" (of Victoria, Australia) "have revised the regulations relating to the parcels post system, with the view of bringing them into accordance with the rules adopted by the London Post-Office." We hail this item of news as a proof that the desire for an Imperial postage system is shared by our friends in Victoria. It has always been a guiding principle of the League to promote the spontaneous growth of administrative unity preliminary to obtaining legislative sanction; and the more the English and Colonial Post-Office regulations are harmonised the simpler will be the terms of the Warrant authorising an Imperial arrangement.

LECTURERS in connection with the University extension scheme are to be congratulated upon their acute perception of the subjects most likely to attract and interest their classes. This year we find that not a few have inaugurated courses of study intended to promote a fuller comprehension of the principles upon which Imperial Federation is based. This is a most encouraging sign, for lecturers are careful to suit the tastes of their audience, and when we find them choosing the League's text, we may be sure that a goodly number of the most intelligent young people in the country have expressed their partiality for it.

WE shall be most happy to place at the disposal of lecturers and teachers who may be interested in the subject whatever information they may desire. The League is constantly amassing fresh materials, and from its correspondents all over the world possesses facilities for keeping in touch with public opinion, and for arriving at facts not contained in official works, which contribute largely to a thorough acquaintance with the issues at stake.

HELP is always welcome; and when we hear that one hundred thousand leaflets have been distributed and eagerly applied for, containing arguments in support of the Unity of the British Empire, we are not slow in tendering our best thanks to the British-Israel Identity Association, who have thus ranged themselves under our standard. In reflecting upon this valuable and gratuitous assistance, we feel inclined to say, not without hope, to other associations and societies: "Go and do likewise."

LAST month we noted that LIEUTENANT ANDREW had been gazetted to the Essex Regiment from the New Zealand Rifle Volunteers. It is also announced that CAPTAIN ARTHUR LE PATOUREL, of the New South Wales Permanent Artillery, has been promoted to the honorary rank of Major in the 2nd Brigade Cinque Ports Division, Royal Artillery. This is said to be the first case of promotion in the English Army having been bestowed upon an officer of the Colonial Regular Forces. During the year there have also been several instances where commissions in the British Army have been conferred upon pupils of Colonial military academies; seven Canadian cadets from the Dominion Military College at Kingston were gazetted to the Royal Artillery, and several others to the Royal Engineers, although one commission a year in that force is their normal allowance. The Sappers have also opened their ranks to two youngsters direct from the Universities of Sydney and of New Zealand. All these are steps in the right direction.

A SERIES of articles upon "Imperial Federation," which have recently appeared in the Manchester *Courier* deserves to be most carefully studied by all who are interested in the

subject. The various questions that present themselves, have been grouped for the purposes of discussion under six headings:—

1. Imperial Federation, implying a formal and constitutional union of our nine parliamentary Colonies.
2. Imperial Federation, naval and military.
3. Lord Grey's Council of Advice.
4. Imperial Federation on a financial basis.
5. The question of a customs' union throughout the Empire.
6. The lesser unions, the post-offices, chambers of commerce, emigration offices.

The cool and impartial attitude in which the arguments are approached, the inevitable conclusion that some form of Federation is urgently required, the frank recognition of the remarkable prominence already gained by the movement, all contribute to the genuine value and interest of the articles, which we sincerely hope to see reprinted in some convenient form for distribution far and wide.

A MOVEMENT is being promoted by the Woolgrowers' Association of Australasia for endeavouring to obtain a remission of the American duties on Australian wools. It is stated that the United States Chambers of Commerce are favourably disposed to the idea, if some *quid pro quo* is offered as an inducement to remove the existing duties. Kerosene is mentioned as a possible subject for reciprocity, from which the Australian Colonies at present derive a revenue of about £100,000 per annum. Now, we should like to propound a simple rule of three sum to our Australian friends, which we will state thus:—If it costs you £100,000 a year to remove the import duties on your wool in the United States, how much would it cost you to remove similar duties upon your wool, if they existed in the United Kingdom? The answer is that as you send us just thirty times the value that you send America, the cost would be £3,000,000 per annum. When the cry is raised that the Mother Country does nothing for her Colonies, this rule of three sum may act as a reminder that had she acted by them as the United States is doing, they would have been worse off by £3,000,000 a year upon wool alone.

THE value of an article which recently appeared in these columns, sketching out a "Programme of work for a Royal Commission anxious to promote the cause of Imperial Federation," is being appreciated by the London Press. One of the most prominent of our daily contemporaries, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, has reproduced a clear and accurate summary of our suggestions, believing them to be of interest to its readers, now that the serious attention of the Government has been directed to the question of Federation. It is satisfactory to find that the public are beginning to look to the League as the natural fountain-head of information on the subject, and we shall spare no pains to collect such a variety of evidence from all quarters, as may place a solid substratum of preliminary facts at the service of the Royal Commission whenever it is appointed.

OUR contemporary the *Echo*, in commenting upon the MARQUIS OF LORNE's Birmingham address, gave us a terrible shock. After quoting the passage in which the speaker said, "We cannot hope for fiscal unity unless we are prepared to favour the Colonies by raising a revenue tariff against the foreigner," our contemporary jumps to the conclusion—"if that be so, a condition precedent to Imperial Federation is the abandonment of Free Trade." For a moment we shivered. We saw a vision of half our

members handing in resignations; we conjured up spectral clauses in the League's programme laying down fiscal unity as a *sine quâ non* of Imperial Federation. We knew such clauses must have crept in surreptitiously, we felt certain they were not part of our creed. But had not our contemporary spoken of fiscal unity as precedent to Imperial Federation, as if the matter possessed that authority which naturally emanates from the League's pronouncements? Hastily we went down to the office, thoroughly did we search and ransack every official record, and then at last we were relieved, pacified, cheered. It was all a bogey! The League has never, never committed itself to fiscal unity. That is a phase which may or may not accompany Federation, but it is not an essential, or a condition, or a precedent. In another column we have endeavoured to show that the importance of fiscal arrangements pales before the wider issues of Federation. Let our contemporary stick to its admission that most people hail MUTUAL DEFENCE as the groundwork. There we entirely agree with him.

THE Australian journals continue loud in their protests against the prolonged French occupation of the New Hebrides. They say that there are already about 15,000 convicts and ticket-of-leave men in New Caledonia, a greater number than the military can safely cope with. France has officially announced that more are to be sent out, but doubts are expressed whether New Caledonia is really their destination, in view of the facts above stated, and information that large sheds are being built for no obvious purpose, on one of the New Hebrides group "temporarily" occupied by French soldiers. The public are reminded that France got possession of the island of Raiatea by exactly similar tactics to those now employed in the New Hebrides, and a horrible picture is drawn of the hideous condition of New Caledonia with its villainous crew of ruffians. Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the affair, there is a proud confidence as to the final result. "The time is not far distant," writes one, "when the Colonies will be able to settle for themselves the question of French colonisation in the Pacific." And again, "The natural heritage of these (Australian) Colonies includes the Pacific Islands. We must enter upon this heritage sooner or later, and if by any negligence on the part of the Mother Country, the heritage is lessened, we shall be obliged to regain by force what may have been taken from us by fraud or subtlety."

NEW ZEALAND possesses an ammunition factory at Auckland, and its cartridges have been approved by the Government. It is said that the Colony is now independent of outside supplies in time of war. If so, we heartily congratulate the citizens on their enterprise and good sense. But we confess to a little scepticism until we hear further details. A good deal depends on the manner in which war is waged, and we are inclined to think there would be some anxious hearts both at home and in the Colony, if a serious attack were made, and New Zealand depended solely upon her own resources. With the strength of an United Empire to help her out, she might withstand the world; but alone—hardly!

ALL the steamships of the Allan Line have changed their port of registry from Liverpool and Glasgow to Montreal. The object is to avoid the higher taxes levied in Canadian ports upon shipping registered in Great Britain. One may form a rough idea of the burden of those taxes from the fact that upon application for Canadian register an *ad valorem* duty has to be paid of 25 per cent. on the machinery, and 10 per cent. on the hull and rigging of all

vessels built in a "foreign" country. Yet this duty is apparently preferable to the taxes formerly paid by the Allan Line. The outward and visible sign of England being a "foreign" country is that the vessels will replace the British ensign at the peak by the Canadian! Next time the Allan line changes its flag, we hope it will be to hoist an Imperial ensign.

WE have observed, in several Colonial papers lately, a tendency to deprecate the lavish hospitality which has been admittedly showered upon visitors from Australia and elsewhere in connection with the Exhibition. The banquets, excursions, and various marks of esteem, seem to be regarded by some people as a kind of corrupt practice, though no one seems exactly to know what particular "job," was contemplated. We maintain that a warm welcome was no more than our Colonial friends had a right to expect, and if they have not been disappointed, it is well and good. What would have been said and thought, if our hospitality, instead of being profuse, had been withheld or grudgingly bestowed? There would have been some reason in complaining then! Let those gentlemen who are inclined to disparage the social amenities in which they have not participated, come over next year and make the experiment for themselves. We will undertake to convert them to a more favourable view of the case, by doses of the very drug whose action they consider so poisonous!

THE Governing Body of the Oxford Military College have set an example which we hope to see largely followed. They have decided to offer two scholarships, each tenable for three years, for open competition in the Colonies. No more certain method can be devised for bringing the whole Empire into closer union, than that of attracting its youth to the Mother Country by educational advantages. The young men learn to know England and to know each other; friendships are formed which will last through life, though one may return to Australia, another to Canada, or the Cape; chords of sympathy are strung across the world, and in sympathy lies the surest guarantee of Federation. The sphere is one which England alone is qualified to fill, with her hereditary stores of knowledge, her ancient libraries and Universities, her leisured savants and professors. Here we have a matter wherein we can do an incalculable service to our Colonies. We can offer them a product that has never been naturalised in their most fertile regions, that cannot be nursed by protection or attracted by bounties, we mean an English education. Let us take care to offer it freely.

WE summon SIR DONALD SMITH, one of the ablest men in Canada, as a witness on our behalf. In advocating the establishment of a College and University at Victoria, British Columbia, he said, "Pupils will be attracted hither from all parts of Canada, also from California and other parts of the coast, *when it is known that a good British education can be obtained at Victoria.*" These words show the value SIR DONALD SMITH himself attaches, and believes to be generally attributed, to English education. The Victoria, B.C., University is not quite ready yet, so in the meantime we will throw open the gates of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and London, to the enterprising young Canadians, and to pupils from "other parts of the coasts" of the British Empire who are zealous for wisdom and knowledge.

THE appointment of MR. WARTON, late M.P. for Bridport, to the post of Attorney-General for Western Australia, seems a serious abuse of the power of official patronage. MR. WARTON may have private qualities, and even, it may be,

intellectual accomplishments, which during his public career he had no opportunity of revealing. But this fact is certain, that from one end of England to the other he was for years notorious [for an abuse of the procedure of Parliament, which was always grotesque and unseemly, and which frequently became dangerous and offensive in a high degree. As far as the public is concerned, MR. WARTON never had, in or out of Parliament, any titles to notice other than those above referred to. Western Australia is not a very important Colony as far as wealth and population are concerned, and the resentment which its inhabitants are likely to feel at the appointment of their new official will be less serious than the anger which would certainly have been displayed if we had played such a trick upon Victoria or New South Wales. But in this case it is the principle, and not the particular application, which is so utterly wrong. The idea that the Colonies are to be treated as a sort of refuge for the destitute—a home for discredited politicians who have no honour in their own country—has already received far too much acceptance, and been far too frequently acted upon. We should be lamentably failing in our duty if we were not to register our emphatic protest against an appointment which must increase the difficulties of our work, and postpone the realisation of our great aim.

THE Canadian Pacific Railway is making a good bid for the tea freight of the Eastern States. The cargoes of five ships, valued at 2,000,000 dols., have already been arranged for discharge at Port Moody; and if this much can be accomplished the first year with sailing vessels, far better results may be expected when the new line of subsidised fast steamers is running between Hong-Kong, Yokohama, and Port Moody. The traffic arrangements for the distribution, without breaking bulk, of the tea destined for Chicago, Montreal, and New York, seem to be admirably devised. Indeed, our friends in Canada seem likely to give the Yankees a lesson in smartness at their present rate of progress.

SIR ANTHONY MUSGRAVE, the new Governor of Queensland, reminded his hearers, at the banquet at St. George's Club, the other day, that the Colony over which he presides has two especial claims to consideration. Queensland was the first Colony to present a ship of war to the Royal Navy—H.M.S. *Gayundah* is now upon the "Navy List." In civil affairs, certain points of issue between the two branches of the Legislature were spontaneously referred for decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. All honour to Queensland, who has proved herself a true pioneer of Imperial Federation, recognising the value of one force to protect the Empire, and one central and impartial authority for judicial appeals.

THE whole of SIR ANTHONY MUSGRAVE'S speech is well worth reading. People who are inclined to accuse us of alarmist views should ponder his weighty words. It is idle to talk of our Colonies defending themselves successfully against any of the Great Powers without English help for many years to come. What they have to do is to press for some scheme that will ensure the recognition of their interests, and give them a voice, when such questions as that of the New Hebrides come to the front. Imperial Federation affords the only prospect of enabling them to enforce their views by word and vote in a manner that cannot be disregarded.

WE quote the passage in the GOVERNOR of QUEENSLAND'S speech which fully bears out our opinion :—"Nothing

can be more injurious to the best interests both of Australia and of this country than any idle talk that seems to recognise the possibility of the separation of Australia from the Mother Country. The progress of these Provinces has been wonderful in the past, and will, I trust, be still more marvellous in the future, but NOTHING I KNOW OF AUSTRALIA LEADS ME TO BELIEVE THAT SHE ALONE COULD SUCCESSFULLY RESIST ANY FOREIGN ATTACK MADE ON HER. What has been passing lately in the Balkan Provinces leads me to conjecture what Australia might experience at the hands of any great Power anxious to establish a foothold in the Pacific. I should no more expect that Australia would escape successfully from such a danger than I should anticipate that a young fellow of twenty-one would have any chance in an encounter with practised athletes. It must be recollected that England possesses many interests in the Colonies, to say nothing of its commerce with them, and it must be with the greatest apprehension that England looks upon anything like foreign domination of Australia. The possibility of foreign attack upon Australia need not be looked upon as an altogether improbable contingency, when it is remembered that twenty years ago it was regarded as utterly improbable that foreign Powers should be pushing their interests in parts of the world where they are now found."

In the special Circular issued by the new Emigrants' Information Office with regard to Canada, we observe that all the prices of commodities and rates of wages are given in dollars and cents. It is true that a table of equivalent values in £ s. d. is appended, but as the circular is intended for use in England it would have been more serviceable to state the prices and wages in sterling, with the tables for conversion into dollars. English money is legal tender in Canada, and we are glad upon wider grounds to hear that a change is contemplated in the method of drawing up the Circular. This is one of those small matters where uniformity can be advocated and achieved without running counter to utility or involving legislative changes.

THE wooden walls of Old England have become, as our poetical correspondent describes them, "Steely towers." But we are likely to hear more of the wooden treasures of Greater Britain in those peaceful and profitable dealings which the old warrior oak used to guard so bravely. "There's nothing like wood," was evidently the predominant feeling of the company who assembled at MESSRS. RANSOME'S works at Chelsea the other day to witness the trials of Colonial timber. There were over 150 gentlemen present at the experiments, and more than forty varieties of wood for them to inspect. Representatives of the various Colonies vigorously championed their own homegrown timber, and such admirable qualities were predicated of each that to single out any in particular would be invidious. Black wood, Karri wood and Jarrah, pines of all descriptions, Douglas fir, Billian, and the euphonious "stink-wood" are all rivals for recognition in the home market. We do not know which to congratulate most upon their good fortune, the English public, to whom a prospect is opened of substituting these beautiful woods for soft and ugly "deals," or the Colonies, which have such an excellent opening for their timber. One thing is clear: if these hard woods become fashionable, our carpenters will have to see to it that their chisels are of good English steel!

THE establishment of a vast new industry within the Empire deserves every encouragement, even if it has to be accomplished at the expense of our friends the Russians. Factories in the United Kingdom are at present supplied

with flax and tow from Russia, to the value of £2,000,000 annually. In a paper read by MR. E. B. BIGGAR, in the Conference Hall of the Exhibition, on October 8th, the ability of Canada to provide these materials was well illustrated, and as the statements made were confirmed by subsequent speakers of great experience, there seems no doubt that a change in our source of supply is not only desirable, but feasible. The fibre of flax grown in Manitoba and the North-West is said to be better than that from Ontario, of which 1,000 tons have been this year imported to Belfast, and pronounced much superior to Russian. Flax is said to be a more profitable crop than wheat for breaking up virgin soil in the first year of cultivation, and it will flourish where the summers are too short for wheat. The recent improvements in machinery for working up the fibre are believed to have settled the question of producing it at a profit, and the leading manufacturers of Belfast have shown themselves favourably disposed to encourage the industry. Everything seems to point to the conclusion that we have a grand opportunity of satisfying the claims of pocket and patriotism simultaneously, and we are sure no time will be lost in making the most of it.

In spite of the apparently well-founded complaints of Australian wine-growers that they did not obtain all the facilities they had been led to expect at the Exhibition, it cannot be denied that they have derived very considerable benefits therefrom. A return has been drawn up of the imports of Australian wines into this country for the nine months ending September 30th, in each of the last three years, with the following result:—

	1884.	1885.	1886.
Quantity, galls. ...	40,320	47,673	123,970
Value ...	£11,507	£13,936	£29,279

An increase of over 200 per cent. in both quantity and value must be some consolation in these bad times.

OUR best thanks are due to MR. CASTELL HOPKINS, of Ingersoll, Canada, for the efforts he is making to promote the cause of Imperial Federation in the Dominion. Not content with ably expounding and spreading the principles of the League, he is taking the very practical course of endeavouring to establish branches of it wherever he can. We have before us two Canadian journals—the *Woodstock Sentinel* and the *Hamilton Spectator*—which have bestowed the compliment of large type upon letters from MR. HOPKINS urging the formation of branches in those towns. We believe he will find fertile ground for his efforts, soil rich as the plains of his great country, only needing the labourer's willing hand to produce a rich harvest in the cause of Imperial Federation.

“THE Bill is a copy of the English law.” Such is the terse comment upon the Libel Law Amendment Bill recently introduced in the Victorian Legislative Assembly. The second reading was moved and carried at a single sitting. Our own Parliament can take some comfort from knowing that their deliberations are still held sufficiently reasonable by the Colonies to justify adoption of Acts *in toto* without more than one night's discussion on the second reading. Imperial Federationists are also to be congratulated upon another example of the adaptiveness of English institutions for Colonial use, *in the eyes of Colonists themselves*.

WE are glad to see that LORD DUNRAVEN loses no opportunity of saying a good word for Imperial Federation.

The other day, in Wales, he impressed upon his hearers the fact that there is no country so open to foreign aggression as the British Empire, and pointed out how many questions there were at this moment under discussion in which the interests of the Colonies were bound up with those of England.

SIR GORDON SPRIGG, K.C.M.G., Treasurer-General of the Cape Colony, holds sound patriotic views on the supremacy of the English race in South Africa. At the dinner given in his honour on October 23rd, he said:—“We all recognise in South Africa the advantages of unity, but what I most strongly wish to see maintained, for the good of the English, the Dutch, and the native races alike, is the paramount power of England.” A few more resolute men like SIR G. SPRIGG would soon settle the troublesome race question in South Africa for good and all.

THE season has now begun when branches of the League should bestir themselves. Not a day should pass without our receiving some piece of news concerning the progress of the League in different parts of the Empire. Debates, lectures, entertainments, business meetings, ought to follow each other in rapid succession. Each branch ought to do its utmost to propagate our principles by enrolling members itself, and urging others to form new ones in their neighbourhood. They may depend upon unflinching support from the central offices. If they want advice, it is at their service; if they want practical help, they have only to ask for it. It is needless to say that we gladly record in these columns any events connected with the League's progress, and insert reports of meetings and lectures to the utmost limits allowed by our space; but as we are unfortunately not gifted with second sight, we must beg to be furnished with full and trustworthy reports as soon as possible after the events.

A VISIT TO THE NEWLY-ESTABLISHED EMIGRANTS' INFORMATION OFFICE.

MIGRATORY movements from one part of the Empire to another are intimately connected with the question of Imperial Federation, and the Emigrants' Information Office, that was opened last month, may prove to be of great service in promoting the flow of population from overcrowded England to the sparsely-inhabited regions of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa.

By the courtesy of Mr. John Pulker, the Chief Clerk at 31, Broadway, we are enabled to lay before our readers the results that have already attended the establishment of the new office. When we called upon Mr. Pulker a few days ago, we found him occupied in conversation with a party of working men who were in need of some of the varied information which the office exists to supply. While waiting for him to be disengaged, we had leisure to observe the kind and patient attitude maintained towards all who came into the room, the trouble that was taken to tell what was wanted, and to advise upon individual cases unhampered by any formal routine.

Our public officials are sometimes charged with an off-hand take-it-or-leave-it style of doing business, but here there was an evident desire to be of real service to the applicant, and not to allow any red-tape considerations to interfere with the supply of genuine assistance. The country may rest satisfied that so far as hearty interest in the work and sympathy with the needs of their clients are concerned, the management of the Emigrants' Information Office leaves nothing to be desired.

The office is open five days in the week from noon to 8 p.m.; it was expected that business would be most brisk after 6 o'clock in the evening; but experience has already shown that this is not the case, and that the earlier hours are more commonly chosen, the fact being that the majority of applications come from people who have no work, and to

whom one hour is as good as another. The room is seldom empty; there are usually about half a dozen people waiting their turn; they stay some five minutes, some ten, and thus an idea can be formed of the numbers who come in the course of a day. Up to the present nearly all have been inhabitants of the metropolis and other great towns; but Mr. Pulker anticipates a large influx from the country, when 17 tons of handbills and other documents, which are in course of distribution throughout the kingdom, have reached their destination, and had time to be read and appreciated.

Every Post-Office, every Mechanics' Institute, Club and Society will be provided with the circulars, both general and special, and the addresses of all will be carefully registered to ensure their receiving the revised circulars, which are to be issued in accordance with changes in the labour market, so as to keep the information thoroughly serviceable and up to date. There is already an immense mass of correspondence coming in, at the rate of 150 to 200 letters a day, and all this has to be dealt with in addition to the personal applications, by a staff for which the Treasury allows only £500 a year. It certainly speaks well for the zeal of those employed, that matters are not already hopelessly in arrear.

The people who intend to emigrate are of all classes; but as a rule they appear to have been formerly in independent circumstances as artisans, and to have gradually lost their grip of fortune, fallen out of work, clung to the old country while they had a stick of furniture or a coat to their backs, and at length accepted emigration as the last resource of necessity. The "corner-men" and idle ruffians who would refuse to do an honest day's work if it were offered them are not found here; nor are there many persons, in any line of life, who are ready and anxious to better themselves by going to the Colonies, while they can earn even the scantiest livelihood in England. This loyalty is a fine thing, and we may hope that it does not die out in the hearts of those whom dire need compels to seek a new home beyond the sea. "I took the ring off my finger this morning," said one, a fine able-bodied woman, who came in to ask for help. She had a daughter well married in Canada to a farmer who had offered his mother-in-law £3 a month and her keep to come out to him. She looked as if she had twenty years of good work in her, and had got this capital offer, but she was very poor, and how could she get the money to pay her passage out?

This is one of the cases which the office cannot help, as it has not a penny to dispose of; so the woman is sent to one of the emigration societies, in the hope of receiving the required aid. But all the societies have their hands full; they can find plenty of subjects to drain their funds to the utmost, and so the course is very rarely adopted of advising applicants at the Westminster office to apply elsewhere, in view of the disappointment that would almost certainly await them.

There can be no doubt that this want of funds will be severely felt before long; if the Information Office succeeds in stirring up any considerable numbers to contemplate emigration, the movement in favour of State aid will rapidly acquire prominence. At present, we believe, there are seldom hopes expressed of receiving such aid among those who apply, but it is impossible to continue spreading emigration principles and at the same time withhold the smallest practical encouragement. If it is the case that the men and women who are willing to go are driven to acquiescence by poverty and despair, the taxpayer will have to choose between supporting them in the workhouse at home, or helping them to support themselves in the Colonies, and we do not think any right-minded people would hesitate in the face of this alternative.

An important step in the direction of assisted emigration has recently been taken by the Charity Organisation Society; not only will funds be given in aid of suitable cases, but correspondents are to be appointed in the Colonies, whose duty it will be to acquaint themselves with the wants of Colonial employers of labour, and thus enable the society at home to meet them. This work was formerly undertaken by the Colonial Governments through their agents in London, and, when a large number of artisans was required in any trade, a ship was chartered and despatched with them. But of late there has been no such general demand, and the Governments have relinquished the business, instructing

their Agents-General in most cases to announce: "No demand for labour in the Colony at present." It is, however, difficult to believe that when wages stand at 10s. a day for ordinary skilled labour, there is no room for more hands to be employed; and if the Charity Organisation Society's correspondents are careful and discriminating, we are hopeful of openings being found from time to time for a very considerable number of artisans and labourers.

The Emigrants' Information Office, however, has a useful work to do, though it has not the disposal of funds. At present the grossest ignorance prevails on the whole subject, and it is only by dispelling errors, showing how simple and easy emigration is, and creating the enthusiasm which cannot but accompany knowledge of our grand heritage in the Colonies, that the working classes can be induced to look hopefully beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, and prize the opportunity, if it occurs, instead of hating emigration as something only less terrible than starvation.

When enthusiasm has been created, when the doors of every emigration office are crowded by an eager multitude ready to enter upon their new life before they have despaired of the old, then will be the time to think of State aid in whatever shape it can most successfully be applied.

Then, too, if the question of Imperial Federation has been solved, our friends who leave these shores, and we who are left behind, need have no remorse at the parting, for the Old Country, already with her children made one and indivisible, will embrace them even on the slopes of the Pacific or the distant lands beneath the Southern Cross.

NO MAN CAN SERVE TWO MASTERS.

MR. MACKENZIE'S memorandum upon the High Commissionership has been reprinted in pamphlet form from a recent Blue Book on South African affairs.

At present the office of Her Majesty's High Commissioner is regularly filled by the Governor of the Cape Colony; the latter is constitutionally bound to give effect to the wishes of the Cape Ministry, the former is nominally responsible to the Crown only; the latter has a salary of £5,000 a year, the former £1,000; but the interests of the Cape Ministry do not invariably coincide with the interests of the Imperial Government. Given these data, it is a fair argument that the individual who combines the two characters of Governor and High Commissioner must find it almost impossible to act both parts equally well, while if he leans to one, the other suffers.

Mr. Mackenzie advocates strongly the separation of the two offices and the enlargement of the High Commissioner's duties, so as to make him the supreme officer of the Crown in South Africa, to whom should be entrusted the conduct of all dealings with the natives outside the Colonies, and the transaction of all business between Her Majesty's Government and the Free State and Transvaal.

Among the arguments employed by Mr. Mackenzie in support of his case, great stress is laid upon the value of the change in promoting "a natural and helpful South African Confederation, of which Her Majesty's representative would be the centre and head, impartial and trusted, because without local bias or leaning to one locality or the other." There is only one alternative, in Mr. Mackenzie's opinion, namely, the retrograde and anti-progressive corporate union of the Transvaal, Free State, and Cape Colony on the lines of the Afrikaner Bond. That there is a general desire for union of some sort is not denied. Mr. Mackenzie desires to see it accomplished by means of Confederation around an Imperial High Commissioner, and not by the submersion of all individuality in the formation of a single Afrikaner Republic.

Without discussing the vexed question of union between the South African Colonies, it is plain that a change of some sort is necessary, if there is any truth in the precept that no man can serve two masters. So long as Government by party exists, the policy of the Cape Ministry must be liable to reversal and uncertainty; so long as the Imperial Government concerns itself with South African affairs, its policy should be undeviating and fixed as the stars in heaven. How, then, can one man reconcile the incompatibles? Either he must offend his Ministers or disobey

his Queen. A pleasant choice, indeed, for a constitutional Governor who is a loyal subject of Her Majesty!

When anomalies like this are pointed out, we are amazed at the serene indifference with which the home authorities regard them. The conflict of interests is too glaring to be concealed, and we cannot comprehend the state of mind which perceives but is content to ignore it. Divergence of opinion is not uncommon between the inhabitants of Cape Colony and the natives, or the Dutch Republics. These are supposed to be settled by the High Commissioner *ex cathedra*; but when the Governor of Cape Colony sits in the High Commissioner's chair, there is an end of judicial impartiality; it would be as reasonable to expect a true verdict from a jury in which the prosecutor's counsel and witnesses were allowed to record their votes.

A similar danger arising from plurality of functions may be observed nearer home. The indifference shown by the English House of Commons to numerous matters of Imperial concern is doubtless traceable to the influence of constituencies whose interests are of a purely local and domestic character. Members of Parliament would not find it easy, for example, to vindicate a war undertaken for the purpose of ousting France from the New Hebrides, yet there can be no doubt that Imperial interests would be imperilled by her remaining in possession. In fact, at every turn we are met by an apparent conflict between Imperial and local requirements, which have to be reconciled in a happy-go-lucky fashion by the common-sense and honesty of the British representatives in Parliament. But this is becoming more difficult day by day. There are questions of Imperial defence, of diplomatic and foreign relations, of commerce and law, in respect of which it is difficult if not impossible to demand an impartial attitude from men whose tenure of office is determined solely by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom.

In the case of the High Commissionership of South Africa, expediency clearly points to a separation of functions as the natural outcome of divided responsibility and variety of interests. The time, we believe, is rapidly approaching when it will be no less important to draw a well-defined line of demarcation by which the domestic affairs of this country and the Colonies shall cease to be confounded with the cares of Empire. The responsibility is becoming too heavy for English shoulders alone, and unless the burden is lightened, there is a risk of the duties being shirked.

ONLY ONCE IN SIX YEARS.

It appears that telegraphic communication between the United Kingdom and the Australian Colonies has been "dependent solely upon the telegraphic line through Russia," only once during the last six years, namely, between September 9th and 16th of the present year. Such was in substance the official answer to a question by Captain Colomb in the House of Commons just before the prorogation. A more thoroughly dangerous and unsatisfactory state of things can hardly be imagined. There is a sort of congratulatory ring about the words, as if we ought to think ourselves uncommonly lucky that dependence upon the Russian line was not the rule instead of the exception, as if the break-down for nine days in six years was a calculable fixed occurrence, which could not possibly happen again until September, 1892, when we would take care to be at peace with Russia and all the world while the cable was being mended. The official retrospect draws a comfortable veil over the prehistoric period prior to 1880, or possibly the consolatory "Only once" might need a few cyphers after the unit! Neither does the Government think it necessary to enlarge upon the meanderings of the alternative route, which the imagination is led to picture to itself as something so absolutely perfect and secure, that, except during the occasional break-downs—guaranteed only once in six years—there need not be even a suspicion of danger lest communication be interrupted!

We deeply regret the necessity of cutting the beautiful electric halo out of this picture of imperturbable safety; but we occupy no official position, and are only concerned to expose the rottenness of a bad system, in the hope of instigating a change before the crash comes. It is well known

that the telegraphic lines to India and Australia would none of them be reliable for a single hour, should war be declared with a Mediterranean power. Wherever the cables touch land, the position instantly becomes critical. Let our readers, if any of them are bitten with "Puzzle-mania," exercise their brains in solving the problem—How to send a telegram from London to Melbourne during a war with any Continental Power. We warrant they will not find the answer too simple, that we shall soon have them give it up in despair, and join us in demanding an independent oceanic route by which the Empire may be linked together without trespassing upon foreign complaisance.

As matters ended peacefully, we could almost have wished that the only-once-in-six-years break-down had happened during the Russian scare of 1885, when it is officially admitted that preparations were being made in view of a possible war. We venture to think that if telegraphic communication with Australia had been dependent upon the line through Russia not for nine days but for nine hours at the time of the Penjdeh incident, the outburst of public indignation would have proved so irresistible that we should now be able to congratulate ourselves upon possessing cables of our own girdling the world wherever the British flag waves.

Possibly now that the crisis has passed, we shall content ourselves with the flattering assurances of official optimism, until the inevitable day arrives when some new war scare coincides with the intelligence that telegraphic communication is interrupted. Alas, on that day, for the cold comfort of the law of averages! We shall be assured that such an interruption was wholly unexpected and unaccountable, that the time was not nearly ripe for the next once-in-six-years break-down, and that prompt steps have been taken to repair the mischief and prevent its recurrence. But suppose, meanwhile—for much may happen in nine days, which seems to be a cable's period of trance—the war-cloud has gathered and burst, all the good will in the world and all the haste may be unable to close our far-off ports in time; these are not days, this is not an Empire, in which an enemy can be signalled by beacons or bonfires from station to station. The lightning flash of electricity must do the work now; therefore we shall not cease to perform our duty of urging, warning, and appealing to the country, until the installation is completed which alone can put the whole Empire on the defensive in a moment, and allow us to disregard a break-down in the Mediterranean, be it once in six years, or ever or never.

NOT TOO FAST.

MUCH has been said lately in various quarters as to the advisability of a new departure in the traditional policy of the United Kingdom with regard to Eastern Europe. It has been suggested that it is neither necessary nor wise for England to claim a foremost place in the decision of the great problem which must ere long arise in the Balkan peninsula. In the first place, it is argued that our military strength would not permit us to engage, with a reasonable prospect of success, with the gigantic conscript armies of the European Powers. Secondly, we are told that the centre of interest for England no longer lies at Constantinople, or even in the Suez Canal. That the rise and progress of our great Colonial Empire has made us independent of European complications, and has opened to us other and safer roads of communication than that of the landlocked and fortified passage of the Mediterranean. Quebec, Esquimaux, the Cape, Sydney, Aden, and the Mauritius are now our strategic points, so we are told. Let European nations, if they must quarrel, keep their quarrels to themselves. The Empire cares nothing about them, and can afford to disregard them.

Now we need hardly say that with much of this new doctrine we are fully in sympathy. We do believe that, in order to enjoy its full measure of prosperity and usefulness, the Empire must be free from the local disputes of the European Powers. Nay, more, we do believe that the Empire may easily be made strong enough to disregard them with impunity. But there must be no mistake; a possibility is not a fact; we must build our new house before we pull down the old one. Beyond all doubt Quebec, Esquimaux, the Cape, and the other places we have mentioned are the

strategic points of the Empire, and will place those who hold them in a position of immunity. But to have and to hold, despite apparent legal authority to the contrary, are by no means synonymous terms. We have Cape Town, it is true; can we hold it? We have Aden, can we hold it? That is just the question to which advocates of the new policy must get a very clear answer before they attempt to put their plans into execution. "Save the cost of a great war, save the perpetual loss through want of confidence and the fear of war;" that is a good message to bear to the wage-earners of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. But the man who presumes to teach it without adding and insisting upon its essential corollary either does not know his business, or grossly neglects his duty to his countrymen. If we want to be safe we *must* pay the premium, and the premium in this case is to fortify and organise our military posts and to perfect our naval arrangements before, and not after, we have withdrawn our stake in Europe. There is a dangerous tendency just at present to resort to the ever-popular plan of trying to get something for nothing. If we give way to the temptation we shall most assuredly meet with the fate of most other people who have recourse to that "new way of paying old debts." The real price is not exorbitant; indeed, in comparison with the end to be obtained, it is insignificant. But it must be paid, otherwise we shall be in the fatal position of having abandoned a reality for a shadow, and of having evacuated a strong place in face of the enemy, with no new entrenchment to fall back upon and no covering force to protect us.

FROM OUR LATE VICE-CHAIRMAN.

WE publish below the letter referred to in our last issue, from the Right Honourable Edward Stanhope, containing his resignation as Vice-Chairman of the League; we are glad to note that we may still count upon his services as a member, and to think that the interests of the Colonies are in such good keeping:—

COLONIAL OFFICE.

MY DEAR MR. LORING,—May I ask you to be good enough to communicate to the Committee of the Imperial Federation League my resignation of the office of Vice-Chairman?

I need not say that it is with very great regret that I take this step. I am well aware that by choosing as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, men of opposite political opinions, it was the intention of this League to avoid the necessity of such a resignation, and Lord Rosebery held the office of Chairman even while Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I feel, however, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies occupies an exceptional position in relation to the work of the League, and I therefore feel it to be my duty to resign the post of Vice-Chairman.

I would ask you to thank the Committee for the honour conferred upon me, and to say that I hope still to continue my connection with the League as one of its members.—Believe me, yours very faithfully, EDWARD STANHOPE.

A. H. LORING, ESQ.

THE COCKPIT OF THE "VICTORY."

LINES SUGGESTED BY THE RECENT VISIT OF OUR COLONIAL VISITORS TO PORTSMOUTH.

THEY hear the thunders of the fleet,
They see its lightnings gleam;
Iron dethroning oak they greet,
Sails dispossess'd by steam.

Then, with that stately turmoil spent,
A while they turn aside
To view, with rapture reverent,
The place "where Nelson died,"

And know that not by flaming coals
Or steely towers alone,
But in the strength of fiery souls
Are England's glories won.

H. F. WILSON.

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WANTED, to complete collections for Binding, copies of Nos. 1 and 2 of this Journal (Jan. and Feb., 1886). Must be in good condition.

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A DOG IN THE MANGER.

It is reported that the Government of the Transvaal Republic contemplate prohibiting the import of goods across the Natal frontier, thus compelling the adoption of the Delagoa Bay route. We cannot believe that such an extraordinary piece of folly will ever be perpetrated; the latest news from Delagoa Bay is that no waggons can travel up the country at present, that more than forty have stuck at a distance of twenty miles from the start, that for a stretch of fifty miles not a drop of water is to be had, and that a considerable amount of goods, which have already been forwarded by the Delagoa Bay route, will have to be brought back, and passed up through Natal.

In the face of these facts we do not believe in the possibility of such a suicidal policy, even were it in contemplation. The people who are flocking to the gold-fields will insist upon getting their supplies by the most regular and sustained route. As a specimen of the present cost of living there, we note that tinned butter costs 3s. 6d. a pound, and even gold-finders will not allow the necessities of life to be forced up to famine prices to gratify a selfish whim of the Boers. If they cannot manage by fair means, contraband smuggling will inevitably be resorted to, and the Transvaal Government will have little chance of enforcing unjust prohibitions in the teeth of the population on both sides of the border.

That the Natal people are alive to the importance of maintaining their route to the Transvaal, is clear from an important agitation for reducing the transit duties through the Colony to a minimum, if not for their entire extinction. If this is successfully achieved, the admitted difficulties of the Delagoa Bay route, and the demands of the gold-fields should prove considerable incentives to railway enterprise in Natal, and help the development of its undoubted resources.

NOT A PROPHET IN HIS OWN COUNTRY.

MR. JOHN NORTON's voice has not been unheard of late in England. The following extract from a leading Adelaide journal is a specimen of the esteem in which he is held by some people in Australia:—

Mr. John Norton, we learn from our telegrams, has been holding forth with much unction at the Trades Congress now sitting in Paris. Perhaps our readers need to be reminded—"the world knows nothing of its greatest men"—that Mr. Norton was sent to Europe by the Sydney Trades and Labour Council for the purpose of rectifying the statements which have been made "concerning the Australian labour market, of preventing an undue influx of labourers, and of pronouncing against the continuance of the récidiviste system. This delegate, who had been sent home for the purpose of preventing an undue immigration of workmen into the Colonies, began by saying that Australia was badly off for Europeans. But, lest working men should gather from this that the Colonies would be a good place to come to, Mr. Norton proceeded to say that the Australian soil was in the possession of a few hundred capitalists. According to him, farming scarcely exists; there are thousands of unemployed in New South Wales; Victoria alone, the protectionist Colony, is in a thriving condition. Further, the workmen have no real interest in matters of highly national concern, for they are in no way interested in endeavouring to keep the French out of the New Hebrides.

It is hardly possible—viewing the matter seriously—to suppose that any one could more flagrantly misrepresent the Colonies than this delegate has. We, indeed, badly want more Europeans in the sense that increased population means increased wealth. But our soil is *not* in the possession of a few hundred capitalists; farming *does* exist as a profitable industry; Victoria is *not* the only thriving Colony; there are *not* thousands of unemployed in New South Wales; and the opposition to the French annexation of the New Hebrides is *not* confined to capitalists.

Mr. Norton has done his utmost to prejudice these Colonies, and that the effect of his harangue is not likely to be very harmful is due rather to his insignificance than to his want of will. This is but one more proof of the mistake of sending to a distance delegates upon whose judgment and impartiality dependence cannot be placed. They do far more harm than good; and though we in Australia can discount the wild and prejudiced and untruthful assertions of men assuming to represent the Colonies, it is just possible that a few misguided working men in Europe will be led by Mr. Norton's representations to suppose that Australia is the worst place to which a skilled artisan or experienced farmer can come. This particular delegate seems to have laid himself out to befoul his own nest, and to depict his fellows in Australia as men who fear competition, and are mere slaves to capitalists, and who are unable to make their influence felt in the land of their adoption. Australian working men are not of this kind, and Mr. Norton has libelled them no less than Australia in his speech at the Paris Congress.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

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Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

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IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

NOVEMBER 1, 1886.

FORWARD!

THE Manifesto of our Chairman, the Earl of Rosebery, which we print to-day, lays down the course of action to be pursued by all Members of the League in support of the Federal policy recently foreshadowed in the Queen's Speech.

In dignified and confident words, the Manifesto calls attention to this notable Official recognition of the League's principles, and urges the need of renewed and persistent efforts to procure their effective realisation.

The Manifesto will undoubtedly be seriously studied by all friends of Federation. It has been framed in language so clear and unmistakable as to need no comment here. We content ourselves with placing its publication on record, and commending it to friends of the cause throughout the Empire.

SIR,—The movement towards a Federation of the Empire has lately received an impulse and reached a stage which deserve serious attention and renewed efforts on the part of the League.

It will be within your recollection that a Deputation of our body, including representatives from all parts of the Empire, waited upon the Prime Minister in August last, and urged him "to call a Conference,

"or to appoint a Royal Commission, to be composed "of accredited representatives of the United Kingdom "and of each of the self-governing Colonies, for the "purpose of suggesting some practical means whereby "concerted action may be taken :—

- "(1) for placing upon a satisfactory basis the "defence of the Ports and the Commerce "of the Empire in time of war ;
- "(2) for promoting direct intercourse, Commercial, Postal, and Telegraphic, between "the several countries of the Empire in "time of peace—and any other means for "securing the closer Federation or union "of all parts of the Empire."

Lord Salisbury stated in reply that it would be difficult to overrate the importance of the Deputation, and of the cause which it had in hand. He further promised that the statement laid before him should be carefully considered by the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister has since taken steps in fulfilment of his pledge. In the Queen's Speech on the prorogation of Parliament there occurs this significant paragraph :—

"I have observed with much satisfaction the interest which, in an increasing degree, is evinced by "the people of this country in the welfare of their "Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects, and I am led "to the conviction that there is on all sides a growing "desire to draw closer, in every practicable way "the bonds which unite the various portions of the "Empire. I have authorised communications to be "entered into with the principal Colonial Governments, with a view to the fuller consideration of "matters of common interest."

This weighty announcement constitutes an epoch in the history of our movement, to which it is the duty of the Executive Committee to draw the special attention of the League. Our policy has now for the first time been officially recognised by the Government of this country, which has publicly adopted the suggestions urged upon it last August.

We venture, therefore, to express an earnest hope that members of the League will use every effort to obtain from the Government, the Legislature, and the Press in their various Colonies, careful consideration, and hearty co-operation, for the proposals which are to be made by the Imperial Government in accordance with the announcement in the Queen's Speech.

We would moreover point out how completely the action taken by the Imperial Government is in accordance with the principles of the League, which has refused to commit itself to any particular scheme of Federation, and has preferred to rely upon the initiative and good-will of the Colonies themselves, as expressed through their responsible Representatives.

No definite scheme has ever been advocated by the League, and none is adopted in the Queen's Speech. But the preliminary step which must necessarily precede all action is now to be taken, and the various parts of the Empire are invited to discuss freely and fully matters of common interest with the Imperial Government.

What these matters are it will be for the Representatives of the various Governments to decide.

But with a view to guiding your own judgment in the matter I venture to commend to your attention the list of suggestions appearing in No. 9 of our Journal, a reprint of which accompanies this letter. You will find in it a reference to many points of common interest in which unity of administration and practical organisation could not fail to be of great service to the Empire.

It is not for us to lay down the particular methods in which Branches or individual members of the League can best forward the cause of Federation at the present juncture. We ask you, however, to further in every way the carrying out of the promise of the Queen's Speech, and shall be glad if you will forward to the Secretary of the League all information as to the progress you may make, so that workers throughout the Empire may be kept informed of the progress of the other Branches.

ROSEBERY,

CHAIRMAN OF THE "IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE,"
On behalf of the Executive Committee.

THE SELFISH ASPECT OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE cause of Imperial Federation must stand or fall by its success in appealing to the selfish interests of England and her Colonies. Friends and foes unite in proclaiming this in stentorian chorus, and the truth is so universally admitted, as to assume the dignity of an axiom.

We have no wish to dispute an obvious proposition, and are fully convinced that unless we can prove Federation to be materially profitable to every portion of the Empire as well as to the whole, we had better disband the League, suppress this journal, and calmly await the day of disruption, confessing all our labour to have been in vain.

But there is one assumption frequently to be detected lurking behind this incontestable shibboleth, which we do most emphatically desire to combat and contradict; there are persons who believe that the interests of different parts of the Empire are so entirely divergent, that they cannot possibly be harmonised, and if Federation can only be achieved on the lines of self-interest, then, says this croaking brigade, the idea is visionary, impracticable, and best left alone.

It is this assertion of incompatibility of interests that demands the strongest disproof and condemnation; we maintain that the careers of England, Canada, Australia, and the Cape, are not antagonistic or mutually destructive, that all can progress upon the same plane, though possibly in different directions, and that the highest phase of prosperity, the most complete development of resources, is attainable in that union of hearts and hands which we mean by Imperial Federation.

We propose first, to consider the English position, reserving for a future article the application of the same principle to the Colonies; we shall endeavour to make it clear that selfish reasons point to Federation no less steadily than what are termed "sentimental motives," and that these selfish proclivities can be fully gratified without producing any conflict of material interests. We do not mean to say that Federation can be accomplished without treading upon anybody's corns, for it is impossible to arrange a scheme of government for the smallest village that does not offend someone; but if the great majority in each country are satisfied that their interests are guarded and privileges maintained, we shall be well content.

Let us begin by laying down another axiom. Federation or Disruption has become inevitable; disintegrating forces are already at work, individual action on the part of the Colonies has begun, and the breach will gradually widen, even without the aid of any sudden convulsion, unless prompt measures are taken to concentrate the streams of perverted energy into one broad expanse of Federation.

With the choice still open, how does self-interest bid us decide?

It is not always easy to distinguish at a glance what a nation's vital interests are. There is a danger of being deceived and misled by the demands of some temporary crisis as if it were a signpost on the high road to prosperity. "All that glitters is not gold;" often enough in this country, when men have set their hearts upon some reform, when they have worked, aye, and fought for it, as they will only work and fight when they verily believe their dearest interests at stake, the result has been barren and fruitless, the achievement utterly disproportioned to the struggle, and they have found themselves too late on a false scent after a baneful phantom beckoning them ever further from the desired goal.

Thus, in arguing the case for Federation, from an English standpoint, the whole question is frequently held to turn upon the possibility of persuading the Colonies to establish Free Trade within the Empire, as if the removal of duties upon our manufactures would be the chief, and indeed the only, advantage that could accrue to this country. That this is an important subject we do not deny; but there are far greater, far more selfish English interests to be served than are concerned with the incidence of tariffs, which may affect the volume of trade but have nothing prohibitory in their nature; indeed, English working-men would be contented enough if our trade with the rest of the world stood upon a footing as satisfactory as, despite the duties, it does with our Colonies to-day. If the League could not offer some more cogent reason than the demand for an Imperial Zollverein, we should feel that in advocating Federation we were strangely perverting the balance of means and end.

Yet there are plenty of matters which do vitally affect the future of England, if we have eyes to see them, wrapped up in this idea of Federation. At the present time it is possible that the enormous practical benefits of a United Empire to England may be only half visible. But fortunately for our statesmen, it is easier for them to forecast the future of this Empire for half a century, and to forecast it with certainty, than to predict the course of European politics for a month. No prophetic eye, but a simple knowledge of the rules of arithmetical progression is required to form a sufficient estimate of the growth of population during the next half century, and from population all the necessary statistics of wealth, trade, and fighting strength can be deduced. This country is full already: if the population increases largely, it can only be to its own detriment; over seas, for every million now in our Colonies there will then be nearly five millions. Equal to ourselves in all the attributes of greatness, shall they be with us or against us? Shall their resources be ours at need, their corn raised to supply us with bread, their youth ready to man Imperial ships and carry the Imperial arms, their wealth proffered in aid of an Imperial revenue? Or must all this be barred by stern laws of neutrality, barred by the transformation of the British Empire into a dozen plenipotentiary States, wherein the degradation of one is unheeded by the rest?

If there be any light-hearted folk who think war will then have vanished from the earth, in the general spread of civilisation, their idea is one which we cannot contradict but are at all events free to disbelieve. Certainly no more potent instrument making for peace could be devised than a strong Federation of our peoples; and why? Because, to faith in the untold blessings of peace, would be added a boundless power of enforcing it. Any war in which the Empire might be involved would be purely defensive; victory would mean holding our own. But the selfish inducements to federate for defensive purposes, strong as they are, cannot compare with the pacific advantages we should experience. It may safely be assumed that the whole character of England's commercial dealings with the Colonies would be destroyed if isolated independence were to replace union or Federation. Even now we find in them our best, our only expanding markets, because we know their wants, we know their methods of business, we follow one system of credit and remittance, call things by the same names, use the same weights and measures, the same banking arrangements; and, except in Canada, the same coinage. All these bonds will be drawn tighter by Federation, until there is no more difficulty, no more expense in transacting business between Manchester and Melbourne than there is between Leeds and London; and while the process of trade is being simplified the volume will be increasing with leaps

and bounds; our exports are enormous now, but as yet they are many times exceeded by home trade; let the manufacturing classes grasp the fact that not many years need elapse before the Colonial markets are as extensive as the one at their doors, and they will not be long in declaring for the only certain plan of retaining them, a wise scheme of Federation.

Isolate the Colonies and the whole future grows dark; every year the gulf will yawn wider between us; no reason will then exist for their trade coming here rather than to Germany or the United States. Instead of leaning towards assimilation, each Colony will be spurred to the adoption of individuality; national and natural tendencies will combine to alter gradually the system of laws, language, and finance, to create organic changes which must surely promote friction and diminish the facilities of intercourse with England.

There is nothing in the geographical position of this country to foster commerce with any of the great Colonies, and if we wantonly destroy everything that causes trade to follow the flag, our merchants and manufacturers may rest assured that it will follow its natural outlet. Such will be the consequence of disruption. Place the issue fairly and squarely before any body of working-men in the land, ask them to think it over, to decide—without any political bias—which they believe will do most for themselves and their interests. The answer will be a solid vote for Imperial Federation.

No blow need be struck at vested interests; we proceed upon old lines, and advance upon acknowledged principles; the Colonies cannot be fettered with chains, but they may be united to us with threads and veins of sympathy; every measure of general convenience, however trifling; every duty, however simple, in which all share; every action performed in common, however small, will help to envelope us in that network of voluntary ties and associations, which alone can form a secure basis for the final achievement, for the august decree that shall consolidate an Empire

“Broad-based upon the people’s will,
And compassed by the inviolate sea.”

A STATISTICIAN’S OBJECTIONS.

WE publish on another page a letter addressed to us by Professor Leone Levi, the well-known statistician. We are glad occasionally to admit in our columns the views of those who are opposed to us. In the first place, because fairness to our opponents demands it; and, in the second place, because we wish to put our readers in full possession of the case which they have to meet. It is fortunate for friends of Federation that the case is not a stronger one.

There is nothing very novel in the reasoning adopted by Professor Leone Levi; similar arguments have often been used before to enforce the same conclusions. They will, probably, often be so used again.

The League has not come into existence, grown, and prospered, without its members having had frequent opportunities of appreciating the force of the attack which is once more renewed in the letter which we publish. Most of Professor Leone Levi’s letter might have been written with equal force two hundred years ago with reference to Scotland and Ireland, instead of at the present day with regard to Canada and Australia. The Professor fears that the Colonies are not in a position to demand a voice in the politics of the Empire by reason of their distance from England. A century ago Perth was further from London than Quebec now is. To say that the Colonies are not likely to demand a voice in the politics of the Empire because of “the smallness of their interest in European matters,” is to beg the question. If England be really concerned exclusively in European quarrels, then, indeed, the Colonies have no interest in her foreign policy. If, however, the foreign policy of England consists in keeping open the water-ways of the world, with the express object of communicating with the Colonies, then obviously the latter have a very great and direct interest in such a policy. Of course, to say that the Colonies—Queensland and Victoria, for instance—have no interest in Asiatic affairs is an absurdity.

The Professor, as becomes an eminent statistician, naturally attaches great weight to the question of a

uniform tariff. “If the Colonies,” he writes, “aim at a united and uniform commercial policy, they must *first* make up their mind to adopt each and all a free trade policy, not only with the Mother Country, but with the whole world; for there is no chance whatever of England adopting a ‘Zollverein’ between herself and her Colonies as against all the world.”

This passage certainly begs several questions, but it does not touch upon the two most important points connected with the question of tariffs, namely—(1) Is a commercial union a *sine qua non* of political and administrative union? and (2) Is there any certainty that the Colonies would not be willing to raise a common contribution for common Imperial purposes?

But, without commenting upon the rest of the letter, which is scarcely controversial, we feel bound to repeat what we have so often endeavoured to impress upon our readers, namely, that arguments such as that of Professor Leone Levi’s fail altogether to touch the true basis upon which we hope to build up the structure of a United Empire. We Englishmen are now at this moment one people throughout the world. That our interests, if we understand them properly, are identical and not conflicting, is one of the commonplaces of the school to which Professor Leone Levi belongs, and is, moreover, true.

That there are, and must be, many matters of common interest to all parts of the Empire is indisputable, and that these matters can be best dealt with by reasoned methods and mutual agreement is equally obvious. We intend to introduce these methods, and to further this agreement. By so doing we shall help to avoid misunderstanding and shall promote peace. It is only by following Professor Leone Levi’s alternative course that we shall sacrifice the advantages we possess; shall promote, first, confusion, then estrangement and separation; and, lastly, it may be, bring about that final catastrophe, which so often involves alien nations but rarely afflicts a united people—war.

HELP FROM THE POWERS THAT BE!

WE, who set ourselves above the fear or favour of Party, are not insensible of the enormous assistance that our cause must derive from the support of Her Majesty’s Government, be it Liberal or Tory.

At the present moment it is perhaps not easy to distinguish which of our two great parties has the chief influence in the conduct of affairs, for we are ruled practically by a Coalition Government, where no move can be taken without the assent of all its adherents.

The right wing of this Government, the Conservative forces, which, though preponderating in numbers, are not independent of a Liberal alliance, met on Tuesday last in conference at Bradford. The attendance of delegates was the largest ever known in the history of the National Union of Conservatives, and the meeting was animated with a spirit of broad and enthusiastic patriotism.

We say patriotism in all sincerity, not because we have the smallest partiality for Toryism or any other political “ism” whatever; but because we identify patriotism and Federation, because the country we strive for is not England or Scotland, or Ireland, but the mighty British Empire. Whoso honours the Federal idea, him we hail as a patriot, and rightly can that great meeting be dubbed patriotic, that placed our cause first and foremost on their programme in terms of uncompromising loyalty.

“That this conference, recognising the supreme importance of the question of Imperial Federation, impresses upon Conservatives the desirability of its universal adoption as an article of Conservative policy.”

So runs the resolution; such were the words that unanimously commended themselves to the assembly. “Recognising the supreme importance of Imperial Federation;” the gist of the matter lies in that. Surely we who know what the League means, who are no respecters of persons, and have never regarded any man’s Party as a bar or a claim to membership, can unfeignedly rejoice over this open victory, won by the irresistible strength of a just cause. We can ungrudgingly applaud this frank and unqualified

recognition of our principles, and, without swerving a hair's-breadth from our own course, we can congratulate ourselves upon having gained the undeniable advantage of help from the powers that be!

WHAT MONEY MAY DO FOR FEDERATION.

THE latest Colonial loan was not rushed after with the usual avidity. The applications amounted to about 25 per cent. more than the sum to be allotted, showing far less eagerness than we are accustomed to see displayed in subscribing for this class of securities. Moreover, the minimum rate of issue was only exceeded by 5s. per cent. in the average price obtained, and it is reported that the Bank of England's assistance was utilised to secure this small margin.

Turning in another direction, we read that owing to the non-receipt of revenue from sales of Crown lands—owing, that is to say, to not treating capital as income—the revenue of New South Wales has fallen short of the expenditure by £750,000 this year, with an additional deficit of £1,250,000 unprovided for, accruing from previous years.

A few more unpleasant occurrences like these would bring the whole question of Colonial finance into undesirable prominence. Possibly the next loan would have to be allotted at the exact price of issue, and that too at a lower level.

The lesson we should like to inculcate is that Colonial credit may, from various causes, be subject to fluctuations which would prove exceedingly inconvenient to Governments as well as to bondholders; whereas we in England have it in our power to afford them the very quintessence of steady security, by holding out the right hand of our Imperial guarantee, with the wealth that keeps Consols at par. And when, in discussing the possibilities of Federation, we are told that we have no *quid pro quo* to offer the Colonies, this powerful lever of credit ought not to be forgotten.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE AND THE LEAGUE: A RETROSPECT.

THE proposal to establish an Imperial Penny Postage has been so constantly advocated by the League, that we most heartily congratulate our members at having at last brought the question within the range of practical politics. It is an open secret that the Government are seriously considering the feasibility of granting the boon which was so fully discussed in the supplement to our last issue by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P.

On the eve, as we believe, of a triumph, it is permissible to glance at some of the steps by which it has been won. In the *Nineteenth Century Review* for September, 1883, Mr. Arnold Forster, a member of our Executive Committee, wrote that "the extension of the penny postage to the Colonies, on the ground of their being the Colonies, would doubtless involve an initial loss of revenue; in the end it would probably be remunerative; in any case the gain must far outweigh the loss, if it brought home to the Englishman abroad that he had not ceased to be an Englishman when he crossed the seas."

On the 16thth March, 1886, the question was brought before the Executive Committee by Captain Colomb, M.P., for inclusion in the "practical programme of definite action," to be adopted by the League. In support of the resolution he afterwards proposed, Captain Colomb issued a memorandum to the committee, which, after referring to the suggestion as having emanated from Mr. Arnold Forster, proceeded as follows:—

"The League, by adopting this suggestion as one of the objects it seeks to attain in order to draw closer the Queen's subjects and to facilitate their business transactions, would attract the sympathy of millions, and possibly the active co-operation and material help of some thousands throughout the Empire. Great financial difficulties no doubt may stand in the way of realising Mr. Arnold Forster's suggestion, but these cannot be measured without full information, now not available because PUBLIC ATTENTION HAS NOT BEEN

AWAKENED SUFFICIENTLY TO PRODUCE INQUIRY. It is conceivable that when the matter is fully investigated the difficulties of establishing an Imperial Penny Post now may not be really greater than those overcome when the Penny Post was introduced in England, while an Imperial Penny Post would be one great step towards Federation, by reason of freer and more constant interchange of thought, and facilitating the transaction of British commerce and trade."

Since then, as our readers know, the League has lost no opportunity of promulgating as part of its programme the desirability of establishing a uniform penny postage for the Empire; it *has* aroused public attention; it *has* produced inquiry; it *has* proved the difficulties to be not insurmountable; and when a great practical reform of this kind is approaching consummation, we may be excused a little natural pride at the part we have taken in advocating it from the very first.

THE NEW HEBRIDES AND IMPERIAL UNITY.

We quote from the *Ballarat Star*, the following outspoken words on the New Hebrides question:—

"When Sir Graham Berry was pressing the gravity of the situation on the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, that gentleman asked indignantly if the Colonists wanted England to go to war on account of the New Hebrides? It might have been replied that Lord Palmerston would not have hesitated for a moment in making such a glaring violation of treaties a *casus belli*, and that statesman maintained the honour of his country and peace as well. It is ridiculous to suppose that France desires war with England on account of the New Hebrides. If they can be wrested from a pusillanimous foreign Government by a little bounce, well and good; but, however important they may be to Australia, the New Hebrides are scarcely so valuable to France as to be worth fighting about. The Imperial Government had, therefore, only to make it distinctly understood that an attack upon the islands would provoke a rupture between the two countries to have prevented any French aggression.

"It remains to be seen what course the Government of Lord Salisbury will adopt in view of the deliberate breach of faith by the French. The question is a larger one than the mere disposal of certain islands in the Pacific. It is whether the Imperial Government will defend Colonial interests as if they were those of the United Kingdom, or whether those interests are to be subordinated to diplomatic conveniences in Europe. If the latter, it is useless to talk about a Federation of the Empire. If there is no reciprocity of feeling in England the sentiment of the Colonies would be thrown away under any form of union which may be devised. The Colonists would be prepared to make common cause with England in a quarrel arising out of foreign aggression in Europe or Asia, but that patriotic sentiment will quickly cool if foreign aggression upon Colonial interests in Australasia is to be regarded as a matter with which the English people are not seriously concerned. The adoption of any scheme of Imperial Federation is not a proximate event, but even that practical approach to common action in defence, represented by a Colonial subsidy to the Imperial navy, will depend very greatly upon the course taken by the Imperial Government in the New Hebrides affair. If the only action of the Imperial authorities in these waters be to hold the Colonists in restraint while they are plundered by foreign Powers, it would be rather much to expect the Colonies to subsidise the restraining authority."

These sentiments do not stand alone; they are samples of what may be read in every Australian journal, whenever a mail comes in. It is a dangerous thing to let this open sore fester unheeded; if the Government have definite information opposed to the alarmist rumours that are still uncontradicted, why do they not communicate it, and soothe the universal anxiety? If, on the other hand, they have no information, why is it? Such a confession of ignorance is not likely to inspire Australia with confidence in the capacity of our statesmen for dealing with Imperial interests. But for certain precedents, we should be almost ashamed to suggest the alternative that the rumours are correct, and the Government following the old suicidal plan of letting things drift.

We do not, indeed, believe things are so bad as that. The Government has had several lessons lately as to the spirit now animating the country upon Colonial questions. They may safely rely upon popular sympathy in taking a bold line if it becomes necessary. France must be told plainly that we are not going to repeat our New Guinea or Cameroons blunder, that the Australians are determined not to permit foreign interference in the New Hebrides, and that the whole force of the British Empire will be used in their support. The game is well worth the candle, for our conduct is being watched wherever the English language is spoken, as testing the sincerity of our professed devotion to the Colonies in the most crucial instance on record.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

THE character of our public men, so long at all events as birth and education hold their present place in politics, must obviously be largely affected by the condition of the schoolboys of to-day. It was these considerations which led the present writer at the late Conference on Imperial Federation to advocate what may be termed

A CRUSADE AMONG THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

as a useful means of furthering the object which we all have at heart.

It was stated at the Conference by one of the prominent speakers, himself a member of the London School Board, that a good deal had been done in the primary schools of the kingdom, by the systematic study of geography and the use of political reading-books, to enlighten the children of the working-classes on the subject of our Empire and its responsibilities. At the Universities, too, there are now flourishing branches of the League, which are doing excellent work. But at the public schools (with but one or two exceptions to be mentioned later) the subject remains to the present day totally unventilated.

THE NEW GOSPEL HAS NEVER BEEN PREACHED

at these important centres of our population, and the boys are still sitting in darkness, awaiting the arrival of an evangelist.

At Harrow, indeed, under the auspices of both the late and the present headmaster, some steps have been taken to bring the matter before the notice of the school, and further progress in the right direction is, we believe, contemplated by the authorities. In the case of Eton, too, the powers that be are understood to be favourably inclined towards the League and its principles. But what of Winchester, Rugby, Shrewsbury, and Charterhouse? What of Clifton, Cheltenham, Haileybury, Uppingham, Wellington, and Fettes? What of the great metropolitan establishments, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Christ's Hospital, Dulwich, St. Paul's, and the City of London? What of Bedford, Sherborne, Repton, Rossall, and Sedburgh? So far as can be learnt, beyond a vague sympathy in certain quarters, there has been no manifestation of feeling one way or another at any of the schools enumerated even in the above imperfect catalogue, and their attitude to what is

THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION OF THE DAY

is at present purely negative. Surely it is high time that some definite action should be taken to remove the stigma, for it is nothing less, from our national places of education. Surely we ought to bestir ourselves, and teach our budding legislators something about the Empire whose destinies it will some day be their business to control.

As to the details of any scheme for popularising the subject of Imperial Federation among British schoolboys, authorities will doubtless differ. But of the general advisability of doing so there can hardly be more than one opinion. It is pre-eminently the coming task of politicians to devise some means whereby the diversity of local interests may be reconciled with, and organised into, an Imperial unity, and all the signs of the times in which we live point to the certainty that some comprehensive measure of the kind will demand and receive the attention of the next, if not of the present, generation of statesmen. That all who will have to bear a part, whether directly or indirectly, in the work should have a firm grasp of the facts and principles upon which it is based requires no lengthy demonstration.

Our Cabinet, as Lord Rosebery wisely said the other day, must be composed of men who have visited the great dependencies of the Crown in both hemispheres, and have thus prepared themselves to join in its deliberations with an adequate knowledge of the topics they will meet to discuss. The rank and file of our politicians must realise more distinctly the duties and the privileges of their citizenship, must take a less parochial view of the questions affecting the welfare of the country, and must cease to regard it as contained within the limits of these islands. We must all, in short, rise to a higher conception of our national existence in thought, word, and deed. We are, not for the first time, upon our trial, and it rests with

ourselves whether we shall emerge as heretofore triumphant from the test, or tamely sink into the subordinate position of a second-rate European power.

Assuming that the need for the new crusade is a crying one, how are we to set about it? The object in view being to teach British schoolboys that they are citizens of no mean city, and to interest them in the growth and development of the Empire, some organisation should be set on foot to supply lecturers, and to provide them with the necessary appliances for illustrating the subject of Imperial Federation in its various aspects. There should be no difficulty in finding the right sort of men to undertake the work, whether at the headquarters of the League in London, or among the members of the Oxford and Cambridge branches, which are both in touch with the public schools, and might thus turn their energies to profitable account. To each school should be sent, if possible, as lecturer some one connected with it by personal ties, and the nearer he is in age and sympathies to his audience, the more likely is his mission to be successful. The balanced periods of an elderly celebrity, able and instructive as they might be, would not find their way so surely to the hearts of school-boy listeners as the less studied utterances of a lecturer who, not so very long before, had been joining in their work and play as one of themselves. An address dealing with

IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN ITS LEADING FEATURES

should be delivered, either to the whole school, or to as many of the older boys as might be deemed advisable. It should be accompanied by diagrams, such as those published in "Fifty Years' Progress," and might be further illustrated, if circumstances permitted, by the help of a good magic-lantern with pictures representing the scenery and products of India and the Colonies. Upon all these points it may be predicted that the minds of the audience will be found remarkably unprejudiced.

The ice being broken after the foregoing fashion, the question might be allowed to rest for a few weeks. It would, not improbably, form the theme for impassioned advocacy and indignant denunciation at a meeting of the school debating-society; and would be perhaps admitted to a place in general conversation along with such important topics as cricket and football. Before the interest in it had wholly subsided, another lecture by another lecturer should be given, this time on one of the

SPECIAL ASPECTS OF THE MAIN PROBLEM,

dealing with the subject, for example, on its military or economic side. The lectures delivered by Mr. E. T. Marshall, in the first instance at the Brighton Grammar School, and latterly, with great and growing success, in the Conference Hall at the Exhibition, or those produced by Mr. C. Ransome, at Leeds, for a working-class audience, would be found excellent models both in style and arrangement. At the close of these more specialised addresses discussion might be invited, and it would probably be well to confine admission to those who had manifested a desire on the previous occasion for further enlightenment.

Whether these preliminary operations should be followed up by the establishment at each school of a permanent

BRANCH OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION LEAGUE

would depend upon the feeling of the authorities as to the desirability of such a step. Under the management of one of the younger masters it might be productive of great good, and would render a repetition of the crusade unnecessary, by keeping alive an interest in the question among the successive generations. But in any case there can be no doubt that the leaven would penetrate into many British households where as yet Federation is, to use Mr. Gladstone's expression, "as unfamiliar as the differential calculus," and would gradually remove the prejudices which at present beset our progress in certain quarters.

It is to a combination of knowledge and enthusiasm that we must look to bring about the consummation of our wishes. The latter is present wherever a number of high-spirited English boys are assembled together:—

"Theirs buxom health, of rosy hue,
Wild wit, invention ever new,
And lively cheer, of vigour born:—"

as Gray sang of the Etonians of his day. It is with the

hope that some means may be devised for informing and regulating that enthusiasm that the writer has put in the present plea for extending the operations of the Imperial Federation League to the Public Schools.

H. F. WILSON.

HERE AND THERE.

THE nineteenth session of the Royal Colonial Institute opens on the 9th inst., when Sir Graham Berry will read a paper on "The Colonies in relation to the Empire."

THE Bishop of Newcastle, New South Wales (Dr. Pearson) has accepted the living of Blackburn, offered to him by the Bishop of Manchester.

THE Rev. Field Flowers Goe, Rector of Bloomsbury, has been designated for the Bishopric of Melbourne.

A COLONIAL section is to be established in connection with the École des Sciences in Paris, to provide a more adequate staff of civil servants in view of the rapid progress (!) of the French Colonial Empire.

A PROPOSAL will be made at the next session of the Australian Federal Council, for the formation of a Federal Artillery Brigade.

THE Peninsular and Oriental Company is reported to contemplate building seven new steamers, of 7,000 tons each, capable of making the passage to Australia in thirty-five days.

THE population of New South Wales now exceeds a million; it has just doubled itself in the last fifteen years.

WE understand that nearly 100,000 copies of Mr. Froude's "Oceana" have been sold in the half-crown edition.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON'S article in the last issue of this journal upon the history of the Imperial Penny Postage Movement has been reprinted separately by Messrs. Cassell & Co.

IT is reported that a public thanksgiving will be held in Westminster Abbey on June 20th next, to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee.

THE officers who have been visiting Canada with the object of procuring a supply of horses for the army are well satisfied with the result of their tour. A few horses are to be brought home as a sample.

MESSRS. W. and A. K. JOHNSTON have received permission to dedicate to the Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the Imperial Federation League, their forthcoming work, "The Colonial and Indian Atlas of the British Empire."

THE REV. F. W. GOODWYN, Vicar of Sharrow, Sheffield, has been nominated to the Bishopric of Bathurst, New South Wales, in succession to Bishop Marsden, who held the see for seventeen years.

A ROYAL Warrant was recently received in Cape Town making officers of the Local Military Forces of the Colony eligible for Lieutenants' Commissions in the Cavalry and Infantry of the Imperial Army.

A PROPOSAL has been made for the Federation of all the Grand Bodies of Freemasons in the United Kingdom, Colonies, and Dependencies under the style and title of "The British Empire Grand Lodge."

MR. J. W. PALMER, the well-known Philatelist and Editor of *Bric-a-Brac*, is doing good service to the League in advocating the Imperial Penny Postage, which we hope soon to see established. When the design for our Imperial stamp is considered, Mr. Palmer's experience will no doubt be of valuable assistance.

WE are informed that the Government has decided to grant a subsidy for the new line of steamers from Vancouver to our Eastern possessions, and that the event will be publicly made known shortly.

A MOVEMENT is on foot in the Windward and Leeward Islands for establishing a West Indian League, to bring about a confederation of all the islands on a basis of popular representation for the United Legislature, and parochial autonomy for the separate island communities.

FROM Natal we learn that foundries in Durban are receiving heavy orders for machinery. "Want of work in this line," says the *Natal Mercury*, "is now quite out of the question, but, if anything, the other way."

FROM the De Kaap gold-fields the report is as follows:—"Miners are in great demand; those who can use the pick and shovel and are not afraid of hard work can easily get £20 per month."

A PRISONER who was recently convicted of burglary in a jeweller's shop at Albany, Western Australia, turned out to have recently escaped or been discharged from New Caledonia.

IT is stated by a correspondent of the *South Australian Register*, that the Colony has lost 15,000 able-bodied men within the last year. Where have they gone?

THE Phoenix Foundry Company, of Ballarat, Victoria, has secured an order for fifteen locomotives for the Railway Department.

FOOTBALL has replaced cricket as the great popular game of Melbourne. It is impossible now to get a good attendance for cricket matches, which once drew thousands of spectators, but the football contests are the great Saturday afternoon holiday resort. We shall expect to see an Australian football team in England soon. Rugby Union rules are, we believe, generally adopted.

DURING a football match, when one side has obtained the lead, the other is said in Melbourne to have a mortgage on its boots.

IN the Cape Colony, the Queen's Jubilee is being celebrated by tree planting on a very extensive scale. Fifty thousand were planted on the first "Arbor Day," at the beginning of the Jubilee year, and arrangements are being made on a still more extensive scale for the celebration in June, 1887.

IN connection with the University Extension Scheme, the Rev. A. Caldecott has been giving a series of lectures upon the British Empire, at Bury St. Edmunds.

THE Legislative Council of South Australia have almost unanimously declared in favour of continuing the Trans-Continental Railway into the northern territory; it will be constructed upon the land-grant system.

IT is said that the Russian wheat harvest is a failure this year; this should benefit the trade in Canada to a considerable extent.

A SERIES of Colonial Exhibitions in various parts of the Empire is in contemplation. It is proposed that the first shall be held at St. John's, New Brunswick, in 1888; this will avoid clashing with the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition next year.

THE Earl of Rosebery left England on the 28th October, for a tour in India, from which he will probably return in February. One of his last acts before sailing was to forward to Her Majesty the Queen and to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales presentation copies of "FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS," printed upon special paper, and handsomely bound in royal red.

WE understand that a fund will shortly be opened, for the purpose of raising by public subscription a statue in memory of the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, late Chairman of the League. It is intended to apply for a site in the Imperial Institute projected by the Prince of Wales. In our next issue we hope to be able to supply fuller information on the subject.

THE PROPOSED IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

IT may be convenient that we should place on record, for the sake of future reference, the various steps that have been taken at present with regard to the proposed Imperial Institute.

The original suggestion emanated from the Prince of Wales, who embodied it in the following letter to the Lord Mayor of London:—

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PAUL MALL, S.W.
Sept. 13, 1886.

DEAR LORD MAYOR,—My attention has been frequently called to the general anxiety that is felt to commemorate in some special manner the approaching jubilee of Her Majesty's reign.

It appears to me that no more suitable memorial could be suggested than an Institute which should represent the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the Queen's Colonial and Indian Empire.

Such an Institution would, it seems to me, be singularly appropriate to the occasion, for it would illustrate the progress already made during Her Majesty's reign in the Colonial and Indian Dominions, while it would record year by year the development of the Empire in the arts of civilisation.

It would thus be deeply interesting to Her Majesty's subjects both within and beyond these islands, and would tend to stimulate emigration to those British territories where it is required, to expand the trade between the different British communities, and to draw closer the bonds which unite the Empire.

It would be at once a Museum, an Exhibition, and the proper locality for the discussion of Colonial and Indian subjects.

That public attention has already been forcibly directed to these questions is sufficiently proved by the remarkable success which is attending the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington, and I confidently anticipate that arrangements may be made whereby the more important collections which have so largely contributed to this success will be placed at the disposal of the Institution.

I have much satisfaction in addressing this letter to your Lordship as Chief Magistrate of the capital of the Empire, and to invite your co-operation in the formation of this Imperial Institute of the Colonies and India, as the memorial of Her Majesty's Jubilee by her subjects. Should your lordship concur in this proposal, and be willing to open a fund at the Mansion House, I would suggest that the contributions received be vested in a body of trustees, whom the Sovereign would be asked to nominate, and I would further suggest that the Institution

should be under the permanent presidency of the Heir Apparent to the Throne.—I remain, dear Lord Mayor, yours truly,
The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. ALBERT EDWARD P.

To this the Lord Mayor replied, expressing his readiness to do whatever lay in his power to promote the success of the scheme.

A few days afterwards, the Committee who had undertaken to collect funds for a personal testimonial to the Prince of Wales, in connection with the Colonial Exhibition, received a letter from His Royal Highness declining the testimonial to himself, and suggesting that any funds raised might be given to the Imperial Institute. The Committee, consisting of Earl Cadogan, Earl of Rosebery, Lord Napier of Magdala, the Lord Mayor, Sir John Rose, Sir Robert Herbert, Colonel Sir Owen Burne, and Sir Arthur Birch, thereupon met, and passed the following resolution:—

That the Committee, believing it to be the wish of the subscribers to evince their high sense of His Royal Highness's great services in the manner most acceptable to himself, acquiesce in the suggestion contained in his letter.

They desire, at the same time, to record, what they are assured will be the unanimous feeling of all the donors, that the step thus taken by His Royal Highness will, if possible, add to the appreciation entertained of his disinterested and public-spirited efforts, not only on behalf of an Exhibition from which many millions of Her Majesty's subjects have already derived so much advantage, but to further a project which will at once be a graceful memorial of Her Majesty's long and happy reign and conduce to the permanent consolidation of the Empire.

On Sept. 27th a meeting at the Mansion House was convened by the Lord Mayor to consider the letter from the Prince of Wales inviting co-operation in the formation of an Imperial Institute. The meeting was attended by a large and influential body of bankers, merchants, &c., and the Lord Mayor explained that this was a preliminary step before launching the Mansion House Fund. In order to give practical effect to the meeting, the Governor of the Bank of England (Mr. J. P. Currie) then moved that a small consultative committee be selected by the Lord Mayor to consider the best steps to be taken for raising funds. This resolution was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings, which were of an enthusiastic and unanimous character throughout, closed with a cordial vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor.

After this meeting, it was announced that the office for the receipt of donations was at the Mansion House, and the account of the fund at the Bank of England. No fewer than thirty-six of the principal London Banks were mentioned as ready to receive donations. The reception of the proposal in the Colonies was marked at the outset by a desire for more definite information as to the lines upon which the Imperial Institute would be founded. On September 29th, however, the Canadian Government announced its intention upon the reassembling of the Dominion Parliament, to propose a vote of £20,000 as a contribution to the funds; and on October 6th the news was telegraphed from Melbourne that the Premier of Victoria had suggested a joint donation of £20,000 from the six self-governing Australian Colonies.

The suggestion has been favourably received by all the Governments concerned, and larger sums than that originally proposed have been mentioned. The projected joint-contribution is, perhaps, least welcome in South Australia, owing to the demands upon the public purse in connection with the Jubilee Exhibition at Adelaide. The Government of Western Australia has announced its intention of supporting the Imperial Institute; and from Cape Town intelligence was received on October 14th stating that the Parliament of the Colony would be asked for a vote in aid.

Public opinion throughout the Empire is at present in suspense, awaiting the further development of the plan before definitely committing itself. Up to the time of going to press nothing has transpired officially; but we believe it will ultimately be found that the South Kensington site is to be utilised, and we understand that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales has personally appointed a small select committee to draw up the details of a scheme which will eventually be laid before the public. The names, however, of the gentlemen who form this committee have not been divulged.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., has accepted the office of Honorary Treasurer of the League, in conjunction with the Honourable Harold Finch-Hatton.

The post of Honorary Auditor has been accepted by Walter V. Morgan, Esq.

The Earl of Rosebery, Chairman of the League, has issued, in the form of a circular letter to all members, the manifesto which we print in another column.

A PAMPHLET, entitled "The Record of the Past and the Promise of the Future," is now ready, containing a summary of the League's history and objects, together with the "Programme for the Royal Commission," which appeared in the September number of the journal.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

ASTON.—At a banquet given in his honour on October 18th, Mr. George Kynoch, M.P., responding to the toast of the Houses of Parliament, referred to the question of Imperial Federation, and said that in his opinion a settlement of the commercial question on a uniform basis was essential to the creation of a great Empire entirely consistent with itself.

BIRMINGHAM.—During the recent visit of the BRITISH ASSOCIATION, a paper was read by Mr. R. G. Webster, M.P., on "Imperial Federation." He strongly advocated a free trade union of the whole Empire which he believed would ensure our commercial supremacy to the mutual advantage of the Colonies and the Mother Country. The question of Imperial defence and better communications with the Colonies were then deferred to, and Mr. Staveley Hill's scheme for reconstructing the constitution to meet the requirements of Federation was discussed but without winning much approval from the speaker. He preferred to work upon old constitutional lines, and gradually to improve the system of government by alterations which do not destroy the old before the new was ripe. He advocated the appointment of a Royal Commission, sitting continuously in London, and composed of men from all parts of the British Empire, to discuss the matter in all its bearings. In his opinion the commission should consist of the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for India, of twenty-five members of the House of Lords and Commons, and of twenty representatives nominated by the principal Colonies concerned, to be nominated by the respective Colonial Legislatures. The Secretary of State for India should have the appointment of five members on the Commission to represent that important dependency of the Crown, whilst the Secretary of State for the Colonies should appoint five to represent the Crown Colonies. By the Commission thus composed all the questions regarding the Federation of the Empire should be carefully considered and reported upon, and their report should afterwards be brought before the Imperial Parliament and the various Legislative bodies interested for their approval.

BIRMINGHAM.—In the Town Hall, on October 5th, the Marquis of Lorne addressed the members of the Suburban Institute. Referring to the connection between England and her Colonies, the noble Marquis drew attention to the willingness of the Colonies to pay almost any price for an article in order that they might be able to say it was of their own make. And yet, with all this natural pride in their own powers, and this determination to take all advantage of their great opportunities, we found that those living under our flag and in close political union with us bought far more from us than the foreigner did. No wonder that under these circumstances, and with the expressed desire on their part to aid us if pressed by any foe, the old indifference to our Colonies was being buried with the statesmen guilty of such uncalculating callousness and such extraordinary want of forethought. The Colonies were no longer our poor relations, but wealthy and growing nationalities, whose alliance was most necessary and precious to us. They were spending vast sums on the development of their countries, and they would wish to judge of the necessity of war before entering on its troubles. It was likely that this influence would be great with us for peace, both because they would be inclined to beware of quarrels, and because when once engaged they would bear themselves so as to make the enemy recognise that we were one, and that in our defence many unpleasant offensive blows might be struck from different parts of our Empire. Mutual defence was the groundwork of Imperial Federation. We could not hope for fiscal unity unless we were prepared to favour the Colonies by raising a revenue tariff against the foreigner. There was no base for fiscal arrangement between us until the Colonies should have founded as many factories as they chose to deem good for home labour. Then, indeed, they too might turn to free trade. But in matters of defence we had a common ground. It was their interest, as it was our own, to guard the coal stores of the Pacific, to keep the mastery of the seas, to efficiently secure the ports and coasts liable to raids from foreign cruisers. To attain this end, to have a common understanding so as to lighten the burden of war, we ought not to proceed on any cast-iron lines requiring the identity in matters of which the local Governments must be the best judges. For fiscal union it could not be too often repeated that if we desired it at present we must be prepared to place some other articles on the revenue list. It was evident that the economic conditions of supply and demand were interfered with by domestic rings or combinations in certain trades, and the question might be asked whether an Imperial ring for the maintenance of certain common prices might not be practicable. The kindly and courteous

reception at Birmingham and in the other great cities of our Colonial visitors had shown that there was nothing so dear to the heart of Old England as the maintenance and ever-increasing union for peace and trade which a close Imperial alliance meant. We had a fifth part of the whole world under our flag, and the commercial and martial spirit which carried that ensign to so many rich and distant possessions would lead us to defend them by the warm love of brotherhood and the cold steel of united power.

A vote of thanks to the noble Marquis for his address concluded the proceedings.

CHESHUNT.—At the weekly meeting of the Parliamentary Debating Society, on October 18th, the question of Imperial Federation formed the subject of debate, and proved so interesting that an adjournment was found necessary.

CRADOCK, SOUTH AFRICA.—A meeting of the Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on September 13, in the Town Hall, when the chair was taken by the Rev. W. B. Rayner. Extracts from Captain Colomb's well-known pamphlet on Imperial Federation were read by Mr. Kidger, and it was announced that copies could be obtained from Mr. C. Baker, Secretary of the Branch.

At the conclusion of the reading, the Chairman made a short speech on the subject, pointing out the enormous loss which would be felt by this Colony alone should a war break out, and the exportation of our staples be stopped. Mr. C. Freeman spoke on the subject; and Mr. H. Hinwood, of "Northam," also made a short but stirring speech on the subject of Federation, and the necessity of adapting ourselves to changing circumstances. He likened the Empire to a ship, which should be altered in accordance with the requirements of the times.

During the evening the Secretary read a letter from Mrs. Forster, acknowledging in graceful terms the letter of condolence which had been forwarded to her by the Committee of this Branch of the League on the lamented death of her husband. Letters were read from Messrs. Wood and Douglas, of Grahamstown; and the Secretary said that at the next meeting he would furnish a statement regarding the position of this Branch, which is making good progress. A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the meeting terminated.

DUDLEY.—A meeting of the Dudley Unity Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on October 14th, Mr. W. Tivey presided, and there were also present Messrs. S. Sproston, W. H. Kinsey, W. Brook, W. H. Sproston, T. W. Good, S. Duff, T. Collins, I. Tivey, A. Brownhill, and H. V. Mayer (hon. sec.) Mr. Mayer announced a letter from Mr. A. H. Loring, secretary of the League, stating that the League Committee had agreed that the Dudley Unity Branch was now duly affiliated with the parent society (hear, hear). Mr. Mayer congratulated the branch upon its success thus far, and urged upon the members the desirability of increasing their number. Mr. T. W. Good said they had now a membership of twenty-five good men and true. This was not a one-sided political question, but appealed to every man calling himself an Englishman. He proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Mayer for the steps he had taken to get the branch affiliated. Mr. S. Sproston seconded, and the vote was carried and responded to, Mr. Mayer stating that the Federation had supplied them with an unlimited amount of Federation literature. Mr. W. Sproston was elected chairman of the branch, Mr. W. Tivey (who was accorded a vote of thanks for past services in the chair) was appointed vice-chairman. In responding Mr. Tivey said this was not a party political question, but a question affecting the commercial well-being of the English nation. Mr. W. Brook and Mr. W. Mayer were also elected vice-chairmen, and Mr. H. V. Mayer secretary.

GOSPORT.—The subject of Imperial Federation was discussed at the opening meeting for the winter session of the Conservative Club, on October 7th. The Chairman (Captain Sir Alfred Balliston, R.N.) introduced Mr. J. Wood, who, in the course of his remarks, dilated upon the growing supremacy of the English race: Englishmen did not boast of being superior to Colonists, and, indeed, all stood upon an equal footing. Federation would have the grand effect of making them feel that when one part of the Empire suffered all would have to participate. What a glorious thing it would be, should war be threatened, to be able to enforce peace in the way that would then be possible.

A vote of thanks was then proposed by the Chairman, in supporting which Mr. J. H. Spencer remarked that this was the only country that had endeavoured to give its Dependencies law and justice on an equality with its own citizens, and had introduced to them the blessings of Christianity, which had made the Mother Country free, great, and glorious, and, with all her faults, the happiest and greatest nation on earth. The vote was carried amid applause; and a complimentary resolution to the Chairman, proposed by Mr. Spencer, and seconded by Mr. Crisp, terminated the proceedings.

LONDON.—At the Conference Room of the Colonial and

Indian Exhibition, an address was given on October 2nd by Mr. R. Wilson, the subject chosen being "Imperial Emigration." Sir Graham Berry took the chair, and there was a good attendance of working-men.

The lecturer considered that unassisted emigration would never solve the problem of over-population, because in that case no one could emigrate until he had established a claim to remain at home by saving the amount of passage-money and outfit. State-aided emigration was, in his view, necessary to enable men to start fair in a new land. He thought emigrants should be induced to go to the Colonies rather than to the United States.

Mr. P. Barry, Mr. Pettifer, and Mr. Norton, afterwards took part in a discussion, and doubts were expressed as to the reception which emigration on a large scale would meet with in the Colonies. Following these gentlemen, Sir Graham Berry (who stated that he was obliged to leave the chair before the discussion closed) said he differed *in toto* from the various opinions that had been expressed. Indiscriminate emigration, by which people were thrown on the labour market without friends or resources, resulted in great hardship and disturbance of the market. But at the same time, no matter what was said there or elsewhere, tens of thousands of honest and hardworking people would go to the vast territories of the British Empire, and would better themselves by so doing. (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately more was heard of the failures than the successes of emigrants; and in order to avoid failure and disappointment he advised intending emigrants to thoroughly acquaint themselves with, where, and what they are going to.

Mr. Lefevre took the chair on Sir Graham Berry's retirement, and the discussion was continued by several speakers. The customary vote of thanks terminated the proceedings.

LONDON.—At King's College, on October 7th, Professor Leone Levi delivered an introductory lecture, the first of a series, on the "Economic Administration of the Resources of the British Empire." In the course of his remarks he said that if, by careful thought, the proposed Imperial Institute could be carried into effect, it would necessarily command the sympathies of all interested in Colonial progress. The Colonies, and we ourselves, might be thankful that we belonged politically to these Northern Isles, for no State could be better fitted, from power and skill, from labour and capital, to help its Colonies and dependencies to become rich and prosperous. Emigration must be spontaneous, and could not be forced; but there seemed still to be ample room in the Colonies as compared with the dense population in the Mother Country. The lecturer then proceeded to advocate a cautious and economical financial policy on the part of the Colonies, and declared that no evidence had been offered to show that Protection was more advantageous than Free Trade. He advocated extending the radius of the Penny Post to the whole Empire, and hoped soon to see the same monetary standard prevailing throughout the Queen's dominions. In conclusion, he said: "What makes the British Empire one is the preponderance of the British race and language, the supremacy of British commerce and manufactures, the omnipotence of British capital, and the fertility of British resources. There is a wonderful solidarity of interests between the people of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. Wonderful results have already arisen, and may be expected still more to arise, from the diffusion of the Anglo-Saxon race—a race whose steps have everywhere left a mighty and most beneficial impress. Who can say what position will Britain occupy in the far future, and still more, what changes may yet take place in the relative position of Europe as a whole when Canada, Australia, and the United States of America will have had their 'mighty fill' of population?"

LONDON.—The third of a series of conferences, held under the auspices of the London Working Men's Association for the consideration of Colonial subjects, took place on October 9th at the Conference Hall of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, when Mr. W. H. Lefevre delivered an address upon "Commercial Intercourse with our Colonial Dependencies." Mr. George Howell, M.P., presided, and at the conclusion of the address made a short speech. He said he was strongly of opinion that it would be to the advantage of the Colonies in all parts of the world to stand close by the Mother Country. The time must come, he thought, when the nations of Europe would cease to be purchasers of our manufactures, and two things would then be inevitable—a federation between ourselves and our Colonies, and secondly a greater development of the resources of the British Empire (cheers).

The conference closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

LONDON.—On Sept. 14th, in the Lower Milton Hall, Kentish Town, a lecture entitled "Great Britain and her Colonies one Nation," was given by Mr. F. P. Labillière. The chair was occupied by Mr. H. H. Fleming, and there was a good attendance of working men. The lecturer said that the difficulties of Imperial Federation were small compared with those that had been surmounted by the United States and Germany in consolidating their dominions. Referring to the position of India, he thought it might remain in the same position as at

present, and if Australia, Canada, and South Africa joined in a scheme of Federation, it might be made sufficiently elastic to admit the smaller Colonies whenever they expressed a wish to be affiliated. The policy of the Empire would be one of peace, based upon an impregnable position. In conclusion he said that it would be a mournful thing if future historians had to relate that the statesmen of to-day had the opportunity of making Britain a great and indissoluble nation, but that, owing to weakness, or incapacity, or timidity, they had let it pass by for ever. Before it was too late, therefore, it was well to give a practical application to those views which he had endeavoured to enunciate that evening.

LONDON.—At the monthly meeting of the Hammersmith and West Kensington Students' Union, on October 6th, a paper was read by the Chairman, Mr. C. Freeman Murray, upon "The British Empire." The lecture was of a varied and comprehensive character, and dwelt especially upon the need for an Imperial Navy, an Imperial Penny Post, and additional Telegraphic facilities with the Colonies. The danger of continuing the present state of affairs was urged and the advantage of some form of Federation which should attract the stream of emigrants to our own Colonies rather than to the United States was pointed out. A proposal to raise an Imperial Fund by a 5 per cent. duty on foreign goods led to a warm discussion, but the majority of those present were agreed on the main question of the benefits that would accrue from a closer connection with the Colonies.

LONDON.—On October 13th, Mr. Spencer Charrington, M.P., addressed a crowded meeting of the Mile End Conservative Association on the subject of IMPERIAL FEDERATION. The speaker, who was accorded an enthusiastic reception, proceeded to take a brief but instructive survey of the various Colonies, paying especial attention to the constitutional position of each and its suitability for purposes of emigration. To unite all the Colonies and possessions was, he said, no easy matter, but he was not without hope that at some early period some scheme could be devised by which the Colonies and the Mother Country could be brought into closer association, thus adding materially to the strength of England, while rendering the Colonies more secure. That the Colonies were desirous of such a union, and that they cherished feelings of the deepest attachment towards England, was evidenced by the action of Australia in sending a large body of troops to fight side by side of the troops of Britain in the Egyptian campaign. (Applause.) He recollected too, with satisfaction, of how Russia was prevented carrying out her threat to invade India by the attitude of the Colonies. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Spencer C. Charrington also addressed the meeting, and expressed his belief that if this country were to prosper as had been the case during the past fifty years, it would only be by the welding together of the Colonies with the Mother Country in one great whole, closely associated by ties of common blood and common interest, and ready to strike against a common foe. On the motion of Mr. Varah, a hearty vote of thanks was afterwards awarded Mr. Charrington, M.P., for his address.

LONDON.—At the opening meeting of the Chelsea Working Men's Discussion Society, on October 14th, Mr. F. Labillière opened the debate upon Imperial Federation. Among other reasons for closer union between England and her Colonies, he pointed out that if India were turned adrift Russia could, in a very short time, occupy that country with an army of a hundred thousand men, and that army would be a standing menace to Australasia, should that Colony also be severed from the Empire, forcing the Australians to hold themselves constantly armed against invasion. Similarly, Russia might invest Canada with overwhelming bodies of troops from the Siberian military posts. He contended that the interests of England and her Colonies were identical and inseparable, if only for mutual defence against aggression, or for the mere selfish desire to be as safe as possible at the least possible expense, the armaments required by a Federated Empire being naturally less than those which would have to be maintained had each Colony to hold itself prepared to fight for its own lands. He quoted the Federal unions of the United States, and Germany, as instances of the advantages of the system.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Burns, Mr. Trevor White, and Mr. Holland, and the meeting was adjourned after a hearty vote of thanks had been accorded to Mr. Labillière.

PLYMOUTH.—On September 30th the Parliamentary Debating Society resumed discussion of their "Imperial Federation" Bill, but owing to the numbers who desired to express their views upon this important subject, the debate was again adjourned.

The *Newcastle Chronicle*, commenting on the Bill, says:—"We have before us the copy of a most elaborate and extensive Imperial Federation Bill, drawn up by the Plymouth Parliamentary Debating Society, the contents of which would satisfy the aspirations of the most fervent and enthusiastic advocate of the cause. The Bill in question gives evidence of much thought and considerable knowledge, and is highly creditable to those from whom it emanates. If no more, it shows that the Plymouth

debaters have at least been at the trouble of studying the Greater Britain beyond the seas, and of making themselves acquainted with its extent, its characteristics, population, and resources."

SALE, CHESHIRE.—A lecture was recently given in the large room of the Liberal Club, by Professor Hodgson, D.Sc., of Manchester, on "Imperial Federation," the chair being taken by Mr. Goodier. The lecturer said that the existing relations between England and her Colonies were dangerous, from the possibility of independent action on the part of the latter producing a collision with the Mother Country; and there was also a risk of the British taxpayer objecting to pay for the defence of the whole Empire. He referred to the various suggestions which had been made to meet the necessities of the case, and advocated the institution of an Imperial Parliament, composed of representative members appointed by the several legislatures of the countries composing the Empire. Dr. Hodgson insisted upon the desirability of having the elections conducted by the Provincial Parliaments rather than by popular suffrage, and quoted the opinion of Mr. J. S. Mill in favour of such indirect representation in the case of Federal Governments. The lecture was followed by an animated discussion, taken part in by Messrs. Robson, Orr, Shepherd, Butterworth, and others. The question was a new one to some of the audience, but it is expected that much additional interest will be manifested in it.

STOWMARKET.—At the monthly meeting of the district Conservative Association, held on October 4th, a paper on "Imperial Federation" was read by Mr. H. M. Bourke. He contended that the subject should be kept aloof from party lines, and that Imperial defence was a question of pressing importance. The expenses of the army and navy, all the charges connected with the Foreign and Colonial Office, the expense of maintaining Ambassadors and Consuls, should be spread over the whole of the British Empire. If the Colonies contributed, they must share the control of the expenditure, and he would like to see a Federal assembly created, which he believed would win the approval of England and the Colonies. The lecture was warmly applauded, and the discussion which followed showed the meeting to be in accordance with the sentiments expressed.

TORONTO.—Mr. George H. Douglas writes to the *Toronto Daily Mail*, from Chatham, Ontario, a long letter on the subject of Imperial Federation, which he concludes by saying Canada is peculiarly fitted to take the initiative in the matter, armed as she is with her fields for settlement in the North-West, and her Imperial bond in the Canadian Pacific Railway; and, as the only practical movement Colonists can engage in at present is to organise branches of the Imperial Federation League throughout the Empire, this should be done by every section of people who feel interested in the matter. It is desirable that the young men of this country, those in whose hands the future of Canada remains, should interest themselves in this movement, establish branches, meet frequently to discuss the feasibility of the scheme, read the opinions of the English statesmen published in the League pamphlet, and assist the League's exchequer. The secretary for Ontario, Mr. J. H. Bowes, 17, Toronto Street, Toronto, should be communicated with by those anxious to organise a branch in Ontario, many of whom have been inquiring about the matter.

UPPER NORWOOD.—On the 15th October a paper on Imperial Federation was read before the Discussion Society by Dr. Pringley, of Anerley. The subject was well received, and only one speaker was found to repudiate the possibility or advantages of Federation.

WEST GORTON.—On October 12th, Mr. F. W. Deacon, of Manchester, gave a lecture upon Imperial Federation at West Gorton. The proceedings were marked by frequent signs of appreciation, but we regret that the report which has reached us is not sufficiently detailed to enable us to give an outline of the lecturer's remarks.

MR. THOMAS MOXON is arranging for a lecture upon Imperial Federation before the Manchester Statistical Society in December.

We understand that lectures and addresses on the same subject are in contemplation by

W. R. JONES, ESQ., Sefton Park, Liverpool.
A. J. POULTNEY, ESQ., Long Ashton.
J. M. HODGSON, ESQ., Manchester.
JAMES WILLIAMSON, ESQ., Edinburgh.
J. B. REYNOLDS, ESQ., Liverpool.
CHARLES DUNBAR, ESQ., Glasgow.
JOHN WHITE, ESQ., Devonport.

IMPORTANT TO LECTURERS AND DEBATING SOCIETIES.

THE HOWARD VINCENT MAP OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, size 72 inches by 63 inches, can be obtained from the Secretary of the Imperial Federation League. Price on Cloth, Stained Rollers, Varnished, £1 1s.

*THE RIGHT HON. E. STANHOPE, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.*

AT the dinner given on October 20th to the Governor of Queensland Mr. Stanhope responded to the toast of THE EMPIRE.

He said:—"Sir James Garrick, Sir Anthony Musgrave, and gentlemen,—For the honour you have paid me personally I offer to you my hearty thanks. It is no small honour to have one's name associated with a toast which stirs the blood of Englishmen, and which appeals at once to reality and sentiment. Yet, though we often talk about the glory, about the honour, about the duty, and about the advantages of our Empire, I do not think that we often realise what a wonderful thing that Empire is. (Cheers.)

"Upon what have these little isles founded that influence and that ascendancy which extend over so many portions of the globe, and which unite so many races, languages, and religions? In the first place it rests upon the loyalty and upon the ever-growing devotion of the English people, which ignores both time and distance; it rests also upon the common interest and the common danger which, we hope, every day are growing more and more identical, and that identity of interests when it can be accomplished will take away from every danger all that we have at present to fear.

"Then I think we find also great security in the practical common sense of the Mother Country and her children. We have gone through many trials, and have survived many dangers. We have suffered from hasty and ill-considered utterances and not too wise criticisms, and possibly also, among the conflicts of political parties, irritation and anger have been produced and the ties between us have been strained—perhaps strained so much as almost to break. It may be that in a newly-organised community inexperience may have led people into dangers which greater experience would have avoided. But whatever they may have been, a little forbearance and a little patience have enabled them to surmount all these dangers. But a greater responsibility than ever now rests upon the Imperial Government to choose fitting agents to enforce throughout the Colonies the wishes of the Imperial Government. It is to that race of Governors, so ably represented to-night by the distinguished guest of the evening, that we have to look, in my belief, in a very large measure, for the maintenance of those friendly relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies now so happily established.

"I believe that the foundations of our Empire lie deep down in the character of the English nation. (Cheers.) That energy, sometimes too restless, which has led Englishmen to explore every quarter of the globe, that perseverance which, ignoring all difficulties, has overcome them, the qualities which have made the English nation the pioneer of civilisation throughout the world, will give to us, if only we do not fail to grasp the mission which seems to await us, a great and increasing share in the government of the world, of which even our own past glorious history can give no adequate comparison. (Cheers.)

"I should not like to-night to turn to a question so often raised in modern days as to how far a democracy is really fitted for the government of a great empire. That there are great difficulties before us no one will be prepared to deny. It may be that popular opinion may bring forward for solution problems which, as in the case of India, require time to bring them to maturity, but at any rate that is a danger from which all our great self-governing Colonies will escape.

"The democracy of this country is united to the great and growing communities of Australia and Canada by many ties. It is actuated by the same interests and by ties of similar political institutions, and, above all, by that public spirit and by those qualities of Englishmen which have distinguished our nation under all difficulties and under all circumstances in which they have been placed. You may depend upon it that, increase your defences as you may, improve your communications as you will and as you ought to do, the main bulwark of our Empire rests upon the character of the English people:—

"Vain mightiest fleets of iron framed,
Vain those all-shattering guns,
Unless proud England keep unshamed
The strong hearts of her sons."

*OPINIONS OF THE PRESS UPON THE
MOST IMPORTANT PARAGRAPH IN
THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.*

THE practically unanimous approval with which the Press of the United Kingdom has hailed the important paragraph in the Queen's speech foreshadowing a policy of Imperial Federation is so remarkable that we are induced to present our readers with a few of the comments which have reached us. The number of extracts might have been increased *ad libitum*, but we think the following are enough to show that our great idea is welcome to all political parties alike, to the Provinces as well as to the Metropolis, to country no less than town.

THE TIMES (Sept. 27).

The conviction is avowed in the Speech from the Throne, that "there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire." This desire has been shown not only by the decisive judgment of the nation at the late elections in favour of the Union of this Kingdom, but, as is noted in the speech, by the increasing interest displayed at home in Colonial and Indian affairs. It is announced, somewhat vaguely, but not the less significantly, that the Crown has authorised "communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest."

Whatever is projected or proposed, it is necessary, in the first instance, to consult the Colonial Governments and the Colonial population, for, at present, wide differences of opinion prevail on the subject among the Colonists themselves. That the Colonies should be thus approached has been frequently suggested, as a preliminary to a federal scheme, but it is not necessary to suppose that the Government by taking the step described in the language we have quoted are in the smallest degree committed to the ambitious and far-reaching theories of Constitution-makers. There are certain practical objects as to which the co-operation of the Mother Country and the Colonies would be most valuable and may not unreasonably be hoped for, if it should appear that our Colonial fellow-subjects are agreed in desiring both ends and means, and that their conceptions are bounded, as no doubt they are, by the limits of common sense.

STANDARD (Sept. 27).

The paragraph in the Royal Speech regarding the increased interest evinced by the English people in the welfare of their Colonial and Indian fellow-subjects will be read with sympathy and satisfaction in all parts of the Queen's dominions; and every one will echo the conviction it expresses that there exists a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire. . . . There is a growing feeling that England, her Colonies and Dependencies, must no longer be allowed to live in a condition of comparative isolation from each other. Imperial Federation may not yet be a scheme, but it is already certainly an idea, and one which is every day taking possession more and more of men's minds. For some time it was the monopoly of the far-seeing few, and until it has been grasped by the general body of the electors it will not become fruitful. But this consummation is rapidly approaching. The Colonial Exhibition has done much to disseminate the idea. Let us hope that the Permanent Colonial Institute suggested by the Prince of Wales will carry it still further, and that the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria will in future days be associated with the beginnings of a real, active, and beneficent Federation of the British Empire.

DAILY CHRONICLE (Sept. 27).

This is perhaps the first direct reference to the initiation of a practical policy of Imperial Federation which has found its way into a Royal Speech since the old Whig party was in power in 1851. Though it may be conceded that Lord Granville in some degree anticipated his successor in making a preliminary move in this direction, the present Government has undoubtedly given apt expression to public feeling by publicly initiating this policy. It may indeed prove as epoch-marking as the Colonial policy of the Liberals in 1851.

OBSERVER (Sept. 26).

It is satisfactory to learn that for the first time a British Government has recognised the fact that the subject of Imperial Federation is one deserving of serious study.

PALL MALL GAZETTE (Sept. 27).

The intimation will be received with sincere satisfaction throughout the Empire. The idea which has hitherto been confined to journalists and speculative statesmen is now formally recognised by the responsible administrators of the Empire.

LEEDS MERCURY (Sept. 27).

For the first time upon record the Queen, speaking in the name of her advisers in a formal State document, has raised the question of Imperial Federation. The Government declare, through the mouth of the Sovereign, that they have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest. We hail the announcement with unmixed pleasure and approval. No doubt, it is not in itself very distinct. These "communications" of which the Queen speaks may be of a merely formal character, but even in such a case it is something to have secured that which we can only regard as a strong expression of sympathy with the movement in favour of Imperial Federation.

YORKSHIRE POST (Sept. 27).

The passage which refers to the feeling between this country and the Colonies is encouraging as showing that the Government looks on the question of Federation as one calling for their serious attention.

LIVERPOOL DAILY POST (Sept. 27).

Every one dreams of Federation, every one imagines that Federation would be a good thing.

NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN (Sept. 27).

For the first time the subject of Imperial Federation obtains recognition in a speech from the Throne, and this will be a matter for general congratulation. No one who is not entirely blind to passing events, and to public feeling, will doubt that "there is on all sides a growing desire to draw closer, in every practical way, the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire," and, unless we greatly mistake the signs of the times, this desire will strengthen every year, as public opinion, both at home and in the Colonies, recognises how necessary it is for all parts of the Empire to co-operate for mutual protection and defence, as well as for the promotion of trade and commerce.

TABLET (Oct. 2).

Her Majesty adds that she has authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial governments "with a view to the fullest consideration of matters of common interest." Of course it must not be assumed that this paragraph refers to any premature proposals for the formal Federation of the Empire—as that is a thing which must grow up of itself—but there are many kinds of common understanding and common action which will prepare the way for it, and which are urgently called for by present circumstances—such, for instance, as a common defensive organisation.

WESTERN DAILY MERCURY (Sept. 27).

There is no passage in the Queen's Speech in which it is possible to take even a languid interest, except perhaps the concluding paragraph.

After alluding to "the growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire," Her Majesty says, "I have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest." This is certainly a step towards Imperial Federation, though "the fuller consideration" is likely to be a protracted business. Any practicable plan that even pointed towards the accomplishment of this great task would make the reputation of any Ministry.

MANCHESTER COURIER (Sept. 27).

For the first time in our history the Speech from the Throne recognises the general desire felt within these shores and beyond to draw closer the bonds which unite us with our fellow-subjects in the Colonies. It is by no means only at home that these words will be read with intense satisfaction. We may be far still from a workable plan of Imperial Federation; but the formal recognition of the general desire to unite more closely than heretofore the different sections of the Empire marks a turning-point in the history of this movement. It may be years before a workable scheme, acceptable to all interested, is devised, but we may rest assured that a people whose Imperial instincts have enabled them to found the greatest Empire on earth, will not lack the ability to discover practicable measures by which its permanence and cohesion may be secured for all time.

SHIELDS DAILY TELEGRAPH (Sept. 27).

The most important paragraph in the Queen's Speech declares that Her Majesty's advisers have authorised communications to be entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest. This is not going far, but the announcement will delight the advocates of Imperial Federation, which is probably all that the Government intended. If a Federation of the Empire seemed practicable, nothing would be easier than to arouse immense popular enthusiasm in this country in behalf of a scheme designed to bring it about. Men of all parties would join hands over a project intended to establish more vital relations between England and her Colonies. The idea is one which appeals even to the most sluggish imagination; and it is impossible to feel anything else but respect for those who have made it the dream of their lives.

LEICESTER DAILY POST (Sept. 28).

There is, indeed, "a growing desire to draw closer in every practicable way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire." Nor can it be denied that the stage has at length arrived when Ministers may fairly make overtures to the various Colonial Governments, "with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest." Still, if serious disappointment and failure are to be avoided, it can only be by realising the "magic of patience." So long, however, as Ministers make their tentative efforts with painstaking circumspection, and leave nothing undone that can tend to enlist the maximum of Colonial co-operation, they may, indeed, veritably pave the way for that system of Imperial Federation which has hitherto been mainly the sport of the dreamer and the poet.

BELFAST NEWS LETTER (Sept. 27).

The Queen's Speech is brief, but comprehensive, and its most attractive part is the reference to Imperial Federation, which we hope to see accomplished. It is the desire of the nation, and the aim of the Government ought to be to realise the national desire.

HULL DAILY NEWS (Sept. 29).

The idea of Federation is not altogether a new one, but it has, during the past year or two, grown and developed in a way which must be gratifying to all who have at heart the well-being of Great Britain and the Greater Britain beyond the seas. It is especially gratifying that this interesting and important question is being taken up altogether apart from politics, for, should it become a plank in the platform of either political party, it would be a misfortune. It is one of those great national questions regarding which politics may be altogether left out of consideration, and it is one of the few matters on which Liberals and Conservatives alike may take unitedly in hand for the general well-being. The Imperial Federation idea has come so much to the front that it found a place in the Queen's Speech. The question is of the utmost importance to our Colonies, and scarcely less so to ourselves, and we trust that in the midst of Irish affairs and the consideration of purely political matters it will not be allowed to be forgotten.

CARDIFF WESTERN MAIL (Sept. 30).

The formal recognition in the Queen's Speech of the growth in the British Empire of a sentiment upon which wise statesmen may cautiously build a great scheme of Imperial Federation will unquestionably give a powerful stimulus to all sorts of projects for strengthening the bonds of union between Great Britain and the Colonies.

METHODIST TIMES (Sept. 30).

For the first time something like official recognition has been given to the great subject of Imperial Federation. The Government have decided to communicate with Colonial Governments on the matter. This is the first necessary step. What is wanted on the threshold of the discussion is an interchange of views. Since Mr. Forster and those who thought with him first began to advocate a Federation of the Colonies, the subject has made considerable advance in public opinion. Perhaps at no previous period has there existed such a kindly feeling between England and her Colonies.

ST. ANDREW'S CITIZEN (Oct. 2).

If a plain meaning is to be attached to plain words when delivered from the Throne, the purport of the last paragraph of the Prorogation Speech is that during the recess the Government will endeavour, by negotiation with the Colonies, to establish a basis for a Federation scheme. Two years ago the Federation of the Empire seemed to be a distant dream, now it is generally recognised in this country as lying within the range of practical politics. The doubt is whether it is

regarded in the same light in the Colonies. The negotiations which the Government have undertaken are, no doubt, designed to clear up this doubt. Opinion in this country is rapidly ripening on this question, which from the first has, happily, remained entirely outside party politics; and if it is found that the Colonies really desire to come in and share in the government of the Empire, the accomplishment of the great work cannot be far off.

BEVERLY RECORDER (Oct. 2).

Reference was made in the longest clause of the Queen's Speech, read by the Lord Chancellor at the prorogation of Parliament, to the increasing interest which was now shown with respect to the welfare and progress of the Colonies, and to the desirability of strengthening the bonds of union by all practicable means. The clause also contained the announcement that communications had been entered into with the principal Colonial Governments with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest. Taken in connection with what preceded it as to the desirability of strengthening the bonds of union, this statement evidently implied that the Imperial Government is of opinion that the time has come when the chief Colonial Governments should have an opportunity of setting forth their views on the question of Federation.

WILTSHIRE COUNTY MIRROR (Sept. 28).

It is a matter for congratulation that the Crown has authorised communications to be entered into with the Colonial Governments for the consideration of "matters of common interest." The question of Imperial Federation is one of the near future, and the Government are doing well in preparing the way for its introduction.

NORTHERN WHIG (Oct. 1).

The paragraph in the Queen's Speech with regard to the close connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country is being recognised as marking a turning-point in the history of the Imperial Federation movement. It is said that the cause has gained wonderfully since the opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition.

DERBY COURIER (Oct. 2).

It is not a little remarkable that for the first time the Queen's Speech has glanced at the subject of Imperial Federation. It may be but a glance, but, as a feather will show the direction in which the wind is blowing, so this seemingly cursory allusion to Imperial Federation may indicate the direction towards which Colonial matters are steadily tending. At last the subject is likely to assume its legitimate place in the public mind. Imperial Federation has come within the sphere of practical politics, and must be settled. The political education even of Englishmen is a comparatively slow affair, but there are signs that it is advancing.

SALISBURY JOURNAL (Oct. 2).

At one bound the great idea of Imperial Federation has passed from the province of irresponsible discussion to that of practical statesmanship. We may not have been brought materially nearer the accomplishment of what has hitherto been scarcely more than a splendid dream; but that does not lessen the importance of the step taken by the Government. The announcement that the Crown has authorised communications to be entered into with our Colonies "with a view to the fuller consideration of matters of common interest" has a threefold value. It proves that there is no longer indifference in official circles to the wishes and aspirations of our Colonies. In the second place it shows that the English people at home are animated by an earnest desire for closer union with their fellow subjects beyond the seas; and finally, the step taken in first consulting Colonial Governments is a clear recognition of the fact that if any scheme of Federation is to be formulated, the principles upon which it is to be based must be laid down by the Colonies and not by the Mother Country.

MR. WILLIAM DUNN'S SPEECH AT THE CAPE AND NATAL DINNER.

WE cannot refrain from quoting the following remarks of Mr. William Dunn, at the dinner given in the Grand Hotel, on October 19. It fell to him, as Chairman, to propose the toast of the Cape Colony; and from the prominence which he assigned to the question of Imperial Federation, we cannot but think that it is, in his opinion, the most important factor in the future prosperity of the country. The applause which greeted nearly every sentence in the speech, shows how heartily the Chairman's sentiments were appreciated by the influential body of gentlemen associated with the Cape Colony and Natal, over which he presided.

In proposing the toast, Mr. Dunn said, "I think that at no time has Great Britain been more proud of her Colonies than at the present moment. (Cheers.) For this we are greatly indebted to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, where we find illustrated the vast resources of the Colonial Empire—(cheers)—and to the late Mr. Forster. (Cheers.) No statesman, I think, took a deeper interest in our commerce than Mr. Forster, and we can but regret that he was unfortunately not alive to hear the declaration of Her Majesty when she said, 'I have observed with much satisfaction the increasing interest evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their Colonial fellow subjects. There is a growing desire to draw closer in every possible way the bonds which unite the various portions of the Empire.' (Loud cheers.)

"I have no doubt that those well-timed words of the Queen have touched the hearts of many, and will bear fruit in the Colonies. (Cheers.) In course of time chilled indifference has turned into warmth of affection, and I am delighted to think that now, for the first time, England is realising the worth of her Colonies to her and to her teeming population. (Renewed cheers.) I believe they will be England's strength and greatness in the future. (Cheers.) Englishmen and Colonists have come to realise that they are one family; and, I trust, that one day they will, under one FEDERAL UNION, form one vast United State." (Loud cheers.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

PROFESSOR LEONE LEVI ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Substantially, though briefly, the report in the *Times* of my lecture on "The Resources of the Empire" is correct; and I have no hesitation in reiterating that the growth and prosperity of the vast territories, gradually emerging into prominence, are more likely to be attained by the present independent action of each Colony than by any Imperial Federation.

I scarcely know, in truth, what the advocates of Imperial Federation expect to obtain from it; whether is it to have a voice in the politics of the Empire, or a united and uniform commercial policy, or a change from the subordinate condition of Colonies to the apparently more dignified one of States in alliance with the United Kingdom. If they aim at having a voice in the politics of the Empire, I fear that the Colonies are not in a position to demand it, in consequence of the distance at which they are situated, and the smallness of their interest in European or Asiatic questions, while it would be inconvenient for the State to concede it, in consequence of the delay in action which would ensue, and the greater chance of conflicting opinion. If the Colonies aim at a united and uniform commercial policy, they must first make up their mind to adopt, each and all, a Free Trade policy, not only with the Mother Country, but with the whole world, for there is no chance whatever of England adopting a Zollverein between herself and her Colonies as against all the world. She could not do it if she would. If the Colonies aim at a position of greater dignity than they now possess, what Colony, may I ask, has such ambition? Canada and Australia may have it, and the Cape of Good Hope and Natal may aspire to it, but other Colonies are scarcely great enough to look for a more independent position.

My opinion is that an Imperial Federation would be most cumbersome and inconvenient, both to the Mother Country and the Colonies, and that it would inevitably lead to quarrel, if not to open rupture. Of course, I only regard the question from the present condition of things, as the future is, happily, concealed from our eyes. Doubtless a change may take place at no distant time, as it is possible that Canada may find it proper to follow the course taken by the United States of America, and that Australia may follow. But should they do so, will that give them more trade, or make these countries more attractive for emigrants? I doubt it very much.

The present agitation for Imperial Federation is an indication, certainly, that the Colonies have reached their stage of adolescence. But a little thought and reflection will, I think, satisfy even the most advancing Colonies that the bond by which they are bound to England is one of golden threads, solid, yet most beneficial to all concerned.

I cannot help thinking that England may well be proud of her Colonies, and that the Colonies have like reason to be proud of their fatherland.—Believe me, Sir, yours faithfully,

LEONE LEVI.

5, Crown Office Row, Temple, October 14, 1886.

TO OUR CORRESPONDENTS.—We greatly regret that, owing to the severe pressure upon our space, several interesting letters that have reached us are unavoidably held over.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES, AND ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE.

BRITISH subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

THE SECRETARY,

Imperial Federation League,

43, St. Margaret's Offices,

Victoria Street,

London, S.W.

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

1. A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.

2. Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—

(a) A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

(b) A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.

Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.

(c) The names and addresses of the members of the Association.

(d) A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."

3. On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.

4. The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other, with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.

5. It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of Branches.

Such central organisations, if formed, would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.

6. Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.

7. Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.

8. Individual members may be supplied with all publications of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.

9. The General Committee hopes to be furnished with reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.

10. It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of Imperial importance.

11. By the aid of the organisation of the League, information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.

12. It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in Parliament and in the press, etc. etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.

13. The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year.

It is to be observed that the ordinary Annual Subscription by members of the League is One Guinea, but the Annual Registration Fee has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

Imperial Federation League.

43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Chairman.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBURY.

Vice-Chairman.

LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.,
THE HON. HAROLD FINCH-HATTON, } *Hon. Treasurers.*

A. H. LORING, *Secretary.*

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W. J. BROWNE (late South Australia).
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JAMES A. YOUL, C.M.G. (Tasmania).
FREDERICK YOUNG (Vice-President Royal Colonial Institute).

NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1886.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A BILL for reorganising the defence forces of South Australia has been laid before the Assembly. It is not likely to pass into law this year, but deserves notice for two important principles which obtain recognition. Compulsory enrolment of recruits is one. The ballot will only be resorted to when the voluntary Active Militia falls below its proper numerical standard, or in case of invasion or danger of invasion. There are numerous exceptions, and the number of troops thus authorised does not exceed 1,500 men; but the principle of conscription is admitted, and under certain circumstances all males between the ages of 18 and 45 are liable. The other important change contemplated by the Bill consists in the power, with which it invests the Governor as Commander-in-Chief, to call out the Active Militia for service in any part of Australasia. Hitherto, the field of operations has been limited to the Colony itself; but New Zealand and Queensland have set the example, which South Australia is now asked to follow. If the provisions of this Bill become law, the formation of an Imperial defensive force will be rendered one degree easier; when Victoria and New South Wales have passed similar measures, it will be within measurable distance. Liability for service throughout Australasia means the practical embodiment of a Federal army, to defend the Empire wherever threatened. That such is the idea in the minds of those who framed this South Australian Bill we cannot doubt; for operations outside the Colony must be carried on either for the Empire or against a neighbour, and we refuse to believe that any Colonial statesman contemplates for an instant the sinister possibility of internecine strife.

DISAGREEABLE rumours sometimes reach us concerning the absence in the Colonies of trained crews capable of manning and working the torpedo vessels and other military and naval engines which are placed under their care. We have heard of torpedo-boats rotting and machinery becoming damaged with rust and neglect, because there is no one to look after them in time of peace; it is even alleged that in war they would be rendered useless by the dearth of skilled officers and men. We hope sincerely that these rumours are baseless; but, in any event, it is satisfactory to hear that arrangements are now being made by the Admiralty for supplying regular annual courses of instruction in torpedo warfare to officers and men selected from the various Colonies. The instruction will be given at Sydney, and examinations will be held at the end of each course to test the efficiency of the teaching. This seems the right way to go to work, and in time we may hope to see a useful system of coast defence organised, which will set the Imperial Navy free to exercise its proper functions of cruising, protecting convoys, and assuming the offensive on the high seas.

DR. BICKERSTETH, Dean of Lichfield, has written to the *Morning Post*, in support of the proposal to erect a Church House as a memorial of the QUEEN'S Jubilee. We hear much, he says, in these days about Imperial Federation, and, believing that the Church is the mightiest bond of union in the world, he wishes to see erected "a building which shall be one amongst other expressions of

the national wish to consolidate the Empire, by offering a centre of union not only for the members of the Church here in England, but also for the members of the great Anglican communion, which is co-extensive with the far-reaching dominions of our great Empress and our loved and honoured Queen." Here we have a dignity of the powerful Church of England appealing to the uprising sentiment of Imperial Federation, as a means of enlisting sympathy and support for a great Church scheme. This is something for members of the League to remember with pride.

THE Colonies have long been considering the advisability of entering the Postal Union, and a proposal to do so was ably advocated by MR. BASEDOW, in the South Australian House of Assembly, a few weeks ago. The last Postal Congress agreed to grant a vote to the Australian Colonies, provided that three of them would join the Union; and it was stated by MR. BASEDOW that a saving of several thousands a year would ensue. The postage to Australia, as a member of the Postal Union, would be fivepence per half ounce. With the choice of an Imperial penny postage open, we do not think the decision would be doubtful. But half a loaf is better than no bread, and if once the Colonies enter the Union, the difficulty of freeing themselves from a *fait accompli* might lead to the indefinite postponement of a reform which thousands of business men would welcome on commercial grounds no less warmly than we should salute so obvious a triumph of our principles.

IN advocating an ocean cable route to Australia, we have a powerful ally. The *Sydney Morning Herald* has taken the matter up and thoroughly exposed the inadequacy of existing means of communication, to which we alluded last month. It appears that the interruption in September was even more serious than we supposed; when SIR HENRY HOLLAND informed CAPTAIN COLOMB that communication had been dependent upon the telegraphic line through Russia only once in the last six years, he did not think it necessary to tell the House that the Russian route itself was closed also. We now know that there was for a time a complete blank in telegraphic intercourse between Europe and Australia.

THE *Herald* points out the existing danger with admirable frankness:—"It must be allowed," says our contemporary, "that there have been no interruptions of moment for a considerable time; but the incidents of the last few weeks warn us that under present arrangements WE MIGHT AT ANY MOMENT BE CUT OFF, PERHAPS FOR A LENGTHENED PERIOD, FROM ALL COMMUNICATION WITH EUROPE. There appears to be NO INVULNERABLE POINT, and as the strength of a chain is to be measured by the tenacity of its weakest link, it will be seen that we rest on a basis by no means secure. What dependence, moreover, could we place upon our cable system if Great Britain were engaged in a war which affected the chain of communication in the East? There is every reason to believe that some of the intermediate links would be severed, and that WE SHOULD BE UNABLE TO EXCHANGE CONFIDENCES WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY AT THE VERY TIME THAT IT WOULD BE MOST NECESSARY FOR US TO BE ABLE TO DO SO." With a small subsidy from this country and the Australian Colonies, commercial enterprise would soon get a Pacific cable laid, if the State was not prepared to do the work itself. But we expect to see inhabitants of New South Wales, at any rate, deprecating further extension of private telegraphic lines. Just now they are being compelled to pay 14s. 6d., where

before they paid 6s., for messages to New Zealand, as the consequence of a dispute between a private company and a Government!

SIR SAUL SAMUEL has said that the Colonies will stick to the Empire as a limpet to a rock.

WHAT'S in a name? Much, if we are to believe the gentlemen who desire to change that of our oldest Australian Colony. It is not difficult to pick holes in the designation of New South Wales. It is neither euphonious nor significant. But the title of New South Welshmen seems to stink in the nostrils of our Colonial cousins. We are reminded of the town of Slough, in Buckinghamshire, whose inhabitants at one time despondingly meditated changing a name which they declared detrimental to their business prosperity. But apparently it requires very bad times indeed to effect such a portentous transformation, for Slough is Slough still. Happily, New South Wales has suffered less than England, so perhaps the old name will survive after all!

THE cultivation of the vine in Cape Colony ought to have a great future; all the elements of a successful wine industry are there. The vine has been introduced for 200 years, and thus a long process of selection has resulted in a careful adaptation of species and soil. The climate is everything that could be wished, and the production is already five million gallons annually. If the quality of the wine has been inferior in past years, it is not, says MR. C. SMUTS, an old resident in the Colony, writing to the *Citizen*, the fault of the grape, but of bad methods in preparing the wine. The Government has, however, taken up the matter, procured experts, and established a model vineyard, so that a thorough transformation has already taken place. The chief drawback is the lack of sufficient capital to push the wines persistently in the English market. Another sore subject with the Colonial wine-growers is the heavy tariff they have to contend with in England. But we imagine the greatest difficulty of all is the distance!

It is interesting to learn that for fifteen years the annexation of the New Hebrides has been urged upon France by MR. J. HIGGINSON, promoter and now principal shareholder in the New Hebrides Company. And what a comment his letter affords upon the French incapacity for colonisation! Practically, geographically, patriotically, and indispensably, says Mr. Higginson, the islands are, and always have been, connected with New Caledonia, and therefore with France. But in spite of this multiplication of interests, he found with alarm in 1882, that large tracts of land were being purchased by British subjects, and that it was probable the chief landowners would soon consist of British subjects, despite the natural rights, &c., of France! Thereupon Mr. Higginson founded the New Hebrides Company, in order to give France "the further hold of practical occupation," in addition to her "geographical rights." But apparently the only practical occupation which France can inaugurate is that of troops and r  cidivistes! Yet, SIR JAMES MARTIN, who died the other day, said at Sydney, with SIR PATRICK JENNINGS' approbation, that no one had better claims than France to colonise any part of the world, and expressed a hope that no one would step in "between the French and the work of civilisation in which they were engaged!" By all means let the French colonise! But it is not our idea of colonisation to leave the New Hebrides alone until British subjects have become the chief landowners, and then evict them to make room for soldiers and criminals!

THE "Navy List" for November contains the names of forty-one vessels of war which are considered no longer efficient, and many of them are to be offered for sale. Their original cost considerably exceeded £2,600,000 for hull and machinery. It is interesting to observe the dates when these ships were launched. There were between—

1840 and 1850 ...	1	1860 and 1870 ...	26
1850 ,, 1860 ...	2	1870 ,, 1880 ...	12

These vessels are removed from the roll of the Navy because they are either obsolete or worn out, and useless for purposes of war. We hope that our Colonies will not be beguiled into purchasing castaways, under the idea that they are making an effective addition to their naval strength. Ships that are too old and bad for us at home are not good enough for them. If at any future time we recognise our old friends on Australian "Navy Lists" we must remember what they are and whence they came. The vessels offered for sale are the *Bittern*, *Dido*, *Druid*, *Enterprise*, *Fly*, *Growler*, *Hart*, *Lynx*, *Moorhen*, *Opossum*, *Pert*, *Seagull*, *Simoom*, *Tenedos*, *Thetis*, and *Vigilant*.

THE desire of business men all over the Empire to act in unison for the general advancement of trade is likely to be a potent factor in promoting Federation. A recent example of this has been furnished by the London Chamber of Commerce, which sent out a circular, in July last, with the object of collecting opinions at home and in the Colonies as to the usefulness of a permanent commercial museum for the exhibition of samples. A large number of replies have been received from Chambers of Commerce throughout the Empire, generally favouring the scheme, and offering practical support. Some of the answers have been published in the *Times*, a large proportion being from the Colonies and India. It is very satisfactory to note that we have at home a body capable of organising so comprehensive a scheme, and that the Commercial Chambers in the Colonies are equally ready to respond and combine for the furtherance of Imperial concerns.

THE *Montreal Herald* is a journal which exemplifies the truth of the proverb that "Half a loaf is better than no bread." It can hardly be called an ardent advocate of Federation; but its columns are so generously opened to discussion on the subject, that we cannot look upon it as a thorough-going opponent. PRINCIPAL GRANT, of the Queen's University, Kingston, has recently written a series of admirable letters, to which our contemporary has assigned fitting prominence. PRINCIPAL GRANT, indeed, would fain pin the *Montreal Herald* to the acceptance of his own views; but we suspect the editor will prove a good match for the dialectician. The PRINCIPAL'S argument, however, seems to be a strong one; we quote it, in the hope that it may induce many half-hearted waverers to look the matter fairly in the face, and not be frightened at a name if they accept the substance. *Mutatis mutandis*, the words are applicable with equal force to Australia and South Africa. "Am I to infer," the first letter asks, "that you are an Imperial Federationist? You and I may dislike the word, but if we accept the thing, the word is of small consequence. Words are seldom confined to their original meaning; and there are interminable controversies simply because the parties do not define the terms they fight over. You, Sir, are evidently loyal to the Empire of which we form a part, while you rightly look at our relations with it from a Canada-first standpoint. You think that the connection of Canada with Britain is for our good, and you believe that in a just war we would and ought to do as much as the

men of Kent or Connaught rather than see Britain crushed ; that, without any change in our present political or commercial relations, our affection, honour, and duty would force us to do this, and that we would do it. That is your faith, and yet you reject the name of Imperial Federationist. That is my faith, too, and I have no objection to the name. Wherein do we differ? We should know where our views diverge, and to what extent, were it only for the sake of discovering that we agree in the main." PRINCIPAL GRANT takes high ground in his view of the question: every one who rejoices in British citizenship is called upon, in his opinion, to discuss Imperial Federation from the point of view of duty; and, in the long run, duty will be found identical with interest. This idea he proceeds to develop at length, and, surely, no man could want a nobler article of faith to sustain his convictions.

ONE of the most encouraging symptoms that attend the progress of the League's principles is the constantly increasing attention bestowed upon the question of Imperial Federation by the Press. It would be no exaggeration to say that not a day passes without our receiving several newspapers containing prominent articles on the subject. Of course, we do not expect to find universal assent to our programme; at the same time, there is a remarkable consensus of opinion in favour of it. We do not agree with the advice that bids a man "make enemies," if he wishes to be successful; we prefer making friends where we can, and we are rejoiced to notice the temperate and impartial tone adopted by our contemporaries, even when assuming a critical attitude. All we ask is full and free discussion, to make a favourable issue certain.

WE are glad to be able to answer a conundrum propounded recently in the *Echo*. We are asked, "How is Colonial indifference to European questions to be reconciled with the English practice of interference in every Continental complication?" If we were inclined to be at all captious, we might, perhaps, challenge both the suppositions upon which the question hangs. To go no further, we wonder why the Colonial journals display their European news so boldly, if such complete indifference prevails among their readers? A glance, too, at any London newspaper gives plentiful evidence of a considerable Continental complication at this moment in which we are not interfering! But, suppose the hypothesis true all round, how is Colonial indifference to be reconciled with the English practice of constant interference? The answer, we apprehend, is simple and short—Stop the practice. Surely, the *Echo* will say we are right?

It has been rumoured that Port Hamilton is to be evacuated. The reasons given in favour of such a course are that the anchorage is not first-rate, and that fortification would be expensive. Neither of these reasons are sufficient to justify throwing away a possession we acquired with our eyes open only a year or two ago. ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE RICHARDS asserts that the anchorage is land-locked and safe enough. To evacuate a valuable post, because it costs some thousands of pounds to maintain, would be absurd. There are two points which should decide the question. First, is it desirable to give up anything that has once formed part of the Empire, without overwhelming reasons for doing so? Secondly, is it or is it not the fact that, if war with Russia were imminent, a squadron would be stationed to watch Vladivostock and the Korean Channel; and that the nearest coaling station for such a squadron would, but for Port Hamilton, be 2,000 miles away?

CAPTAIN COLOMB, M.P., dealing with the statement that an Admiral on the China Station has recommended the abandonment of Port Hamilton, points out that this view need not be inconsistent with a due appreciation of its value. So long as the question of Imperial defence is made a shuttlecock for party retrenchments and estimates, it may well be believed that the Admiral prefers regular abandonment to an unprotected, starved occupation. A continuous policy, carrying out a fixed system, affords the only plan of avoiding disaster, should war ever break out, and this, concludes CAPTAIN COLOMB, can only be achieved in one way:—"It is ONLY BY SOME FORM OF FEDERATION for the defence of mutual interests in war, that any safeguard against evils so grave can be provided."

H.M.S. "WOLVERENE" was presented as a free gift to the Colony of New South Wales in December, 1881. She is now about to be dismantled, and made use of as an industrial school. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

THE Seamen's Union put forward some startling propositions during their conference with steamship owners of Australia at Sydney. The Union delegates are much exercised by the severe competition of ocean-going steamers in the intercolonial trade; they propose to stop this by "a combined movement to be made by the Marine Labour Union and coal miners to compel foreign vessels, British ocean traders, and tramp ships to abandon the trade." If the movement assumes serious proportions, it can be at any moment defeated, we should imagine, by registering the ocean-going steamers at an Australian port, as was recently done by the Allan Line in Canada. When we have an Imperial flag, it will be a matter of indifference whence vessels hail. We are glad to see that the Seamen's Union of Australia distinguished between British ocean-going steamers and "foreign vessels."

THE Agent-General for Queensland, SIR JAMES GARRICK, K.C.M.G., responding to a toast at the banquet of the Irish Society, the other day, spoke in hearty approval of Federation. "The idea," he said, "is no longer to seek a favourable opportunity of saying good-bye to the Colonies, but rather to unite them to the Mother Country by stronger bonds. I trust that unity will grow out of that sympathetic feeling which we have for each other, and that the Colonies will unite with England, and bid any enemy to keep hands off the Old Country."

It was a memorable hour for members of the League when speaker after speaker, from the furthest corners of the Empire, got up to testify before the Royal Colonial Institute their faith in Federation principles. "I say ditto to SIR GRAHAM," said MR. SERVICE, late Premier of Victoria; "his ideas are my ideas, his thoughts my thoughts." This was the spirit that animated all the speakers, and, we believe, the audience also. The RIGHT HON. H. C. CHILDERS, M.P., the Chairman, wound up the discussion with an interesting speech: "I cordially adopt all SIR GRAHAM BERRY proposes, and I concur in almost all his arguments." Considering that these proposals and arguments were all directed towards the advancement of Imperial Federation, no more thoroughgoing acceptance of our principles could be devised.

"I LOVE this old country, and, as long as GOD gives me strength, I shall stand up for my Mother Land! The Colonies, as far as they could, have given their assistance, their blood, and their money, and are ready to offer the

same again. I want to see the whole Federation scheme brought about, and the sooner the better!" Thus spake Mr. J. F. ARNOLD, a Colonist of thirty years' standing, who had been in the Colonies since he was a lad. Every word in SIR GRAHAM BERRY'S paper met with his approval; and we cannot but think he must be just the stamp of man whose approval is worth having. No great cause can succeed which does not awaken enthusiasm.

IT was certainly unfortunate that in the Lord Mayor's Show Canada should have been represented by a model of the Ice Palace at Montreal. But the fact that so much indignant notice has been taken of the matter appears to us a subject for congratulation. A few years ago no one would have either known or cared about the appropriateness of any Colonial emblem. Now all is changed; and it is just because people are waking up to the grand climate and resources of Canada, that they perceive the absurdity of representing her by Arctic symbols. We are convinced that better knowledge of the Empire will lead to keener appreciation of its value; and when the British nation once realises that the Empire is practically worth preserving, as a matter of £ s. d., if nothing higher, we shall see the movement for Imperial Federation advance even more rapidly than at present towards its final consummation.

THE following paragraph appeared in the *Canadian Gazette* of November 11th:—"A dinner has been given to PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH by the National Club on his return from England. About a hundred members of the Club were present, and the chair was occupied by LIEUT.-COLONEL G. T. DENISON. PROFESSOR SMITH was warmly received, and, in the course of his speech, stoutly maintained the cause of a united Empire." If this statement is correct, we have made a most important convert. For PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH'S abilities we have the highest respect, but he has hitherto been one of the few opponents of Federation. When, however, he rises to "*stoutly maintain the cause of a United Empire*," we begin to look confidently forward to his becoming an active member of the League at no distant date."

THE Cambridge Union Society debated the question of Imperial Federation the other night. The resolution which COUNT STRICKLAND asked the House to adopt ran as follows:—"That this House recognises the supreme importance of the action of the Conservative Party in adopting the principle of Imperial Federation as an article of Conservative policy." We give the resolution in full, because the debate which ensued was an admirable example of the impossibility of narrowing Imperial Federation down into a party question. The opener himself took especial pains to declare that the word "Conservative" did not enter into the motion with a view to making it a party question. It was, he said, no party question; it was a question of the English nation. Successive speakers showed that this was the evident sense of the House. Quite new lines of cleavage became apparent: a Conservative spoke against the motion, a Liberal in favour of it. The crowning piece of evidence was displayed in the division, which showed—Ayes, 96; noes, 24; majority in favour of Federation, 72. These figures have clearly no relation whatever to the ordinary balance of parties in the Cambridge Union; and the lesson of the debate is, that there are a hundred young men at Cambridge, with the fulness of life just opening before them, who are with us heart and soul in this grand struggle, even to sinking party differences. That will mean something more than discussion by-and-by!

SHOULD A BOW HAVE ONE STRING OR TWO?

SIR JAMES ANDERSON'S remarks upon cable cutting, in our correspondence columns, will be read with interest as coming from a distinguished expert. "More cruisers rather than more cables" is the advice he gives. We should like to accept the one without excluding the other. With the commercial aspect of the question we are not now concerning ourselves; whether duplicate cables would really promote ruinous competition at the expense of the taxpayers does not fall within the scope of our inquiry. What we have to consider is, whether the defence of the Empire would or would not be assisted by an ocean cable route to Australia.

Sir James Anderson admits that, if war broke out tomorrow with a naval Power, cables, Colonies, and commerce must all take care of themselves! He means, we suppose, that cables might be cut, Colonial cities shelled, and commerce smashed, the last two resulting from the first of the trio. If, however, cables remained intact, we do not imagine Sir James Anderson would deny that both Colonies and commerce would have such timely notice as to enable them to mine their harbours, lay up their shipping, and man their defences. The telegraph annihilates distance and renders a surprise impossible. But cables, it is stated, can be cut, no matter what their length or how deep the ocean may be. To this we reply, that you must find your cable before you can cut it; that to find it is much easier when the sections are short, and the charts obtainable at various stations on non-British, possibly, hostile territory; that, in any case, it is easier to find and to cut one cable than two; and that on the broad ocean between say, Vancouver and Sydney, the enemy's cruiser would be further from his base and running a greater risk than is habitual with foreign vessels, when war with England is imminent. It is one thing to slip out into the Mediterranean from Toulon, or Spezia, or the Black Sea; but a very different matter to reach the Ocean cable route on the Pacific, even from Vladivostok.

After all, from the concluding sentence in Sir James Anderson's letter, we are inclined to think he differs from us only as to when the new cable route should be laid down, though in that *when* there is a mighty virtue! "When war is imminent, the necessary provision must be made at any cost; to try and anticipate this is a waste of public money." We are quite content to have the issue raised on this question of the right time, and to leave the public to decide. We advocate having two strings to our bow, so that when war is imminent we may be ready for it. Sir James Anderson wishes to wait until the last moment, and then make *the necessary provision* at any cost. But it is not long since the country had a terrible lesson, which taught that the utmost endeavour and the most lavish expenditure cannot work impossibilities, and that a moment comes when the cry goes up "Too late!" We urge such moderate and prompt expenditure of public money as may be required to subsidise an alternative ocean cable, and thus enable *the necessary provision* to be made while yet there is time.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY AND HIS CRITICS.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY is a Statesman and a Colonist, and he is in favour of Imperial Federation. We reproduce in another column some of the striking passages with which his lecture before the Royal Colonial Institute abounded.

What he said has not escaped criticism; but his critics must have been denied access to a complete report of the words used, for they seem to labour under a thorough misapprehension of the drift of his remarks.

An impression has gone abroad that Sir Graham Berry demanded for Australia the *control* over the Foreign Policy of Great Britain. We defy any one who listened to or read a full report of the lecture to support such a perversion of the argument. The words of the passage in question will be found elsewhere; but it is necessary to state, that so far from claiming control over Foreign Policy, it was only as a possible contingency that even a voice in it was advocated. And who will venture to refuse a voice in it, when Australia, whose aid in relief of the Imperial defences already amounts to some hundreds of thousands sterling per annum shall have increased that contribution tenfold? Not any member

of this League, we are certain. Yet this was the condition to which Sir Graham Berry alluded as preceding an expectation on the part of the Colonies to influence more effectively than at present the Foreign Policy of the country. The essence of Federation is joint responsibility; nothing so immediately concerns the whole Empire as the Foreign Policy of the Empire; to talk of Federation and claim for Great Britain the sole management of Imperial relations with the rest of the world is absurd. Still more absurd is it to imagine any sensible person suggesting that Australia should control the Foreign Policy. Sir Graham Berry is a very shrewd man indeed, and the last who would plead guilty to crying for the moon.

MORE ABOUT POSTAL ANOMALIES AND MAIL SUBSIDIES.

IN discussing the question of a cheaper postage with the Colonies I notice that it has been asked why the different Australian Colonies and New Zealand did not enter the postal union, so as to enable them to be placed on the same footing as the favoured European countries, and even Persia and China, who have all the privileges of indulging in the luxury of a 2½d. postage.

The facts of the case are these:—The Australian Colonies appointed representatives to attend the postal congress held at Lisbon during the month of February, 1885, but the delegates of France, Germany, Russia, and, in fact, all the Continental Powers failed to grasp the fact that New South Wales and New Zealand, Victoria and Tasmania, Queensland and South Australia, had each a separate representative government, and that West Australia and the Fiji Islands were Crown Colonies further removed from each other than are England and Newfoundland. The Congress was willing to admit a representative from Peru and another from Tahiti, one from Ecuador and another from Hawaiian Islands, but refused to allow one member to represent Victoria and another New Zealand. If Australasia wished to be included in the union, one vote alone could be cast by the whole of these Colonies. The English representative stood alone against this contention, but was overruled by the others. It was even urged by the German representative that it was impolitic to give a vote to any of the British Colonies, either singly or collectively, as the whole of them should be represented by Great Britain alone. As a compromise, however, it was agreed to allow one vote from Australia if at least three of the Colonies joined the union. The Postmaster-General of Great Britain and the Secretary of State for the Colonies expressed the opinion that this was a fair concession, and this is how the case stands at the moment. The subject has been thoroughly discussed in the Colonies during the last few months. Papers from South Australia, just to hand, show that the question has been thoroughly ventilated in the House of Representatives at Adelaide during the early part of October, and, after an adjourned debate, on a motion by Mr. Basedow, "that it was expedient for South Australia to join the Postal Union," it was ultimately agreed to withdraw the motion on the distinct understanding that steps would be immediately taken, in conjunction with some of the other Colonies, to enter into negotiations for admission into the Union, the same not to take effect until the expiration of the existing mail contracts in January, 1888.

Many who have the interest of our growing Colonial Empire at heart, consider that the fact of these Colonies not yet having entered the union will make the consummation of our desire for an Imperial Penny Postage more easy of attainment, in leaving them free from the trammels of an international union.

We must, however, recognise the fact that the adoption of cheaper postage between Great Britain and the Colonies would be only half the battle; the present system of inter-colonial postage would have to be entirely reconsidered, and the many strange inconsistencies abolished. A letter from Sydney to Brisbane, or from Melbourne to Hobart Town, costs twopence. The town postage in the different Australian Colonies is one penny, but if a letter is sent ten miles inland the charge is twopence. A letter from Queensland to Chicago or New York costs sixpence, but to British Columbia, or in fact any portion of the Canadian confederation, the charge is sevenpence. A letter from Brisbane to Sweden costs ninepence, whereas the same to the Cape of Good Hope would amount to elevenpence, notwithstanding that the latter is only half the distance and also a British Colony. To Fiji Islands the charge is twopence, whereas to British New Guinea, almost a Queensland protectorate, it is sixpence. A newspaper from Brisbane to Philadelphia costs one penny, and to Quebec or Manitoba threepence; to Algiers one penny, but double the amount to Cape Town.

The next congress, in which we are to be represented in connection with postal affairs, ought not be international or universal, but Imperial, and one in which all our Colonies and

Dependencies are adequately represented. I have no objection to an international penny postage; and, in fact, that it will ultimately be established I feel assured—but our present purpose is to draw the outlying portions of our world-empire into closer communication, socially, commercially, and politically, and as a decisive step in that direction a radical change in our means of inter-communication is absolutely necessary. The adoption of an Imperial postage will be the practical embodiment of one of the first principles of the federation of the Empire, and the universal interest taken in the scheme, not only in the home countries but in the Colonies, during the short time it has been before the public, leads one to hope that the establishment of an Imperial Postal Congress is not in the dim and distant future, but nearer than many of us imagine.

Such a congress would soon be able to formulate a scheme fixing a rate of postage which ought not to exceed one penny per ounce for letters, one halfpenny for newspapers, and sixpence for oversea parcels not exceeding one pound, with threepence for each additional pound weight. That there are difficulties in the scheme will be admitted, but they are not greater than those overcome by the International Postal Union a few years ago. The main argument against the adoption of the scheme is a financial one. Although the Postmaster-General is able to announce an annual profit of two and three-quarter million pounds as the result of the working of the Post Office, he has to admit the loss of £370,000 in connection with foreign and Colonial postage.

But the greater portion of this charge should be properly debited to the Admiralty. In the majority of cases the steamers earning subsidies are auxiliary troop-ships. They are built upon Admiralty plans, and, after being passed by the Government official, are placed upon the Admiralty list for active service in times of emergency as troop and store ships. Many of them were so employed during the Egyptian campaign, and others were hastily converted into swift, armed cruisers during the Russian scare last year. The Government consider—and rightly so—that it is better to subsidise large and powerful merchant steamers than to build a number of costly troopships which may have to lie idle for long periods, both the machinery and the hulls in the meantime deteriorating; but is it just to debit this amount entirely to the postal department? The recent determination of the Admiralty to keep in readiness, at different ports in the United Kingdom, complete armaments for thirty merchant steamers, points to a further development in this direction.

Within the last few weeks two large mail steamers have been built for the Pacific Steam Navigation Company's line, running in conjunction with the Orient steamers to Australia. These boats, the *Oraya* and *Orizaba*, each 6,500 tons gross register, are constructed so as to be instantly converted into troop-ships. They have been passed for Government service in case of need by Admiralty officials. If we consider the vast importance of quickly moving large bodies of troops and stores from one point to another, the value of such steamers can be appreciated when we find that they steam at the rate of 16½ knots, equal to 19 miles an hour. In times of peace they will receive retainers in the shape of a mail subsidy, about which the Postmaster-General had so much to say lately, but they will be supposed to hold themselves at the disposal of the Admiralty should they be required.

The British India Steam Navigation Company run a splendid line of steamers direct to Queensland, for which they receive £55,000 per annum for the carriage of the mails. But in consideration of this amount they are also required to carry emigrants from Great Britain at the rate of £16 per head. We must also consider that these payments are made in part to keep up the character of our merchant fleet. Our magnificent line of P. and O. steamers could not have been at their present state of efficiency without the aid of Government subventions.

The question of mail subsidies requires a thorough sifting. With reference to inter-colonial postage, the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand have command of a fleet of steamers that are not surpassed by that of any European nation, and which do the Colony infinite credit. These are subsidised for carrying the mails between that Colony and Australia, between the Fiji Islands and New Zealand, and between Sydney and the Fiji Islands. Although the amount is granted for mail purposes, there can be no doubt but that the regular and the frequent inter-communication has the result of increasing the trade between these Colonies in much the same manner as the regular communication by the "Castle" line of steamers between the Cape Colony, Natal, and Mauritius, has developed the trade between these Colonies. In a paper lately read by Sir F. D. Bell before the Statistical Society,¹ it is mentioned that the trade between New Zealand and the Pacific Islands has grown sevenfold between the years 1864 and 1884, and in an interesting work on New Zealand, just published,² it is stated that the exports from that Colony to the Australian Continent show an increase during 1884 of £481,711, or 43¼ per cent. compared with the previous year. In both these cases I maintain that

¹ Journal of the Statistical Society, October, 1886.

² New Zealand, by James Heaton, F.R.S., Wellington, N. Z., 1886.

this increased business is greatly to be accounted for by the improved communication between these Colonies.

Nearly every European nation now subsidises one or more lines of steamers—ostensibly for postal facilities—but generally for other purposes. Take the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company, who own a fleet of seventy-nine steamers, many of them over three thousand tons register. I recollect some years ago a couple of these boats were built on the Tyne. They were constructed under the direct superintendence of Russian naval officers and attracted some attention at the time. It was generally remarked that no other steamers built for the merchant service had such a thickness of plate, and that the numbers of the different crews were out of all proportion to the requirements of a trading ship. The head-quarters of the Company are at St. Petersburg, but the boats trade, as a rule, from the Black Sea. Russian war ships were not then allowed to pass in and out of the Bosphorus at their own free will, but there was nothing to prevent a Russian trading ship doing so. Their fastest boats now run from China to Odessa with tea and silks, but the return cargoes often consist of convicts bound for Vladivostok in Siberia, and some of the horrors of the old slave trade are re-enacted on board of these boats, which are so heavily subsidised for postal (?) facilities as to be almost considered as Government property.

The French Government assist the Messageries Maritimes to the extent of £160,000 per annum for a monthly service to Australia and New Caledonia, to be increased this year to £250,000 for a fortnightly service. No one for a moment imagines that this is simply for postal facilities. Our neighbours across the English Channel consider that, side by side with the great competition that permeates all commercial transactions, there is growing up reciprocity in trade, and that if they send their steamers to Australia and import Australian wool, mutton, and tallow, the Australians in return will purchase French manufactures, in which case the amount paid in subsidy will be well spent.

The North German Lloyd's steamers annually receive £200,000 from Germany, ostensibly for the Australian mail service, but partly to promote the export of German manufactures and partly to open out her new Colonial empire in the East.

Holland subsidises the Netherlands India Steamship Company for the mails, but the boats are employed as auxiliary troop ships to Java.

The Rubattino line, consisting of 102 large steamers, sailing from Genoa, is paid a mileage for every mile run, by the Italian Government. The competition from this company is severely felt in the Indian trade, where, owing to the larger subsidies, it is able to compete successfully with the P. and O. and other British lines for the passenger trade to Europe.

So that quite apart from the question of the carriage of mails, it may be considered advantageous to subsidise steamers for naval and commercial purposes, but it is hardly fair to place the amount so paid entirely to the debit of the postal service.

At the same time, any scheme that will lessen the present exorbitant, and in many cases prohibitive postal charges between the Mother Country and her Colonies and Dependencies, as also between Colony and Colony, is worthy of the closest consideration, and the man who succeeds in carrying such an undertaking as an Imperial Penny Postage to a successful issue will be considered a greater benefactor to the British race than even Sir Rowland Hill.

JOHN MUNDILL.

A HOPEFUL PUPIL.

MR. PUNCH is never too old to learn: he always keeps pace with the times, and is an unfailing barometer of popular feeling. This is what he says about Imperial Federation:—

The Higher Imperialism has laid hold of the public imagination. The unification of the heterogeneous items constituting what is known as the British Empire is the dream and the desire of all. Federation is in the air.

At this moment comes a rare and a striking opportunity of doing something practical on a large scale and in permanent fashion, in the direction of our desire and towards the realisation of our dream. It is, above all things, to be desired that the opportunity should not be missed, nor, what is of almost more importance, misused.

Commerce, speaking gravely and earnestly in the name of the larger and more abiding interests of the Empire, demands that the Jubilee Institution, whatever form it may assume, shall be large in its scope and abiding in its influence. An Imperial Institution—call it "Colonial Museum," "Imperial Commercial Museum," or what you please—which shall be a comprehensive, orderly, easily accessible display of the realms and the resources of the Empire, a centre of intelligence, a bond of sympathy, a nucleus of co-operation, would answer to that ideal.

IMPERIAL DEFENCE AS ALREADY UNDERSTOOD BY THE ADMIRALTY AND THE WAR OFFICE.

A PARLIAMENTARY Return has recently been issued, showing the assistance given by the Board of Admiralty and the War Office to the Colonial Governments for purposes of defence during the last five years. The return, of which we reproduce an abstract below, is more interesting for what it implies than for its actual contents. The amount of assistance given, whether in the services of officers, or in the supply of munitions of war, has not been so extensive as to warrant our building any lofty hopes upon the measure of protection thereby afforded to the Colonies. The present of "30 lbs. of gunpowder required for blasting purposes in connection with the building of a church" at Tristan d'Acunha, the supply of twenty copies of a torpedo manual to New Zealand, the "gun metal presented in connection with the proposed memorial to the warrior Tyendinoga" in Canada, are items upon which it would clearly be unsafe to place much reliance for Imperial defence. Nor, indeed, if we take the largest and costliest gifts or loans (for it will be observed that the return treats loans as equivalent to gifts!) do we find that the transactions have been of overwhelming magnitude.

But the instructive part of the return lies in the evidence it affords that machinery already exists, which, if properly developed, is capable of making the necessary arrangements for a combined and mutual system of defence.

If there is a department at the War Office so organised as to admit of the transfer of forty-four officers on the active list of the Army to the Colonial service, it can be easily developed on a larger scale; the difficulty of extending such a system is infinitesimal compared with its creation out of nothing. Again, it appears to be a well understood arrangement that the Colonies should draw military and naval weapons and stores from our arsenals; they have not as yet availed themselves of the privilege to any great extent, it is true, but the facilities are there. One such transaction is a type of many, and the system once established is obviously elastic. Those who know the almost insuperable difficulties in the way of inducing a public office to move upon new lines, or even contemplate a fresh departure, will be thankful to discover that much may be done towards realising a thorough system of Imperial defence, by a simple process of amplifying and perfecting what has already proved a successful working arrangement.

ABSTRACT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY RETURN

Showing the number of Naval and Military Officers now employed in the service of the Colonies by the permission of the Board of Admiralty and of the War Office, and of assistance given to the Colonial Governments in Ships, Guns, or other Military Stores.

Number of Officers on the Active List of the Army employed in the service of the Colonies:—

South Australia	...	...	1	Cyprus	...	...	...	2
New South Wales	...	...	4	Straits Settlements	...	...	...	4
Queensland	...	...	3	Jamaica	...	...	...	2
Victoria	...	...	6	Malta	...	...	...	1
Canada	...	...	10	Ceylon	...	...	...	1
Natal	...	...	2	New Zealand	...	...	...	1
Bechuanaland	...	...	7	Total	...	...	...	44

Number of Officers on the Active List of the Navy employed in the Service of the Colonies:—

Bahamas	...	...	1	South Australia	...	...	1
Ceylon	...	...	1	Victoria	...	...	4
Fiji	...	...	1	Cyprus	...	...	2
Queensland	...	...	1	Total	...	...	11

Naval Assistance afforded to the Colonies during the past Five Years (1881-86) in regard to Ships, &c., so far as known in the Ship and Dockyard Branches:—

VICTORIA.			
2 second-class torpedo boats	Construction inspected and payments certified to by Admiralty officers.		
Torpedo boat <i>Childers</i>	} Casual inspection during construction, and certificates for payment granted.		
Gunboats { <i>Victoria</i> ...			
<i>Albert</i> ...			
56 feet steam life pinnacle	Construction inspected and payments certified to by officers of Portsmouth Dockyard.		

TASMANIA.			
Second-class torpedo boat ...	Do.	by Admiralty officers.	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA.			
Gunboat <i>Protector</i> ...	Do.	"	
QUEENSLAND.			
Gunboats { <i>Paluma</i> ...	Do.	"	
{ <i>Gayundah</i> ...	Work was also done at our Dock-yards on these two vessels at the expense of the Colony.		
Second-class torpedo boat ...	Construction inspected and payments certified to by Admiralty officers.		

NEW SOUTH WALES.			
	Tons	Dispt.	I.H.P.
<i>Wolverene</i> ...	A screw corvette ...	2,540 ...	1,490
	Presented to the Colony in 1881 for use as a training ship.		

CANADA.			
	Tons	Dispt.	I.H.P.
<i>Alert</i> ...	A screw sloop ...	1,240 ...	310
	Lent to the Canadian Government for the exploration of Hudson's Straits and Bay, &c.		

Naval Assistance afforded to the Colonies during the past five years (1881-86) in the matter of Guns, Torpedoes, Warlike Stores, and services connected therewith, so far as known in Gunnery Branch.

In January, 1881, Treasury sanction was obtained for the presentation to the Government of the Dominion of Canada of a complete sample set of magazines and fittings connected therewith, necessary for the conversion of the fleet of ocean-going steamers in Canadian ports into cruisers in war time. The cost to Imperial funds involved by this transaction amounted to £262 19s., including £17 5s. for freight.

When it was approved in December, 1881, to transfer H.M.S. *Wolverene*, as a free gift to the New South Wales Government, it was at the same time decided to present the armament, ammunition, and other war office stores on board the vessel to the Colony. The full value of these stores was estimated at £8,700.

A supply of friction tubes was made in the same year to the Colony of New Zealand, with Admiralty consent.

In 1882 Admiralty consent was given for the supply to the Victorian Government of four Nordenfelts out of an order given to Mr. Nordenfelt on Admiralty behalf by the War Department.

In December, 1882, 20 copies of Vol. II. of the Torpedo Manual were supplied to New Zealand. It is not known that any claim for repayment was put forward.

On the 22nd May, 1883, H.M.S. *Sapphire* arrived at the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, and, in accordance with the custom observed upon the visit of a man-of-war, Captain Fullerton supplied the islanders with the various small stores of which they were in need, including 30 lbs. of gunpowder (required for blasting purposes in connection with the building of a church).

In the early part of 1884, the Agent-General for Victoria requested that a 15-inch 19-foot torpedo might be supplied for the Colonial torpedo vessel *Childers*, and at their Lordships' instance a torpedo of this nature was sold to the Victorian Government for £420.

In September, 1884, Admiralty concurred in the issue of two 7-pr. guns, 50 rifles, and 6 Nordenfelt guns from the reserves at Hong Kong for the Local Naval Defence Force of the Colony, and a sum (£4,300), to replace these stores, was inserted in the Naval Gun Estimates for 1885-6, but was subsequently struck out.

In September, 1884, at the request of the Agent-General for Victoria, the Commodore in Australia was authorised to transfer an 18-ton gun (10-inch M.L.) from H.M.S. *Nelson* to the Victorian war vessel *Cerberus* in place of one damaged. It is understood that the War Department has dealt with this question as a repayment service.

In April and May, 1885, when preparations were being made in view of a possible war, the Commander-in-Chief, Australia, supplied (on repayment) to the Colony of New Zealand 8 64-pr. M.L. guns, some submarine mines, and other warlike stores from the Naval Reserves at Sydney. The Colonial Government subsequently expressed a wish to return the guns, and this was acceded to.

The value of the stores supplied amounted to £5,084 13s. 4d., including £3,000 for the guns to be returned.

Certain war office stores, of which precise details are not yet to hand, were at the same time supplied by Admiral Tryon to the Queensland Government, and will be either paid for or returned.

The Colonial gunboat *Gayundah* has also, at the request of the Governor, been permitted to draw stores (on repayment) from Sydney Depot.

The supply of torpedoes to the Government of New South Wales, New Zealand, South Australia, and Tasmania, was facilitated by the Admiralty during the summer of 1885, and the torpedoes purchased by the various Colonies have been inspected during manufacture, and tested by Admiralty officers in a similar manner to those ordered by the Imperial Government.

Facilities for freight have also been afforded.

Between the years 1881 and 1886, drawings and advice as to torpedo gear, air-compressing machines, etc., have been on various occasions furnished to the Australian Colonies when required, and confidential manuals and reports have been from time to time supplied to New Zealand, Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia.

Pensioned torpedo artificers have been recently selected for the

service of Queensland and New Zealand, and have received instructions in their duties on board H.M.S. *Vernon*. Similar instructional facilities were afforded in the case of Mr. Matthieson, R.E., appointed torpedo director of Tasmania.

Permission was granted in the summer of 1885 for a party of two officers and four men in the Queensland service to undergo a torpedo course on board H.M.S. *Nelson*.

Various applications on behalf of Colonies for War Office stores and assistance connected therewith have been referred to the War Department, and have been dealt with by that Department.

(Signed) J. O. HOPKINS.

Return showing the Assistance given to the British Colonies and Possessions in Guns and other Military Stores, during the five years 1881-1886.

"A."—List of gifts and cases in which stores have been issued at reduced prices.

"B."—Abstract of the value of issues made on repayment at vocabulary rates.

"A."—LIST OF GIFTS, ETC.

Year.	Details.	Value.
		£ s. d.
1885-86	HELIGOLAND:—1,000 iron gabions, to assist in reclaiming Sandy Island ...	287 10 0
1882-83	CAPE COAST CASTLE:—Certain smooth bore ordnance, with equipment, handed over to the Colony free of charge ...	3,457 0 0
1885-86	CAPE TOWN:—The gratuitous supply, during the next five years, of ammunition necessary for the practice of the volunteer artillery corps ...	1,500 0 0
1882-83	HONG KONG:—150 carbines, 150 sets of accoutrements, 6 7-pr. guns, carriages, and limbers, for the equipment of a volunteer artillery corps ...	1,226 0 0
1884-85	Two 7-pr. guns, 50 rifles, and 6 Nordenfelt guns, with ammunition and equipment for the armament of an auxiliary naval flotilla ...	4,300 0 0
1885-86	SHANGHAI:—4 9-pr. R.B.L. guns with carriages, limbers, and stores for the use of the artillery volunteers ...	1,085 0 0
	The free issue annually of 30,000 rounds of Martini-Henry ammunition for the volunteer force ...	100 0 0
1881-82	WESTERN AUSTRALIA:—Certain military stores left behind on the disbandment in October, 1880, of the pensioner force in the Colony ...	1,500 0 0
1881-82	NEW SOUTH WALES:—The armament, ammunition, and military stores of Her Majesty's ship <i>Wolverene</i> ...	8,700 0 0
1884-85	TASMANIA:—Two 80-pr. R.M.L. converted guns, with carriages and ammunition complete, required for the defence of Hobart... 300 additional rounds of ammunition for the 80-pr. guns ...	576 13 2
"		240 0 0
1885-86	The free conversion of 5 8" smooth-bore guns into 64-pr. R.M.L. guns ...	745 0 0
1885-86	CANADA:—Gun metal, present in connection with the proposed memorial to the warrior Tyendinoga (Joseph Brant) ...	218 8 0
1881-82	WINDWARD ISLANDS:—100 Snider rifles, accoutrements, &c., allowed, on the disbandment of the Grenada volunteer force, to whom they were originally issued, to be retained for the use of the police ...	500 0 0
1885-86	TRINIDAD:—200 Snider rifles lent, and 60,000 rounds of ammunition given, for the use of the police force ...	800 0 0
	6 16-pr. guns, with full equipment, for the use of a volunteer artillery corps ...	3,054 0 0
1885-86	JAMAICA:—Arms, accoutrements, &c., lent for the use of the local volunteers ...	4,000 0 0
1885-86	HONDURAS:—127 rifles, &c., lent for use of local police ...	400 0 0
1885-86	BRITISH GUIANA:—200 short Snider rifles, 200 sets of accoutrements, and 4 targets, &c., lent for the use of the volunteers, about ...	800 0 0

Cases in which Stores have been issued at reduced prices:—

Year.	Details.	Value of such Reduction.
1885-86	GOLD COAST:—900 Snider rifles, at 10s. each	2,000 0 0
1881-82	CEYLON:—750 Snider rifles, at two-thirds value ...	791 18 10
1883-84	25 Snider rifles, at three-fourths value ...	21 7 4
1885-86	STRAITS SETTLEMENTS:—400 short rifles, at three-fourths value ...	400 0 0
1884-85	QUEENSLAND:—4 9-pr. 8 cwt. R.M.L. ordnance, with carriages, limbers, projectiles, &c., issued at a total charge of £700 ...	700 0 0
1885-86	NEW ZEALAND:—6 9-pr. R.B.L. guns, with carriages, limbers, projectiles, &c., at a total cost of £900 ...	900 0 0

1882-83	CANADA:—4 40-pr. R.M.L. guns, with carriages, equipment, and 100 rounds of ammunition complete; supplied at a charge of £400	1,500	0	0
1885-86	Stores for 6-pr. R.B.L. guns, issued at half-price	160	0	0
"	12 9-pr. 8 cwt. R.M.L. ordnance, with carriages, limbers, wagons, &c., issued at a total cost of £2,100...	2,334	0	0

"B."—Statement of the Value of Warlike Stores, including Guns, Rifles, Small-arm Ammunition, and other Military Stores, issued on Repayment to the various British Colonies and Possessions, for which Claims have been made during the Five Years ending 31st March, 1886.

Gibraltar...	£76	New South Wales	£66,486
West African Possessions	4,499	Victoria	66,104
Cape and Natal...	28,332	Tasmania	8,063
Mauritius	65	New Zealand	20,779
Ceylon	2,610	Fiji Islands	882
Straits Settlements	8,543	Canada	47,799
Queensland	30,160	West India Possessions...	602
Western Australia	2,110	British Guiana	604
South Australia...	32,486	Falkland Islands	6

Note.—Minor issues on repayment are made from time to time from local stores abroad; these are not included in the above statement, which is confined to issues made from England.

THE MULTILATERAL ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

BELIEVERS and workers in the great cause of Imperial Unity cannot but be encouraged and stimulated when they observe the increasing number and variety of the references which are being made to different aspects of this, the greatest political—using that word in its real Aristotelian sense—problem of the age. It is so, not because the matter can, nor will, be settled by a vote in Parliament, but because many other problems are bound up with it, and can best be seen in their true proportions, when viewed in relation to the present aspects of Imperial Unity, whether actual or ideal.

There has been a distinct change of tone in the language of those who differ from us. If deprecatory, it is always kindly; and if despondent, it is because it is assumed that the advocates are seeking that which is, from the Colonial standpoint, impossible. Insisting on the certainty of disruption, they would beg the very questions which the League wishes to be thoroughly threshed out.

OUR PROGRESS THIS YEAR HAS BEEN RAPID.

On looking back through the last half-year a wonderful progress is observable. The expansion of popular sentiment and the growing interest of Parliamentarians is unquestionable. Over five million visitors have not passed through the London Exhibition without imbibing some of the grand geographical lessons about the British Empire which it inculcates. The series of Conferences organised by the League would do good work. The irrepressible banquet, even with its irrespirable July atmosphere, was significant for the enthusiasm displayed by different party men. The scepticism of many members of Parliament has been seriously shaken. No movement has ever grown with such unexampled rapidity. It is almost incredible that, in so short a time, it should have been alluded to in the Queen's Speech. Who shall now prophesy of what we are not within measurable distance? One thing may, I believe, be predicted and emphasised wherever it may be necessary—the League will continue to keep itself free from insular party politics, and look steadily at its own ideals.

THE WORLD-WIDE ENGLAND.

But, leaving the atmosphere of newspapers, it is worth while turning aside to other regions which bring before us the multilateral aspects of our great question. This was vividly exhibited in the course of a few days' reading in the summer, and the illustrations then obtained may have considerable significance to many who do not follow nor care much about the fluctuations of party politics. Reference may be made to some remarks by the Primate. In a statesmanlike sermon, preached by his Grace on the 3rd of May, he told his hearers:—"Now is the moment in which is being determined whether the vast democracies, which everywhere in the Empire are forming, shall be Christian or half heathen—appreciative of the institutions of the Mother Country, or brought up to view them as selfish and obstructive. And on the answer to that question stability depends for all we honour most. In these days we have a continental England and an oceanic England. . . . Now, no more merely an island-citadel of the temperate seas, but . . . the real world-wide England."

These words cannot be too widely read. One phrase reminds us of the literary work which is aiding the cause. Mr. Froude's "Oceana" has given hundreds of thousands some insight into what they most vaguely knew—or, rather, did not know—as "our Colonies." The Archbishop's words remind

us that common Christian faith and aspirations form a deep bond of unity, with which politicians can never interfere. Millions in our islands may not know them, but the Colonists do not forget the efforts which people at home have made to help the cause of religion and education in the struggling days of the Colonist. Those who built or supported thousands of their schools and churches, and sent them books and ministers, have materially contributed to the deep sentiment of Imperial unity and loyalty which some at home will scarce believe in. This aspect was about the same time referred to by Professor Westcott, in Westminster Abbey, when he pointed out how the acknowledgment of our common brotherhood affected the human constituents of the State. Thus, we were "to look to the foundations and issues of national life, and not to allow the sense of unity to be lost in the struggle."

THE VERDICT OF MEN OF SCIENCE.

Turning from Religion to Science, the same week showed that Imperial Federation could not escape thoughtful and distinguished men at the British Association for the Advancement of Science. This year's president, Sir William Dawson, of Montreal, is himself an embodiment of the scientific union with the Mother Country. Although there is, doubtless, a scientific union with all American scientists, we may remind ourselves and Professor Freeman that an American Professor could not preside at the British Association, nor could we, its members, meet in the United States. After referring to the visit of the British Association to Canada, and the invitation to meet next year in Australia, Sir William pointed out, in his inaugural address, that science was bringing the separated parts of the world much nearer, and "breaking down those geographical barriers which have separated the different portions of our widely-extended British race. Its work is not yet complete. . . . By its visit to Canada the British Association has asserted its Imperial character, and has consolidated the scientific interests of her Majesty's dominions, in advance of that great gathering of the industrial products of all parts of the Empire in London, and in advance of any political plans of Imperial Federation." After this allusion from the presidential chair, it was fitting that a paper on "Imperial Federation" should be read in the Geographical Section. It gave rise to an animated discussion, but its introduction gave proof of the successful way in which the question has hitherto kept itself above the level of partisan politics. On the same day a suggestion was made in a London newspaper to replace the word "emigration" by "migration" for obvious reasons. In the *Nineteenth Century* for the same month I found a suggestive article by Mr. H. O. Arnold-Foster. Apropos of the Eastern Question, that *bête noir* of our "insulators," he argued respecting "what comes of our forgetting that a new England has sprung up, destined to be infinitely greater and infinitely more powerful than the old" on certain conditions. She is to accept "the new and brighter rôle" of the greatest sea Power of the world."

RALLYING ROUND THE SOUTH POLE!

Scarcely had I put down that article, and taken up the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, to read about the proposed Antarctic expedition, than I found I could not, even in seeking the South Pole, escape the irrepressible problem. Referring to the spirited action of the new, and, at present, the only Geographical Society of Australasia, and to the probable voting of exploration funds, the writer of the paper, Mr. Murray, remarked:—"Other Colonies might follow the example of the Australians, and the Imperial Government could not then refuse to take the recommendation into consideration. This would be a first great step in the direction of Imperial Federation." He considers, as do many more of us, that the expedition is one of those "well calculated to create new ties and interests between the different peoples of our great Empire. It might prepare the way for that closer union which is much talked about, and is very desirable. . . . Active participation in a work of this kind would make the Colonists feel that they are to take an active part in the future history of the Empire, as they now regard the past history of the United Kingdom as part of their common heritage."

It is, therefore, quite evident, looking not only at the growth of political sentiment which the Journal so well exhibits, but the manysided aspects of Imperial unity which are here illustrated, that great progress is being made, and that, even if it were only an ideal, it has already done good service. To the insulators we would say—

" 'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all."

MORE GEOGRAPHY LESSONS WANTED.

There is, however, a weak point in our Imperial harness, and it is not to be wondered at that some polemical people are smitten between the joints. We must constantly bear in mind the obstacle, generally, but let us hope less frequently, present not merely among the masses but the classes. "When I reflect on the position which geography now occupies in education," said the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, Warden of Merton College, Oxford,

on a recent occasion, "I have sometimes been tempted to think that most people are so ignorant of it that they do not appreciate their want of further knowledge." This state of affairs, and a comparative examination of other European countries, has been dealt with not only by the Royal Geographical Society, but by leading articles in the *Times* and other London newspapers, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, the *Journal of Education*, and again in the address of the President of the Geographical Section of the British Association at Birmingham. The Director-General of Military Education has plainly stated his opinion that there is an "obstinate prejudice existing in England against the study of geography, especially among the wealthy and influential classes." Doubtless, as Mr. Keltie's report shows, the state of our text-books, and the want of encouragement to students, has much to do with this, and the remedy will largely lie with gradually teaching teachers at the Universities. There something must and doubtless will be done. Ignorance and prejudice apart, we cannot surely allow it to be said in the Jubilee year of the Queen-Empress, as we do now, that Belgium, Greece, the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, and Portugal are the only civilised States without university professors of geography, when there are about 50 on the Continent, when no less than 120 periodicals are devoted to geography, and when there are more than 90 geographical—to say nothing of 146 missionary—societies in the world.

The difficulty, then, is that we are too apt to assume that the preliminary geographical knowledge, which is necessary to render luminous so many of the questions of extra-European but virtually British politics, comes by instinct and requires no teaching. It is not merely a question of "our insular ignorance," as Professor Seeley described it, but of our Continental ignorance. The history and geography of Europe is not enough for us; it is emphatically less to us than to men on the Continent. We call ourselves one of the great Powers of Europe; but we are really the great power of the non-European world. This is the key to our position.

If, as Professor Freeman contends, there is no sharp dividing line between ancient and modern history, neither should there be any longer a great barrier erected between Europe and the rest of the world. It is a healthy sign at Oxford to find the Regius Professor of Civil Law and late Under Foreign Secretary, Dr. Bryce, lecturing on the Constitution of the United States. Indian Law was provided with a Readership some time ago. The movement initiated in Oxford this term, to permit the affiliation of both Colonial and Indian universities, is also deserving of cordial welcome. They are surely signs that we are about to study, not merely in time, but in space, all the human and physical problems of an empire or commonwealth one hundred and fifty times as large as the little British archipelago which has providentially brought it into existence, and whose people are still given time to grasp the situation, to avoid political paralysis, and to shun selfish insulating luxuriousness by a patriotic foresight worthy of their mighty ancestors. The responsibility is ours. We avoid it at our peril. If we deliberately prefer the present ease of the careless ones; if we risk all for immediate material gain, or for a short way out of past engagements or present responsibilities; if, as a nation, we become indifferent to our moral interests, and lose faith in our righteous influence, assuredly the Nemesis of nations will overtake us, as it most deservedly has overtaken others. J. F. HEYES.

Oxford, November, 1886.

A PLEA FOR MIGRATION.

CARDINAL MANNING has written a powerful letter to the *Times* (November 22), concerning the best means of relieving the class of persons "who would work if work could be found for them."

After dwelling upon the particular means by which exceptional distress might be met, the letter concludes with advocating a vast scheme of migration from our crowded island to the sparsely-inhabited regions beyond the sea.

We consider that it is impossible to overrate the importance to the Empire of promoting an easy flow of population in such a way as to supply the deficiencies of one extreme with the available surplus of another. In our next issue we hope to discuss the question more fully, but we have now only space enough to give the following passage from Cardinal Manning's letter without further comment:—

Thus far I have spoken only of transient relief for transient distress; but there is still in our power a remedy, permanent, adequate, and full of benefits which would surely return upon ourselves. I mean the sending out of colonists under the direction of the Mother Country and of the Colonies acting together. This is not to be confounded with the selfish policy of clearance, against which our people justly rise, nor with the unprovided and precarious emigration of individuals, or even of families, without foresight and provision at home or abroad.

Colonisation requires that men and families in groups, combining artisans and agricultural workmen, and provided with the means of self-help and of settling themselves in ordered societies, should be transferred, under the direction of Government, to unoccupied lands in our boundless Empire, where provision shall have been already made for their reception. The funds for such colonisation need not be derived from grants of Imperial taxation, but from loans secured on the lands granted or sold to the colonists.

By this extension of our Mother Country, both those who go and those who stay at home are benefited; new fields of industry and new markets for commerce are added to our commonwealth. The distress of a winter would then issue in the permanent welfare of multitudes who, pent up at home, destroy our social prosperity and are themselves destroyed.

Among the unions of trade and labour in parts of Australia an opposition to the advent of more hands has arisen, and this opposition is represented at the present moment in this country by a delegate selected for that purpose. But the same alarm has always arisen at the outset of any movement or change which affects labour. We are, however, satisfied that no one will be found to affirm that the 6,697,700 of square miles in Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and Canada are already sufficiently provided with hands, or reclaimed by cultivation. There is no doubt local alarm may arise for a time among those who are locally full of work. But we contemplate the colonisation of lands where no hand has as yet traced a homestead or sown a seed.

Colonists would not be emigrant competitors for work, but groups passing to united settlements in the far lands of our vast Empire. But beyond this we are reasonably convinced that every new settlement will quicken the trades of our existing Colonies by a new demand for produce and manufactures necessary for life. New home markets would be formed for all Colonial industries, and the Imperial wealth would be increased by the growing wealth both of the Mother Country and of our people at home and abroad.

THE GRAND FUTURE OF THE LEAGUE: A PROPHETIC FORECAST.

FROM the *Madras Times* we extract the following very remarkable testimony to the high place which the League is expected to assume in the development of Imperial Federation. We shall, indeed, be content with a much humbler position when our aims have been realised. But let us enjoy for once the keen and unusual pleasure of "seeing ourselves as others see us" without any sense of wounded vanity, but very much the reverse!

With the junction and deliberations of the Imperial Federation League and the Colonists in London we may say that "Imperial Federation" has either already begun to be, or has attempted to come into existence.

Doubtless there is much that is rudimentary, inadequate, and only tentative in the formation of the Imperial Federation League; and they have no recognised legal existence or standing. They are a voluntary association. But we shall not at all be surprised if when next they join a body of Colonial representatives, the result will more adequately represent all parts of the British Empire and her Colonies; and their deliberations will be more definite, detailed, and authoritative, and meet with a better reception by the constituted Legislature and Government of the country.

When this has gone on for some little time, that which has happened will guide to what ought further to happen; and some Act of Federation will be passed, legalising what has been effected, formally recognising it, and doing more in the same direction. British Government is a natural, not an artificial, product. Like a poet, a British Constitution is born, not made; and Constitution-mongers, such as France rejoiced in after her great Revolution in the end of the last century, soon collapse in the British Empire.

We said that the Imperial Federation League may develop into a Federal Legislature; and their constitution may become the Constitution of the future for the Greater British Empire. But it is also possible that not this but some other germ may develop in the Imperial Federation of the future. This, however, does not seem likely, as the present League has not committed itself to anything that is likely to need repudiation or alteration; and the Prime Minister recognised some of the Colonial representations as the best that could be for the purposes of Imperial Federation. Doubtless it will be some time before it becomes legalised, or recognised even as a consultative body; and before even this degree of recognition is awarded to it, it will have to become more inclusive and complete. But the consultations of the body will be effective, and its recommendations will receive attention, long before it acquires a legal status.

But important as the consultations and proceedings may be, we think the League itself more important, as the probable germ of a Federal Legislature and Constitution; or as that which is preparing the way for such a body, and rendering it necessary, possible, practicable, easy, and effective. Time and the needs of the Empire, and the operation of forces and factors in the Imperial life, will determine whether the Imperial Federation League will act, or manifest life and activity, occasionally or continuously. The elements, of course, will continue to exist, and exist as elements of a Federal League or future Legislature; but whether they shall meet, consult, and act regularly and at small or great intervals, or whether they shall meet and act occasionally, time must determine.

NOTICES.

THE work of the LEAGUE depends entirely upon the voluntary donations and subscriptions of its members and friends generally, and not upon subventions from a few. Its work, therefore, can only be effective in proportion as it receives steady and general support.

The annual payment of One Shilling ensures inscription upon the Register of the LEAGUE.

The annual payment of Five Shillings ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of the JOURNAL of the LEAGUE monthly, post free.

The annual payment of One Guinea ensures inscription upon the Register, and the receipt of all the publications of the LEAGUE (JOURNAL included) as they are issued.

Annual Subscriptions and Registration Fees are due every 1st of January. Members will greatly oblige if they will remit without waiting for a reminder from the Secretary.

The annual subscription to the JOURNAL may begin with any number, to cover twelve months from that date. It will be sent post free the world over for the subscription of Four Shillings, payable in advance.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION should be obtainable through any bookseller. If any difficulty is experienced in obtaining it, the EDITOR, or the SECRETARY of the LEAGUE, should be communicated with, when the matter will be at once attended to.

Editors of Newspapers, and others, sending papers to the EDITOR, will greatly oblige by marking the passages to which they wish to call attention.

All who desire to see accomplished the Federal Union of the British Empire are earnestly requested to become members of the LEAGUE, and to promote the circulation of this JOURNAL by subscribing to it themselves, and introducing it to their friends.

Subscriptions, and all communications relating to the general business of the LEAGUE, should be sent to "THE SECRETARY;" and all communications for the JOURNAL should be sent to "THE EDITOR." Both the SECRETARY and the EDITOR should be addressed at 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.

Imperial Federation.

DECEMBER 1, 1886.

THE SELFISH ASPECT OF FEDERATION.

II.—FROM A COLONIAL STAND-POINT.

THE inhabitants of our Colonies are eminently practical men. They are not hampered with a history, nor bound by the chain of ancient alliances. Their vision is unclouded by the spell of tradition, their course steered clear of fervid fanaticism. And yet, hard-headed practical men as they are, the soul-stirring name of England still awakens a thrill of pride and touches a chord of sympathy in their hearts. Nothing has succeeded in quenching their affection; it has been tested often, and as often proved indestructible. This deep love of the old country is not a matter of emotional sentiment; it is perfectly rational, and rests upon a sound basis of logic. The English connection is prized because it is valuable; its worth is greater to-day than ever before, and therefore men cling to it more closely. Logical conviction forms the root from which springs the tree of loyalty. Because the root is invisible, foolish people sometimes forget that it exists; they see only leaves and blossoms, and imagine that sentiment may wane or enthusiasm die in a single cold winter of discontent. But behind these outward tokens of fealty to the Empire stand the prop and stay of a reasonable creed. Just as a pageant may represent a principle, though the display be meaningless to some of the actors: so also deep-seated in the Colonial mind there lie the springs of intelligent action amply sufficient to justify the most effusive demonstrations of loyalty.

The time has come when the worth of these sentiments must be vindicated. There are too many who forget that they are the outcome of deliberate conviction; there are some who remember but deny it. In the Colonies a tendency is observable to assert that the value of English protection ceased with the duties of maternity, and that if the Mother Country be still held dear, affection is simply the legacy of old associations, neither requiring nor finding any sanction in mutual needs to-day. It is granted that the few remaining ties ought not to be rudely broken; let England continue to protect the coasts and commerce of the Empire; let her

provide a market for Colonial exports, and lend money for the development of fresh lands; let her even send out Governors, who shall receive their salaries punctually, since no better men for the work can yet be found in the Colonies! But let her take warning, that, if ever she attempts to drag these Colonies into war in her train, they will quietly drop off the tree like ripe plums, and leave her to fight alone. Such are the views of the Separatist school, which prides itself upon superiority to sentiment, and on selfish regard for its own interest alone.

We maintain the contrary proposition; we believe that the so-called sentimentalists are in fact the truly selfish party: that their faith in the old country is justified, their resolve to stand by her wise: that in their determination to share her prosperity, and strengthen their own power by maintaining hers, they are not only doing right, but acting with all the wisdom of children of this world; that the intuition of unity is a true one, in harmony with their highest and most vital interests.

There are signs in the heavens that a step forward or backward will have to be taken soon. The first cannonade between England and a great European nation would settle the question of Federation or disruption in an instant; war is often at the doors, even when pacific influences seem paramount; they are very far from paramount now. But it is not only external danger which threatens the British Empire. In Canada the conflicting races are giving grave cause for anxiety, and the existence of a Government is staked upon a rebel's fate, because he happened to be of French descent. On the Australian horizon clouds seem gathering; as yet no larger than a man's hand, they may contain presage of a tempest. All is not well when statesmen of one great Colony publicly charge the accredited agent of another with "a ridiculous line of action" and language that is "silly and worse than silly"; it is not upon the agent himself that the accusation falls, but upon the Government whose official spokesman he is. Watersheds in the arid island-continent have already become a bone of contention; there has been talk of a petition to the Queen in Council, but one of the disputants has recently denied the judicial supremacy of the tribunal. Commercial jealousy—an old story now—must have reached an acute stage, when one Government seeks to pay for a quarrel with a telegraph company out of the pockets of another, generously handing back the price to its own people.

These are the little rifts whose constant recurrence reminds us that ere long something must be done to cement union, if open discord is to be averted. Everything points to maintenance of the English connection as the true path of safety. That the body politic of the Empire must be reorganised is plain; otherwise, the spirit that prompts men to question existing authority, will soon lead them to dispense with it. No other form of reorganisation is possible than that which it is our privilege to advocate: Federation is the only bond for Colonies which can claim independence. The dangers of isolation are so patent, that we marvel at the recklessness of its few supporters. If England has much to gain from Federation in the future, her Colonies will feel its immediate benefits first. For which of their interests that are now threatened could they claim respect if independent? Would France or Germany, when bent on annexation in the Pacific, listen to remonstrance from Melbourne? While the Cerberus was thundering in the New Hebrides, what would defend Port Philip? Are Adelaide, Sydney, Wellington, and Brisbane really a match for Paris, Berlin, or St. Petersburg? The map of the civilised world never remains unchanged for long. New countries always have tempted conquest, and always will. There is danger looming ahead of those rich cities of the coast—danger to life and property, to homes and families. In Europe there are hungry and teeming millions, well-nigh desperate for want of room for expansion; their eyes are turned to the boundless lands and fabulous wealth of Australasia; she has her thousands, but they are reckoned in millions, and their trained armies almost equal her whole population. A century must pass before Europe can safely be defied; but in a century much may happen. Should England's strong hand be withdrawn or pushed aside, much *will* happen. If it be grasped, no harm can befall. Grasp it, then, as equals, looking to the future; as children, relying

on the past. Those alone who have a voice in the councils of the Empire can ensure due regard for their interests. Hostile Powers cease to be terrible, when the danger is acknowledged and boldly confronted; negligence and carelessness will alike be impossible, when every portion of the Empire has a right to urge its own case with plenary authority.

For defence against great armaments, Imperial Federation seems indispensable; but an independent Colony would have also to protect itself against neighbours. That disputes must from time to time arise is certain: they are involved in the physical characteristics of Australia, if the existence of human passions did not render them inevitable. Unless disputes are to become quarrels, and quarrels develop into war, some powerful antidote making for peace must be discovered—some court of appeal stronger than any litigant. We challenge contradiction, when we say that this can only be found in a sense of our common weal, maintained by the overwhelming sanction of Federation.

The slender links which hold the Empire together must soon be strengthened, or break. Once broken, the Colonies will stand face to face with the perils of national existence. For many years they will be weak and impotent against great nations. Their lands, their property, and their lives will be at the mercy of the strong, for they do not possess a country where one man can defy a thousand. The dangers to which they are exposed will lead to intrigues and machinations, resulting in alliance with Powers certain to drag them into the vortex of European politics far more ruthlessly than ever. The treaty which guarantees safety to one Colony will inaugurate the ruin of others, who, to avoid their fate, must make overtures to the first comer, and accept his terms. In this way Australian independence bids fair to be crushed between the upper and the nether millstone.

For those who are fortunate enough to escape the Scylla of conquest, there still yawns the Charybdis of internal strife; boundaries must be fortified, standing armies established, conscription instituted, with all the dangers of a restless military element at home superadded to the fear of invasion.

Such is the picture which history teaches us to draw of our self-governing Colonies if they drift into an isolated independence. Surely, the feeling—whether we term it sentiment, or affection, or loyalty—that instinctively turns from the abyss is far the most rational, far the most accurate in its appreciation of self-interest, though it derides such nominal independence as slavery, and cleaves to the unfettered liberty of a voluntary and puissant Imperial Federation.

THE RATIFICATION AT LEEDS.

THE members of the National Liberal Federation, which met at Leeds in the beginning of November, are no less doughty supporters of our principles than their political opponents. A resolution proposed by Sir F. T. Mappin met with general acceptance and was unanimously carried. It was worded thus:—

“That, having regard to her responsibilities towards India and her Colonies, and with a view to the exercise of a pacific influence in European affairs, it is the true policy of Great Britain to avoid all entanglement in Continental quarrels, and thereby to afford some prospect of a reduction in the present expenditure upon the Army and Navy.”

In our last issue, we seem almost to have supported this resolution by anticipation. “We do believe,” we said, “that in order to enjoy its full measure of prosperity and usefulness, the Empire must be free from the local disputes of the European Powers. . . . Save the cost of a great war, save the perpetual loss through want of confidence and the fear of war; that is a good message to bear to the wage-earners.” In seconding the resolution at Leeds, Mr. H. G. Reid urged his hearers to pass it with unanimity, and declare to the world that, in the opinion of a representative body of Liberals, the crowning interest of the nation was, after all, the maintenance of peace. Our pamphlet, “The Record of the Past and the Promise of the Future,” was not then published, so we feel as if we might justly be called upon to vindicate ourselves from a charge of

plagiarism, in the passage where we say, in capitals, “OUR CAUSE IS PEACE;” and again, “We desire Imperial Federation, because through it we see a certainty of peace, and the avoidance of the possibility of war.”

We make no excuse for linking ourselves in this matter with the Liberal Federation at Leeds; we made none for claiming alliance with the Conservative Union at Bradford.

Probably there is no other organisation in the country possessing, as ours does, a strong political faith, which could so unreservedly and truthfully aver its harmonious relations with both the great National parties. But, as the first leading article, in the *Times* of November 13th, well says:—“Happily, the movement has been hitherto disconnected with party strife, and Liberals and Conservatives of all shades of opinion have been active in promoting it.”

Why is this? Why is it that men and parties who differ upon every conceivable question with two sides to it, and upon some where plain folk can see only one, should unite in supporting the League?

It is because, above the strife of parties, independent of the duties of opposition and the obligations of office, there is a clearer atmosphere of patriotism, “where all are for the State.” It is because, although the good of the State may be argued and discussed in many ways, there is one pivot upon which all turns, one central point that is never seriously doubted or questioned. This is the star by which the League steers, the principle which underlies its action and animates its members; Mr. Reid has defined it as the crowning interest of the nation, we declare it by proclaiming “OUR CAUSE IS PEACE!”

MR. DAVID BUCHANAN'S METHOD OF ATTACK!

MR. DAVID BUCHANAN has penned a lengthy epistle—he calls it “a word or two”—to a London newspaper wherein he defends himself from the accusation of having written anything on behalf of the people of Australia. “I never professed,” he says, “to write on behalf of any one.” We are glad to hear it; for if the value of Mr. Buchanan's lucubrations may be judged from the sample before us, the unfortunate individuals whom he honours with support are very much to be pitied indeed.

We do not suppose that Mr. Buchanan holds a brief from the persons who retained Mr. John Norton's valuable services; indeed, we believe that these gentlemen have as little in common as the famous cats of Kilkenny. But Mr. Norton's style of argument and Mr. Buchanan's do so closely resemble each other that they mutually serve to recall the same pleasing sensations, even as one German Band recalls another, though they attempt a variety of music. Perhaps it is because Mr. Norton and Mr. Buchanan are both terribly out of tune.

Mr. Buchanan begins at the beginning; he asks, “What closer union is possible between Great Britain and her Colonies than that which at present exists?” Must we tell him that the appointment of Governors is the only existing tie at present? Must we refer him to the various examples of Federal union as indications of what might be? Apparently, Mr. Buchanan's Parliamentary duties have left him little time for the study of contemporary constitutional history, or he would hardly have put a question so elementary; we shall be referred at this rate to the attitude of Tories and Radicals as a type of concord, or see the relations of Church and State in France used to illustrate the blessings of harmony: quite as reasonably may the position of Great Britain and her Colonies be adduced as an instance of the closest possible union!

Mr. Buchanan's ignorance of the A B C of Imperial Federation does not deter him from posing as the *arbitrator gentium*, the infallible authoritative exponent of the designs of Providence. He pretends to know the “natural and inevitable destiny” of our Colonies, to proclaim what is “indubitably the ordination of Providence and God's law” in the matter! Such vain imaginings would be ridiculous, if they were not profane. But, fortunately, the world has grown old enough to laugh at prophets; it has found out the great Mormon, and Old Moore, and Mother Shipton; nor is it likely to place faith in Mr. Buchanan's divinity, unless he substantiates, by some tangible proofs of intelligence,

his silly claim to omniscience. It can easily be believed that this same gentleman, who speaks so confidently about the future, is at no loss when he falls back upon the present. Will it surprise him to hear that Mr. Froude, first dubbed an "imaginative romancer," then an "eminent historian and philosopher"—between which titles what closer union is possible?—whom he arraigns as having "given a momentary glimpse of life to this Imperial Federation humbug"—that Mr. Froude has distinctly refused to connect himself with the movement, and is not even a member of the League? "Does it never occur," says Mr. Buchanan, "to those people who are continually prating about this Imperial Federation, that the Colonies themselves cannot Federate?" Does it never occur to our learned interrogator that the Colonies in Canada have federated years ago? Can he possibly be ignorant that the offer from New South Wales of assistance in the Soudan, which he declares to have been accepted through fear of offending the advocates of Imperial Federation, was accepted within three days of the proposal? When he states that, "if the English Government had acted upon its own unprejudiced opinion, this offer of troops from Sydney would have been unhesitatingly rejected," is he aware that the action of the Government was entirely spontaneous, and that the decision was taken before external pressure could possibly have been applied? Verily, Mr. Buchanan is a blind hitter! In one breath he calls the acceptance of aid a grievous wrong to New South Wales; in another he maintains that it was the means "of advertising the Colony, and bringing grist to its mill!" What ingenuity he shows in insulting the patriotism of his country, both here and there! If he speaks truly of the contingent as "a trifle of men," will New South Wales, whose population numbers a million, acquiesce in his saying that "our entire means of defence was parted with," seeing that no fewer than five thousand soldiers were drawn up under arms in Sydney to welcome their comrades home?

The epithets with which Mr. Buchanan adds dignity to his "winged words" are worth culling! The correspondent, upon whom the vials of his wrath are poured, "writes from a coffee palace, but, if he had written from a whisky dungeon, he could not have written with more inconsiderate rashness." "Beautiful inconsistency and absurdity;" "puerile imaginings of shallow, thoughtless people;" "the shallowest of men;" "the infinite absurdity of this talk"—these are some of the dainty expressions with which he "laughs to scorn" all who differ from him! Amid this sort of eloquence, argument is dumb. We humbly wait until Mr. Buchanan descends to the ordinary amenities of discussion, when we will gladly break a lance with him. Until then, we hope, we have said enough to show that, if this rhodomontade is to be taken seriously, it deserves nothing but contempt and indignation at the hands of all who are honestly trying to work out a great problem for the good of a great Empire.

THE ROYAL PRESENTATION COPIES OF "FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS."

WE announced last month that the Earl of Rosebery had forwarded, on behalf of the League, to Her Majesty the Queen and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, presentation copies of "Fifty Years' Progress." The following letters of acknowledgment have been received by the Secretary of the League:—

BALMORAL, October 28th, 1886.

SIR,—I am commanded by the QUEEN to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the interesting volume which the Earl of Rosebery has forwarded for Her Majesty's acceptance from the Imperial Federation League.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Arthur Loring, Esq.

HENRY F. PONSONBY.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL, S.W.

October 30th, 1886.

DEAR SIR,—Lord Rosebery has sent me for presentation to the PRINCE OF WALES a copy of "Fifty Years'

Progress," and I have had the honour of laying it before His Royal Highness.

I am desired by the Prince in reply to request you to convey to the members of the Imperial Federation League the expression of his best thanks for the copy of the work in question.—Yours truly,

FRANCIS KNOWLES.

Arthur Loring, Esq.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT MR. JOHN NORTON IN SYDNEY.

LAST month we presented Mr. John Norton to our readers, as he appeared to South Australian eyes. Seeing that Mr. Norton continues to speak and write in opposition to our aims, we think it necessary again to point out that he must not be regarded a genuine representative of public opinion even in his own Colony. This must be our apology for returning to an otherwise unimportant affair, and giving the following extracts from the leading journal in New South Wales, the Colony from which Mr. Norton hails:—

The sensational statements made by a Mr. Norton in England with respect to affairs in New South Wales appear to have attracted a good deal more attention than they deserved. In the discharge of his novel functions as a delegate of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council, he has undertaken to enlighten the British public on many matters of Colonial interest, and particularly on the present state of the labour market in this Colony. The general tenor of his remarks—as gathered from the cable messages—seems to have been disparaging in the extreme. It is difficult to believe that any person should have been sent from Sydney to England with all the authority of a Special Commissioner, for the express purpose of misrepresenting and traducing the Colony in the eyes of the British public, and that, too, at the instance of a council representing the working classes of New South Wales. That, however, is the conclusion forced upon us by the purport of Mr. Norton's lectures and communications to the Press on the subject of emigration.

In order to deter working men in England from emigrating to New South Wales, he has not hesitated to make any statement calculated to produce that effect. If he has not invented facts for the purpose, he has at least exaggerated and distorted the particular facts he had to deal with. He has employed his ingenuity and local knowledge in completely reversing the rôle of the emigration agent. If the latter has at times laid himself open to the charge of unduly puffing the Colony which employed him to obtain emigrants, the Sydney delegate has rushed to the other extreme, running it down with the full power of his lungs. He has not only represented it in the worst possible light as a field for the industrious emigrant, but he has boldly ventured to declare, in the face of statistics, that "New South Wales is behind Victoria, owing to her Free Trade policy."

A statement of that kind ought to be quite enough to satisfy the British public with respect to the true value of Mr. Norton's opinions. It reveals at once the object of his mission, stripping him of his assumed garb as the disinterested friend of the working man, and exposing him in his real character as an emissary of the protectionists.

The article proceeds to point out that the protectionist class in New South Wales is striving to put a ring-fence round the labour-market, and that, being unable to persuade the bulk of electors in the Colony to adopt their view, they have hit upon the device of sending a delegate to England to preach down emigration. After commenting upon the statements that Mr. Norton has made in pursuance of his mission, our contemporary continues:—

Such misrepresentations as these are generally thrust before the eyes of the British public under the empty pretence that the working classes ought to see the other side of the picture before they make up their minds to emigrate to Australia. But they may be said to originate either in a spirit of persistent hostility to the Colonies on the part of disappointed men who have failed to make their way there, or else in the selfish views entertained by certain classes in Melbourne and Sydney. The extent to which this narrow-minded policy has got hold of them was never, perhaps, so clearly displayed before. The fact that some persons in Sydney have thought it worth their while to send a delegate to London for the purpose of preventing emigration to this Colony is conclusive evidence of their determination to shut out competition from abroad by hook or by crook.

LITERATURE.

The Handy Guide to Emigration to the British Colonies. By Walter B. Paton, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 1886), Price Threepence.

For persons who cannot directly apply to the new Emigrants' Information Office, this little book may be useful. But we should not advise intending emigrants to rely too implicitly upon the arrangements for assisted passages as here stated, for they frequently fluctuate almost from month to month. There are three maps of Canada, Queensland, and Western Australia, chosen, we suppose, from the good field they are thought to present for emigration.

THE AGENT-GENERAL FOR VICTORIA ON IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR GRAHAM BERRY read a valuable paper on "The Colonies in Relation to the Empire," before the members of the Royal Colonial Institute, on November 9th. The lecture was interrupted by frequent applause, and was in evident harmony with the sentiments of a large and influential audience. We reproduce some of the most important passages, which deserve the widest possible publication:—

THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE DAY.

It will be no exaggeration to say that the most practical and important question of the day is how to increase the coherence of all parts of the scattered Empire, and to discover a policy which will bind them together indissolubly. It is not surprising that the solution of the problem is approached with becoming diffidence. It is not, however, to be supposed that difficulties to be surmounted will induce the leading minds of the race to abandon as insoluble a problem which involves the growth, safety, and dignity of their common nationality. Hence, in one form or another, either directly or indirectly, in whole or in part, we may confidently anticipate that the practical solution of this great problem will continue to exercise men's minds. This is obviously as necessary from a practical as from a sentimental point of view, as necessary for defence against aggression as for continued prosperity in time of peace.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.

Just in proportion as the Colonial Office has receded from the position of directing the course of events in the Colonies, so have the relations of the Colonies with the Empire improved, and the sentiment of loyalty and attachment to the Crown become intensified. Perhaps one of the severest conflicts the Colonists have waged with the old order of things was their determination not to suffer the continuance of the system of transportation. This constituted the most memorable struggle which the Australian group of Colonies has ever had with Imperial policy. The more recently founded were resolved from the first not to tolerate the introduction of the pollution, and Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia successfully resisted the indignity. Not content, however, with this negative victory, the Colonists attacked the institution in its last stronghold, viz., Western Australia. With the cessation of transportation to Western Australia, came to an end that Imperial policy which, probably wise, and on the whole beneficial, in its early stages, had not only ceased to be necessary or wise, but had become a source of reproach. Other difficulties from time to time arose between some one or other of the Colonies and the Colonial Office, but the sense of justice has invariably prevailed over ignorance and prejudice, which, on too many occasions, have opposed and retarded the Colonies in their progressive development. It is this feeling in the minds of Colonists which constitutes their attachment to the old land, and gives them that strong sense of reliance which no temporary check can neutralise, nor passing injustice undermine. The great concession of self-government on the English model was the crowning liberality of the Imperial Parliament to prosperous English communities in the distant parts of the Empire. No greater boon has ever been conceded by one people to another, accompanied as it was by the free gift of the Crown lands within their boundaries, which eventually included, by discovery, the mountains of gold obtained below the surface. This boon of a constitution based on the English model, graciously granted as soon as asked for, and certainly quite as soon as the condition of things in the Colonies warranted, involved such momentous changes, and has, on the whole, been so widely used and proved to be so well adapted to the progress of these favoured communities, that it has proved the "Magna Charta" of Colonial liberties.

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN!

It is said that when Lord John Russell was asked what portion of Australia England claimed, the answer was, "The whole of it." At that time not 50,000 subjects of the Queen inhabited that island continent, scarcely less in area than Europe. If that policy had continuously ruled, then, long before the annexation of New Caledonia by France, the same answer might have consistently been given with respect to all the islands of the Western Pacific, whose manifest destiny is to go with the mainland. Then would have been preserved for peaceful and prosperous development under our rule one of the finest portions of the world, and the foundations laid of an empire which, unchecked by foreign wars and homogeneous in its government and people, would have illustrated, under the most favourable circumstances, the possible development of the human race in the arts of peace.

THE EXISTING DANGER.

But foreign nationalities with European armaments, actuated ideas little in consonance with inalienable human rights, however weak at present in those seas, may in the future develop claims or pursue a policy which will seriously threaten the peace and security of Great Britain in the Pacific. It may be said that the preponderance of British Australasia is so great, and

the adaptability of the race for successful colonisation so pre-eminent, that little ground exists for the fears expressed. With respect to ultimate results this may be the case, but no one can calculate the expenditure, inconvenience, and loss of life and property which might precede any such satisfactory settlement.

LOCAL FEDERATION A PRELIMINARY TO IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

I look to local Federation as preliminary to that larger and more important Federation which is to include the whole British Empire. The successful Federation of groups of Colonies is necessary and desirable on many grounds, some affecting themselves and their own peaceful progress, and the removal of all possible antagonism between Colony and Colony of each group, but mainly because each successful Federation reduces the number of different and probably conflicting opinions on the subject of the larger Federation. The time has certainly arrived when the outlying portions of the Empire should have some well-defined policy with respect to their Imperial obligations. It is comparatively easy to conceive this being ascertained and acted upon by a powerful Federation of contiguous states, and it is equally reasonable to suppose that the policy thus settled would be based on large and comprehensive views of those national obligations which perfect freedom, great wealth, and corresponding responsibilities demand.

THE GROUNDWORK OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION IS MUTUAL DEFENCE.

In dealing with the larger question of Imperial Federation, the history of the Australasian Federal Council suggests a limitation of Federation to certain matters of distinctly Imperial concern, and still further the conviction that these matters must have a Colonial as well as, and distinct from, an Imperial policy—in fact, a combination of interests. The first subject which answers this description is *Naval and Military Defence*. Once taken for granted that the Colonies are English to the backbone; that they are loyal to the Crown; that they glory in the past history of the race; that they watch with jealous care the Foreign policy of other nations as it affects the peace and security of the Empire; that their hearts beat in patriotic sympathy with the grand old land of their birth in that settled policy which has made England not only free itself, but the guarantee of freedom for the world, then we may rest satisfied that in any proposal to make more assured the security of all parts of the Empire under any and every contingency, the Colonies will readily and manfully do their part.

DOES THE FOREIGN OFFICE GUARD BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC?

The Colonies are promptly meeting their responsibilities so far as defence against attacks from any Power at war with Great Britain is concerned, but they are comparatively powerless, except through the action of the Mother Country, to defend themselves against those equally serious dangers arising from annexation of neighbouring islands by foreign Powers, and the transportation of foreign habitual criminals to those seas. These dangers are intensified from time to time during a period of profound peace. The one question, then, for practical consideration is whether the foreign policy of England is so sufficiently far-reaching as to respond effectively to the reasonable requirements of the distant portions of the Empire. Theoretically the question is always answered in the affirmative, practically it is almost invariably decided in the negative. The preponderance of British interests in the Pacific should give to the Foreign Office a commanding position with respect to questions affecting the rights, convenience, and security of the important communities settled there. It is absurd to suppose that France, with one convict settlement and a few scattered islands without the elements of true colonisation, should claim equal rights with England in those seas. Still less tolerable is it that these scattered settlements should be constituted receptacles for the refuse criminality and vagabondage of Paris and the rest of France, to the manifest injury of three and a half millions of the Queen's subjects.

THE EMPIRE FIRST; EUROPEAN COMPLICATIONS SECOND.

Australians fail to see the overwhelming importance of keeping Russia out of Bulgaria or Greece from acquiring some additional territory, whilst the vital interests of British subjects are passed by as only of slight importance. I venture to think it will be necessary to review the traditional foreign policy of England with the object of placing it upon some intelligible basis that shall exclude all interference with the policy or progress of other peoples, and at the same time asserting that the Empire from east to west, from north to south, shall be effectively protected from injury or insults. If this idea should take root and fructify in the minds of the electors, and result in such an understanding, in the first place between electors and their representatives in Parliament, and, secondly, between Parliament and the Executive Government, a basis would have been found for that real unity of the Empire which is the aim and object of Imperial Federation. A defined foreign policy of this character would be eagerly assented to by the Colonies

and certainly these prospering communities, thus realising that their interests were not left out of account, would respond with alacrity to all legitimate demands made upon them for co-operation.

THE TRUE BONDS OF IMPERIAL UNION.

The very fact that the connection is a voluntary one, that no force is contemplated to maintain it, constitutes its real charm. There is no friction, because there exists no obstruction. The connection is absolutely one of affection, intensified by absence of all needless attempts at control, and solidified by mutual interest. The Colonies trade with England partly in consequence of the political connection, but also because it is best and cheapest to do so. They cling to her power partly because it is their duty, but also because it is the best guarantee for their safety and continued progress. They associate themselves with her name partly because it is a glorious name and their natural heritage, but also because it is a tower of strength in the present and in the future. Look where we may, search as we can, it is difficult to find anything but grounds of hope for the continuous durability of the Empire. Only the small cloud no bigger than a man's hand is on the horizon. Just as that small cloud may mean storm and destruction, or the storage and ultimate control of one of the most beneficent of nature's gifts, so do the circumstances I have alluded to with respect to the ability of the Foreign and Colonial Offices adequately to protect Australian and other Colonial interests, portend either complete Federation or possible disintegration.

THREE THINGS THAT OUGHT TO BE DONE AT ONCE.

I desire to say it would be gratifying as well as consolatory to be assured that other outlying portions of the Empire, the Crown Colonies, and important coaling stations were being as promptly and as thoroughly fortified as the various capitals of the self-governing Colonies. I am credibly informed this is not so. It is impossible, also, not to feel some degree of anxiety about the efficacy of present provision to defend and protect, by means of swift, well-armed cruisers, the immense mercantile fleet of the Empire. A third source of anxiety, so far as the Colonies are concerned, is the apparently insufficient provision for the rapid manufacture of armaments and their prompt despatch when ordered, to their Colonial destination. Whenever the peace of Europe is threatened, and this happens, from one cause or another, every second or third year, and as a matter of precaution, the distant parts of the Empire desire to perfect and increase their defensive armaments, they have not only to face the disadvantage of distance, involving much valuable time in transport, but they also find that the arsenals of Great Britain are fully occupied in what are perhaps naturally considered the more important and pressing needs of the Imperial forces. Thus, if any one of the past panics had resulted in actual war, the distant parts of the Empire would have been unable to add to their defensive works, or even perfect those already erected by the addition of the latest improvements in armaments.

THE NAVY IS THE KEYSTONE OF THE EMPIRE.

The keystone for the whole is the necessity for an overwhelmingly powerful fleet and efficient defence for all necessary coaling stations. This is as essential for the Colonies as for Great Britain. It is the one condition for the continuance of the Empire. All that Continental Powers do with respect to armies England should effect with her Navy. It is essentially a defensive force, and can be moved rapidly from point to point, but it should be equal to all that is expected from it. It represents in every port of the Empire the power and might of England. It is to strengthen the fleet that Colonists will first readily tax themselves, because they realise how essential a powerful fleet is to the safety, not only of that extensive commerce sailing in every sea, but ultimately to the security of the distant portions of the Empire. Who can estimate the loss involved in even a brief period of disaster to the Imperial Navy? Any amount of money timely expended in preparation would be quite insignificant when compared with the possible calamity I have referred to.

THE EMPIRE IS MARCHING !

The change in the centre of gravity of the Empire has not been sufficiently realised. The growth in wealth and population of the Colonies has scarcely yet been adequately reckoned with ; but as this portion of the Empire continues to increase in importance, it is to be hoped that the altered circumstances will be duly met, and that those who are responsible will review the great problem of Imperial interests, and place the great self-governing Colonies, and all that relates to their progress and safety, in such a prominent position in Imperial policy, that the relations of the Colonies with the Empire may be mutually strengthened by being placed on an intelligible and satisfactory basis.

BRITISH SHIPPING ON THE SUEZ CANAL.—Our shipping continues to hold its own against the world. In 1885 the net British tonnage which passed through the Suez Canal was 76'77 of the total, France had 9'05, Holland 3'98, and Germany 3'14.

LEAGUE NOTICES FOR THE MONTH.

THE reprint referred to in Lord Rosebery's Manifesto has been embodied in a pamphlet entitled, "Record of the Past and Promise of the Future," which is now being issued, price 1d., or 5s. per 100. Weight under 2 oz. Lord Rosebery's Manifesto has also been reprinted.

A LARGE outline Map of the World on Mercator's projection, specially designed for lecturing purposes, has been constructed by Mr. James Wyld, of Charing Cross, for the League. The dimensions of the map are fifteen feet by twelve feet, but it is constructed to fold so as to admit of its travelling in a portfolio three feet by two feet. The British Empire is coloured in red, the self-governing Colonies being distinguished by a deeper tint of that colour. The principal ports and strategical positions of the Empire are named, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other undertakings of Imperial interest being also shown. The use of the map can be obtained by members of the League for the purposes of lectures, on application to the Secretary, subject to the conditions of prompt return and payment of carriage both ways. The member who borrows the map must make himself responsible for any damage which may be done to it during its absence from the office.

A LIMITED number of copies of "Fifty Years' Progress," printed on special paper, as presented to her Majesty the Queen, can now be procured, handsomely bound in cloth boards, gold lettered, with marbled edges, price 2s., postage 6d. Early application to the Secretary is recommended.

ARRANGEMENTS are in progress with a London firm of bookbinders for the uniform binding of the volume of IMPERIAL FEDERATION completed by the issue of this month. The Secretary will be glad to hear from members wishing to have their journals bound, and will give full particulars. Samples of the binding can be seen at the Offices of the League.

BRANCH SECRETARIES or others who have spare copies of Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, will much oblige by sending them to the Secretary of the League.

HERE AND THERE.

WE understand that the memorial of our late Chairman, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, will probably take the form of a statue, to be placed, if possible, in the Imperial Institute. We are informed that circulars, stating full particulars, and inviting subscriptions, will be issued in the course of this month, when the arrangements are completed.

WE hear that Captain J. C. R. Colomb, M.P., will contribute an article on Imperial Defence to the first number of *Murray's Magazine*, which is announced as forthcoming with the new year.

THE series of letters which recently appeared in the *Times* entitled "A Canadian Tour," have been reprinted in pamphlet form, and can be obtained from the publisher of the *Times*, price sixpence.

MR. C. G. KENT, M.B., of Melbourne, and Mr. C. J. Shields, M.B., of Melbourne, have been admitted members of the Royal College of Surgeons, having undergone the necessary examination for the diploma.

WE hear that a Cartridge Manufactory is likely to be established in Melbourne before long.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION forms one of the subjects upon the Lecture List of the London and Counties Liberal Union for the present season.

THE Cocos Islands, a small coral group 700 miles west of Java, have been formally transferred to the British Straits Settlements. Hitherto they have been governed from Ceylon. The population numbers about 500.

IT is suggested that if France continues the deportation of criminals to the Pacific, the Australian Colonies may be compelled, in self defence, to require from every French subject arriving in Australia, and from every person arriving in a French ship or from a French port, a certificate that he has never been convicted of any offence, as the condition of being permitted to land.

THE Governor of German New Guinea is said to contemplate sending his family to Queensland, the climate of his own settlement being unfit for residence.

THE German Colonial Expenditure has been estimated in the Budget for 1886 at £15,000.

THE Executive Committee of the Patriotic Fund raised in connection with the Soudan contingent from New South Wales, have a balance, after settling all claims, of £15,000.

THE Government of Victoria have recently placed orders for five and a half million rifle cartridges.

DURING the six months for which the Colonial and Indian Exhibition was open, 5,550,749 people passed the turnstiles.

THE defences of Sydney have recently been strengthened by the addition of two thirteen-and-a-half ton guns of the latest pattern.

THE South Australian Legislative Assembly has expressed its readiness to provide the land required for an arsenal and fortifications at Port Darwin, which it considers the best position for a dépôt in connection with the defence of British interests in Australia.

THE Cape Colony has readjusted the duties on goods passing through the country, and will henceforward allow rebates amounting, in many cases, to the whole of the duty payable.

SIR JAMES MARTIN, Chief Justice of New South Wales, died at Sydney on November 4th.

THE Melbourne Custom House authorities have recently enforced the provisions of the Imperial Copyright Act, by forfeiting a number of pirated copies of Rev. J. G. Wood's work on "Bible animals," which had been consigned from an American publishing house.

NEW boilers for the New Zealand Government steamer *Hinemoa* are to be constructed in the Colony.

AT Wellington, New Zealand, twenty torpedoes with the latest improvements have just been received from England for coast defence.

IT is reported that a new Extradition Treaty between the United States and Canada has been drafted and approved by the British and United States Governments, and accepted at Ottawa.

A MEETING has been held at St. John's, New Brunswick, to protest against the subsidies paid to ocean mail steamers which have their winter terminus in the United States, instead of on Canadian Territory.

MR. BRENNAN, an Australian, has won a signal success by inventing a torpedo which has been definitely approved by the home authorities after a series of exhaustive trials.

A MOVEMENT is on foot for establishing a Press Agency in Canada for the direct transmission of news from Great Britain and Europe. It is alleged that the intelligence which reaches Canada by way of the United States is often found to be biased.

A CABLEGRAM was recently sent from Winnipeg to London and an answer received within five minutes of the original despatch.

IN Prince Edward Island 42 per cent. of the Provincial Revenue is expended upon education.

THE *Alert* has returned from Hudson's Bay to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Commander Gordon reports that navigation is practicable for four months and a half during the season.

PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE AND ITS PRINCIPLES.

Members of debating societies and of clubs, &c., are invited to discuss the subject of Imperial Federation, and to furnish the Editor with information as to the arguments used and the result of the voting. Secretaries of Branches of the League are particularly requested to forward reports of the meetings of their branches, and other intelligence relating to the movement in their localities.

AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.—On September 10th, at a meeting of the Auckland Athenæum, Mr. Cozens opened a debate on the question, "Is Imperial Federation desirable?" He maintained that it was, holding that the interests of humanity, as well as of Britain, demanded that the various British States should be federated together. The discussion was taken up by Mr. Burton, and then by the Rev. D. Bruce, who said it was a mistake to suppose that England was the trunk of the British Empire. The Ocean was the trunk, and the various lands the members of one vast body. Our report continues:—"Several other speakers continued the interesting debate, with the result that the negative party collapsed entirely!"

BRADFORD (YORKSHIRE).—At a meeting of the St. Paul's Mutual Improvement Society, on November 11th, Mr. T. H. Howard introduced the subject of Imperial Federation, which formed the subject of a lively debate afterwards.

BIDFORD.—On November 8th a public meeting was held to support the objects of the Imperial Federation League. The Vicar (Rev. A. Evans) presided, and Mr. G. Milwall moved a resolution in favour of a Commercial Federation between England and her Colonies. The resolution was carried unanimously, and a copy was forwarded to her Majesty's Government.

BRENTWOOD (ESSEX).—On November 10th a debate on Imperial Federation took place at the Young Men's Christian Association; Mr. J. J. Crow presided. Mr. Holder opened the proceedings with a capital paper advocating Federation as a certain means of strengthening the Empire. In the discussion

which followed some opposition was apparent; but the majority were in favour of the opener, and supported him both with speeches and votes.

CLIFTON.—On October 29th Mr. L. E. Le Ridder lectured on the Federation of the British Races to the Israel's Identification Association. There was a good attendance, and the lecture which contained a wide survey of the Empire, and concluded with strongly advocating Federation in realisation of the aims of the British Israelites, gave great satisfaction to the audience.

GRAVESEND.—At a meeting of the Gravesend and Milton Debating Society, on November 2nd, Mr. John Buley opened a discussion as to whether Imperial Federation was desirable and practicable? The speaker pointed to the vast stream of emigration constantly leaving our shores, and urged the necessity of maintaining the unity of the Empire by some form of Federation. After a debate of considerable interest the question was put and carried. Out of all the members present only one opposed Mr. Buley's views.

HALIFAX.—On November 16th Mr. Alfred Morris moved a resolution in favour of Imperial Federation at a Conservative meeting. He urged postponement of any idea of an Imperial Parliament, and maintained that a Commercial Federation was the pressing need of the moment. Mr. J. H. Bottomley seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

INGERSOLL, CANADA.—At a recent meeting of the Branch of the Imperial Federation League, a paper was read by Mr. J. Castell Hopkins, upon the Future of Canada. A verbatim report appears in the *Ingersoll Chronicle* of October 14th, which we regret we have not room to reproduce.

The speaker said that there were three possibilities in the prospect spread before the vast Dominion, complete independence, annexation to the United States, and some system of Federation with Great Britain and her dependencies.

Taking the question of independence first, he thought they would probably copy the constitution of the United States, and become slaves to moneyed monopolies and lynch law. They would, in fact, be completely dependent upon their powerful neighbour, and a fair settlement of disputes would be impossible when the litigants were so unequally matched. Internal disturbances and foreign invasion would have to be met by a costly military system, and the aid of France would probably be invoked by Lower Canada.

Proceeding to the idea of annexation to the United States, Mr. Hopkins ably pointed out the defects in that country's political system, the evils of periodical presidential elections, the corrupt exercise of patronage, the degradation of the Press, the struggles between labour and capital, and the dangers likely to arise from the increase of the negro population. He insisted that annexation would mean the destruction of Canadian national existence, and the flooding of their markets with United States produce; whilst, perhaps, the worst disaster of any would be the loss of their time-honoured system of ministerial responsibility.

Finally, approaching the subject of Federation, he said that it implied defensive, commercial, and representative union; they might have one or they might have all. They already had a federation of language, literature, and laws, and they should draw it closer to secure immunity from attack, increase of power, and development of wealth. In the end they might look forward to a union that would promote peace, build up maritime supremacy, increase commercial greatness, encourage art, science, education, and religion, protect themselves from foreign encroachments, assert their military power, naval supremacy, and historic fame, and consolidate the power of British peoples wherever floats the flag of glorious old England, the banner of liberty, progress, and power, and wherever the allegiance of their Imperial Queen was acknowledged and the prestige of Britain's might known.

LONDON.—Before the Cobden Club, Kensal Road, on November 10th, Mr. William Chapman lectured upon Imperial Federation. The chair was taken by Dr. C. C. Whitefoord. After pointing to the rapid progress recently made in knowledge of the subject, Mr. Chapman proceeded to an interesting comparison of the Empires of the past with that of Great Britain, contrasting the causes of former failures with our own success. There were three things, he said, which bound the component parts of an Empire—community of race, religion, and interests. The first two existed between England and her Colonies, and the third only needed to be recognised. Imperial Federation, he contended, would be the realisation of Cobden's dream of universal peace. Under it the Colonies would be tied to the Empire by bonds of eternal loyalty.

After the lecture a vote of thanks to Mr. Chapman was moved by Mr. E. Williams, and carried unanimously.

LONDON.—The Merchant Taylors' Company recently entertained at dinner the Rev. F. F. Goe, Bishop Designate of Melbourne. Responding to the toast of his health, Mr. Goe said that the vast armaments of Europe, and the doubtful attitude of some of the Powers towards England, justified the thought that Englishmen might be glad of the aid of her

Colonies sooner than most might expect. He believed that Imperial Federation was a grand and ennobling theme, and well worthy of the attention of British statesmen.

LONDON—MILDMAY PARK.—Mr. Albert Lucas delivered a lecture before the Conservative Club on November 8th, entitled "The Federation of the Empire—is it practicable?" The speaker expressed himself strongly in favour of Commercial Federation, but doubted the practicability of Federation for defence.

Sir Lewis Pelly, M.P., who was in the chair, pointed out that the lecturer had laid too much stress upon the particular form which Federation should take. What the League really desired was that the wills, views, spirit, and interests of the forty-eight Colonies, and in some respects our Indian Empire, should be thoroughly ascertained. They should find out the leading current of opinion, and thereby arrive at some method by which they might, both in respect to finance and defence, confederate the whole of the English-speaking races, for they should bear in mind that they had the time in their favour, and truth and the interests of civilisation were also with them.

LONDON, BATTERSEA.—On November 3rd Mr. O. V. Morgan, M.P., lectured upon Imperial Federation to the Battersea Liberal and Radical Association. Mr. Morgan began by referring to instructive lessons inculcated by the recent Exhibition. The most striking feature of the whole, in his opinion, was the map of the British Empire outside the Queensland Court. He proceeded to dilate upon the enormous extent, population, and resources of the Empire, dwelling with much force upon the progress of the last fifty years, and pointing to the improved relations which now existed between this country and the Colonies. Mr. Morgan referred to his election address in 1885, as showing the enthusiasm he had personally felt for the cause of Imperial Federation, and went on to show how fully that enthusiasm was borne out by the magnitude of the problem and beneficial influences which were comprised in the idea of Federation. Fortifying himself with a quotation from "Fifty Years Progress," in answer to the question, What do we want, and why do we want it? he proceeded to answer the inquiry, How do we mean to get it? He advocated the institution of an Imperial Parliament to which matters of Imperial concern should be relegated, and pointed to the fact that nearly all the great questions of foreign policy which confront the Empire are due to its Colonial possessions. "Why, then," he asked, "should England exercise the sole control and undertake the entire responsibility of the whole British Empire?" Mr. Morgan concluded his valuable and instructive lecture in these words: "We are the possessors of a proud heritage. Do not let us by want of wisdom and foresight lose that heritage. Do not let the possibility arise for our sons and daughters to be able to say their parents inherited a great Empire, and, through narrow-minded ignorance and selfishness, allowed it to slip out of their hands." A discussion followed, in which some dissent was expressed with the views of the lecturer, but a large preponderance of opinion was in favour of them. The meeting terminated with a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Morgan, who had come to address his audience in spite of the most inclement weather.

LONDON, BROMPTON.—At a meeting of the Onslow Chapel Mutual Improvement Society, on November 14th, a paper was read by Mr. W. J. Malyon upon Imperial Federation. He expressed himself strongly in favour of the movement, and laid stress upon the commercial aspect of the subject. A vigorous discussion followed.

NORTH TAWTON.—The question of Imperial Federation formed the subject of a recent discussion at a meeting of the Debating Society. Mr. W. Heath, Jun., introduced the subject in an able paper. He pointed to Germany, Switzerland, and the United States as sufficient examples of the benefits to be derived from Federation, and guarantees of their working power. After adverting to the advantages that would accrue from Imperial Defence, and a uniform postage and coinage, he summed up with saying that by Federation we should be doing justice to our Colonies and ourselves, we should be independent of all foreign nations, and should keep the trade within the Empire, which results would be of the utmost benefit to our noble Empire. A very interesting discussion followed.

OXFORD.—On November 8th a lecture on "Britain's Ocean Empire" was given before the Church of England Young Men's Society by Mr. J. F. Heyes, M.A. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. Lillingston, and the lecture illustrated by maps and diagrams. Mr. Heyes dwelt especially upon the importance of a more adequate system of defence than at present prevails; and the lecture was so much appreciated by the audience that at the close Mr. Heyes was asked by one of those present to deliver another upon a different aspect of the same subject.

PORTSMOUTH.—A comprehensive bill for promoting Imperial Federation was introduced on November 10th, before the local House of Commons at the lecture hall of the Young Men's Christian Association. The debate stood adjourned until the next meeting of the House.

RIPON.—At a complimentary banquet given early in November to Mr. J. L. Wharton, M.P., the subject of Imperial Federation was referred to by Mr. Walter Morrison, M.P., who said that our Colonial fellow-subjects were now thinking more of combining with this country in Imperial Federation than of beginning the disintegration of the Empire.

ROCHESTER.—At the Debating Society in connection with the Rochester Liberal Club a largely attended meeting on November 4th discussed the question of Imperial Federation.

Mr. S. Barker Booth opened the debate, and in the course of his remarks said that to some the word "Imperial" was distasteful: but although past Empires had decayed and vanished, it must be remembered that ours was not an Empire of tinsel or tyranny or despotism, as others had been, but a dear and valued thing which his hearers, as Liberals, loved.

After a lively discussion, in which a number of those present took part, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That it is desirable that Great Britain and her Colonies be joined together in a Federal Commonwealth, for the purpose of securing the permanent unity of the Empire."

Votes of thanks were passed to the lecturer and chairman at the close.

WINCHCOMBE.—At a meeting held early in November, in connection with a proposed new Benefit Society, Mr. Mann, of Cheltenham gave an address, in which he expressed himself in favour of Imperial Federation as a means of leaguering together more closely the Colonies and the Mother Country, both in a commercial and military point of view. The meeting closed with singing the National Anthem.

THE TRUTH ABOUT QUEENSLAND.

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

WE have received the following interesting communication from a correspondent who has just returned from Queensland, and whose opinions carry the weight of personal experience. The Colony has been brought prominently before the public lately in connection with gold discoveries, and from the special facilities for assisted emigration which it offers; we think, therefore, this account of the labour-market and manner of life there, reaching us as it does, at first hand, will be very welcome to our readers:—

In Queensland the scarcity of population is the greatest difficulty in the way of its rapid development. The Colonial Government is doing its best to remedy this by the expenditure of large sums to encourage free emigration. The constant and growing demand for labour, however, cannot be supplied adequately by the emigrants thus introduced. Six hundred and sixty arrived lately at Rockhampton by a vessel belonging to the British India Steam Navigation Company, and every one of them was engaged before a week had elapsed, although other batches of emigrants were daily expected. The Colonial Government takes the greatest care of the new arrivals. It has established homes for them in all the large towns of the seacoast, in which food and lodging are provided, so that none may be cast adrift destitute.

The artisan easily finds a situation at from twelve to fifteen shillings a day, whilst women servants command fifteen shillings a week and all found. An ordinary farm hand will easily obtain twenty shillings a week and board, so that it is quite possible for him to save thirty pounds a year if he is prudent and self-denying. In the same way married couples, getting eighty to ninety pounds a year, can save sixty, and, with a hundred pounds to start with, an artisan can easily become a master workman and an employer of labour, whilst the agricultural hand can purchase and cultivate land for himself, or embark his little capital profitably in horses or in cattle. At all the mining centres draft horses are in great demand, and a judicious selection of cattle is sure to turn out well.

But the man who would thus succeed must exercise some prudent self-denial. Drink is the great curse of the country, and the pernicious habit of *shouting*, as it is called, is fostered by the publicans and by a false and pernicious system of pride and ostentation. A man enters a public-house to get a glass of beer. There are, perhaps, half a dozen men in the place; if no one else proposes it, the landlord himself will offer drink all round, and the others consider it a point of honour to imitate him. This is "shouting," as it is understood in Australia. The man who intended to spend sixpence finds himself compelled, by false pride and pernicious ostentation, to spend ten or twelve times as much.

But it may be asked what has all this to do with Imperial Federation. Everything that promotes or impedes the development of the Colony has to do with it. England has large supplies of capital and of population available, and capital and population are exactly what Queensland needs. Take the sugar industry as an example. Large tracts of land on the Burdekin, Johnstone, Mosman, and other rivers have lately been taken up for the cultivation of sugar, and are now being rapidly cleared and planted. Land worth five shillings an acre is converted in a few years into land worth five pounds an acre. In Java they expect five tons of sugar from each acre of sugar-cane. In Queensland they are content with two tons, but in Java the land is worth a hundred pounds an acre. The labour question is the great difficulty. A tax of ten pounds a head has been imposed upon the Chinese; and the Kanakas, or South Sea natives have been sent back to their homes. The working classes control the Governments in Australia

so completely that they will have whom they like, and they will prevent the admission of those they dislike. The mere discussions of projects of Imperial Federation will draw the working classes in England nearer to their brethren in Australia, and it will soon be apparent to all that they have a common interest, and are but brothers separated by the ocean.

The Indian Coolie will, perhaps, be found the best agricultural labourer on the sugar estates, as he can stand any amount of heat, and is not likely to compete with the white artisan in trades or manufactures. The violent discussions to which this question of labour in Queensland has given rise, threaten to divide the Colony into two, and an agitation, powerful and persuasive, has already been promoted to secure this end.

Those in England who give free and impartial consideration to the question of Imperial Federation must never forget that all the land in the Colonies, Queensland for instance, belongs to the Government, and, therefore, it is of the highest importance that such an arrangement should be made between the United Kingdom and the Colonial Government as will prove satisfactory to the latter.

The land is purchased by selectors or pre-emptors, on condition of payment by small instalments. The title is withheld until certain conditions of residence and expenditure of money on the land are fulfilled. The term allowed for payment varies from three to ten years. There can be no dealing with the land till the title has been obtained, and this is liable to be forfeited, and the land to be confiscated if the conditions of purchase are not honestly fulfilled. It is the object of the Government to prevent as far as possible the land falling into the hands of large proprietors. The amount of land a man may select is strictly limited, but a practice called "dummying" is constantly attempted to defeat the object of the Government. This dummying consists in the purchase of land by friends, relatives, or servants, as selectors, round that originally selected by their chief, and for his benefit. But this practice is illegal, must be supported by perjury, and is a criminal offence. There is not always honesty amongst thieves, so that the selector who relies on dummying, to enlarge his boundaries, may find himself cozened by his agents, whether relatives, friends, or servants, and he has then no remedy.

At the out-stations the bulk of the population consists of drovers, shearers, fencers, store-keepers, publicans, and agricultural labourers. Many of these are of course constantly shifting. The keeping of a public-house is unfortunately often the shortest road to independence. I am not quixotic enough to suppose that all abuses will end as soon as Imperial Confederation becomes a reality. But I am sure of this that a more intimate union between the United Kingdom and the Colonies will tend to promote general intelligence, to diffuse sounder views of social and domestic economy, and to foster a healthy emulation amongst the working-classes of all parts of the Empire. The influence of such a Federation will be entirely for peace, whilst an immense power of enforcing that peace would be established, wars of aggression would be well-nigh impossible. But if it be, as it certainly is, in the interests of mutual defence, a matter of the utmost importance that Imperial Federation should become a reality, much more is it the interest, both of the United Kingdom, and of the Colonies, that this Federation should be established for the development of pacific and commercial advantages. All the bonds of brotherhood will be drawn tighter by Federation. The process of trade will be simplified and its volume marvellously increased. Nor are these advantages to be despised even if Queensland alone is taken into consideration. Its vast territory, its immense mineral resources, its agricultural and pastoral capabilities, all point towards a degree of wealth and commercial prosperity in the future, incalculable and astounding. Add to Queensland the vast possessions and the immeasurable capabilities of the other Colonies, and it will certainly appear that to neglect this question is, on the part of the United Kingdom, to neglect its own truest interests, nay, perhaps to render impossible by delay what is now feasible.

The Colonies are ready to join *now*—who can tell what may be the position of the world, the condition of Great Britain and Ireland, or the temper of the Colonies, twenty or fifty years hence? Delay is perilous. Present action is not only possible, but comparatively easy, in this great question. But the motive power must certainly come from the Mother Country, and not from her sons and daughters.

WM. KNIGHTON.

THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

SINCE our last summary of the progress made with the Prince of Wales's scheme for the formation of an Imperial Institute much has happened. In the *Times* of October 26th, and the *Daily News* of November 2nd, long articles appeared dealing in a comprehensive fashion with the various plans that had been suggested. A few days afterwards the following official announcement appeared:—

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has thought it advisable to request a number of public men to form themselves into a committee for the purpose of assisting in framing a scheme upon which to found the proposed Imperial Institution for the Colonies and India. Such body will confer with the official Colonial representatives, and will endeavour to lay down lines for the constitution of the Institution which shall be acceptable to the Queen's subjects at home and abroad. The labours of the committee will be confined to action of a preliminary character, and it is not intended that the committee should be regarded as representing the governing body of the Institution when established. The following are those to whom the request to form such committee has been made:—The Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Revelstoke, Lord Herschell, Lord Rothschild, the Right Hon.

G. J. Goschen, the Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B., M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir Henry James, M.P.; the Right Hon. H. H. Fowler, M.P.; the Right Hon. Sir Henry Holland, G.C.M.G., M.P.; the Right Hon. C. T. Ritchie, M.P.; the President of the Royal Academy (Sir F. Leighton), the Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I.; Colonel Sir Owen Burne, K.C.S.I.; the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of London, the Governor of the Bank of England (Mr. J. B. Currie), the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom (Sir Bernhard Samuelson, M.P.), the President of the London Chamber of Commerce (Mr. J. H. Tritton), Mr. Neville Lubbock (representing the Royal Colonial Institute), and Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P.

A sub-committee from this influential body has since been appointed, and already had conferences with the Agents-General, and with the executive commissioners to the Exhibition of those Colonies which are not permanently represented in London. As a result of these conferences it has been decided not to reopen the Colonial and Indian Exhibition next year in any form. On November 19th the following appeared in the *Times*:—

"We hear that though the Queen will lay the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute next June it will probably not be opened for three years, as it will take at least that time to get the buildings ready. If possible, the buildings lying between the new public offices in Whitehall and Great George Street, Westminster, which belong to Government, will be pulled down and the Institute established there. It is suggested that the Colonies should occupy the ground floor and the Mother Country the floor above, the Agents-General also being located in various parts of the buildings, which will have an area of 400,000 square feet. In this case the City scheme will be united with the Prince's. If this ground cannot be obtained then a purely exhibitional arrangement will probably be made at South Kensington, and a commercial museum in the City. It is understood that none of the present Exhibition staff will be retained. The estimate of the cost of the building is £300,000."

These details, however, seem to have been premature, even if they turn out to be correct, for on the next day an official statement was issued "that the committee are now considering what form the proposed memorial should take, but they have at present arrived at no conclusion upon this point, and have not tendered any advice to his Royal Highness upon it." So the matter stands at present. It seems probable that the money will be raised without difficulty, and among other means by which funds will be collected is an appeal to the mayors of cities and boroughs throughout the kingdom. A circular letter has already, we believe, been despatched by his Royal Highness desiring their co-operation, and the response will doubtless be hearty and generous.

IMPERIAL PENNY POSTAGE.

THE following correspondence has been forwarded to us for publication by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P.:—

LONDON, November 3rd.

TO THE RIGHT HON. H. CECIL RAIKES, M.P., Postmaster-General of Great Britain.

SIR,—New facts and arguments bearing upon the reduction of the rates of postage between England and the Colonies come before me daily, testifying to the extraordinary interest which has been awakened in the question, and the high importance attached to it by her Majesty's subjects in all parts of the world. The facts and arguments already brought forward have proved sufficient to secure the support of the entire British press, alike in the Metropolis and the large centres of population, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Newcastle, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Belfast; while Canada, Australia, and South Africa also join in the demand for the Imperial Penny Post. But the recent development of the question makes some early action imperative, in my opinion; and I therefore beg to place it fully before you, in continuation of my letter to you of the 16th of September last.

2. First, let me compliment you, Sir, upon the saving of a million sterling which you have made upon the ten years' Indian mail contract just concluded, and upon the further probable saving of £30,000 a year upon the Cape service, and an equal probable saving upon the trans-Continental contract. These are steps in the right direction.

3. But this is by no means the limit of such reduction. As I have already contended, and your predecessors in office have emphatically held, the payment of subsidies to steamship companies is no longer needed for postal purposes. They may be necessary for other purposes—purposes of the greatest Imperial importance; but with that we have nothing to do here. All that I insist upon is that the day is long since past when postal communication between the various countries under the British Crown could only be maintained by a system of State bounties. I will even go further, and maintain that the privilege, the distinction, of carrying her Majesty's mails ought to be coveted for its own sake by steamship companies, as being a guarantee for the excellence of their service—its speed, punctuality, safety, and good management generally. What the patronage of Royalty is to a tradesman, Post Office patronage should be to

steamship companies. It should give them prestige and bring them traffic. I believe that in India a native banker in every town is made the Government banker. This distinction is eagerly coveted, for it is a guarantee of soundness, and the only subsidy paid is the nominal one of five rupees a month, as against which the bankers have to deposit 20,000 rupees in cash and find two sureties for a like amount. In England we subsidise the Government mail-carriers to the amount of hundreds of thousands of pounds yearly. I hope that we are not now far from the end of this extravagant folly.

4. I find that no less than one hundred and five powerful steamers left Australia last year carrying mails for England. This is an average of two per week. Can it be contended that our letters cannot be conveyed by these steamers without the payment of extraordinary rates?

5. Another point which has been much developed since the date of my last letter has regard to the cheaper postal facilities offered by Continental Governments as compared with the British postal service. The important Lowestoft firm of Messrs. Maconochie Brothers, whose postages amount to several thousands of pounds per annum, have pointed out to me the advantage there is in posting books, packages, and printed matter, such as price lists, in France for transit by French packets to British possessions in the East. There is in some cases a saving of 50 per cent. Now, this means not only a direct loss to the British steam shipping trade, but serious, though indirect, loss to British commerce, in consequence of a large mass of its correspondence passing through foreign hands. We cannot possibly estimate the effect of thus exposing to the foreigner our methods of doing business, our prices, terms, and so on. It illustrates the traditional contempt of the Englishmen for the competition of the foreigner, whether in the art of war or peace, but it cannot fail to be deeply injurious to us in the long run.

6. Then there is a question which has attracted much attention of late—the question of “missing emigrants.” I am in receipt of most interesting and touching letters from persons in this country who have absolutely lost all trace of their friends in the Colonies, the only discoverable cause of the rupture being the prohibitory rates of postage. You may perhaps be aware that one of the most widely-circulated of the cheap London weekly newspapers has for years devoted a column to inquiries after “missing friends.” I doubt not that through this medium of a penny newspaper, carried cheaply by post, and then passed from hand to hand throughout an entire district, many relatives who had been virtually dead to each other have again been brought into communication. That is a very interesting matter from almost any point of view; but my object now is to remind you of its great importance as a question of Imperial policy. If the germ of the nation is to be found in the family, then it is sound national policy to strengthen the tie which binds the family together.

7. From this point I proceed to a statement of the highest practical importance, involving, as it does, the actual solution, to a considerable extent, of the problem in hand. The following letter, from Herr Fritsch, Privy Counsellor over the German Post Office, places the possibility of a greatly reduced rate of postage beyond all possibility of doubt:—

“BERLIN, W., October 20th, 1886.

“DEAR SIR,—I am in possession of the very instructive paper on the recent history of the Imperial Penny Postage movement which you kindly sent me enclosed in your letter of the 6th inst. I have read it with the greatest interest, and was astonished at the profound insight which you, as a non-professional man, have acquired on subjects of the international postal service.

“Of late I happened to see also a letter of yours to the editor of the *Times* newspaper on Ocean Penny Postage. I consider the idea intimated therein to make avail of the saving in the territorial transit fees of the Indian mail for a reduction of the postage levied on correspondence to India as particularly to the purpose. By-the-by, I beg to mention that the subsidised German steamers to East Asia, which touch Indian territory on several points, convey correspondence from any country at the sea-rate fixed by the Paris Convention, viz., 15 francs for one kilogramme (2 1-5 lb.) of letters and postal cards, and 1 franc for one kilogramme of other articles (printed matter of all kinds, commercial papers, samples of merchandise). I think it right to invite your attention to this fact, as by profiting by this service—a time table for which I enclose herewith—some further saving in the expense for the conveyance of the Indian, also the Australian mails, might be obtained on the part of the British Post Office.—Believe me, dear Sir, to be, with kindest regards, yours very sincerely,

“FRITSCH,

“Geheimer Ober-Post Rath.”

I beg to draw your particular attention to this offer of the German Post Office to carry our Indian and Australian mails at a lower charge than we are paying now. Our present contracts are based on a freight of 12s. per pound for letters. The German Post Office will carry them for 5s. 8d. per pound. For 4d. per pound the German Post Office will carry our books and printed matter. We are now paying 1s. per pound for book packets,

and 6d. for newspapers. Now here is an opportunity of reducing the rates of postage between England and India and Australia by nearly one-half, and still carrying on the traffic by means of swift, powerful, regular, and punctual steamers. The time table sent me by Herr Fritsch shows the departures at the various stages of the passage, and it appears from it that the steamers do the voyage to Australia in a day less than it is done by our mail packets. *Besides having this offer from Germany, I am in a position to state that even better terms could be obtained from other foreign Governments, who are also anxious to serve us by carrying our mails cheaper than we can apparently carry them ourselves.* There may seem to be some disloyalty in recommending that such offers should be accepted; but, Sir, we are given to understand that the Post Office is now conducted on “strictly commercial principles,” and, moreover, we are driven to these methods by the hesitation of the Post Office to make what we regard as reasonable concessions.

8. What is the alternative? Either the British Post Office must accept this offer, and so abandon a competition to which it feels unequal, or it must meet the competition by making an equivalent reduction in its own charges between this country and India and Australia. Otherwise British letters to and from the East will indubitably find their way into the German or French mail-bags somehow—it is not for me to suggest precisely how.

9. The case is analogous to that of a private trader when confronted with competition which he must crush, or it will crush him. The British Post Office must retire discomfited from the field, and stand helplessly by while foreign vessels perform the postal service of the British Empire, or it must without delay make such arrangements as will keep the British mail service in British hands.

10. I cannot believe that the postal authorities will lose a day in facing a state of things which, at the very least, demands independent investigation by men of large experience in commercial and political affairs. The facts I have placed before you are so precise and explicit, and they reveal a condition of things so unsatisfactory, that all considerations of sentiment, of business, and of national interests combine to make an inquiry urgent and imperative.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. HENNIKER HEATON.

The following is the complete statement of Messrs. Maconochie Brothers:—

We are established in London, two provincial towns in England, three provincial towns in Scotland, and one branch house at Sydney, New South Wales. Our postages per annum amount to several thousand pounds. It is our custom for the requirements of our business to send price lists to various parts of the world, and for a long time past we have noticed with great regret the evident advantages there are in posting book packages and printed matter, such as price lists, by French packet *via* United States, and even in some instances *via* Russia. For simplicity, however, we will just treat of the French packet route for printed matter. If you will kindly consult the “British Postal Guide” you will find that for Borneo, Ceylon, the whole of China, Japan, Java, Labrian, Philippines, and Straits Settlements, to send a book post packet from England under 20 ozs. cost 1 1/2d., by French packet 1d.

We compute roughly that to these places we send 30,000 price lists per annum, and by forwarding by French packet we make a saving of £58 6s. 8d. We feel sure we are within the mark when we say there must be in the United Kingdom 1,000 firms situated similarly to ourselves, and if the British postal service conveyed these book packets at 1d., it would mean a return of £125,000 per annum to the British service, which they now lose entirely. We know, from a large staff of clerks, who have served in the offices of many other firms, that it is the custom of those firms to avail of this service *via* France. From the enormous number of price lists, circulars, &c., that leave this country for the countries we have named, a large number are returned as gone away, not known, &c. These lists and circulars get back to France (the way they were sent), and instruct the French with the entire mode of business of British firms. You will observe that to save our £58 6s. 8d. we are not averse to running the risk of a few of our lists falling into the hands of the French officials, because the saving to us is more than the probable risk, but nationally, taking the entire round of merchants and manufacturers, we should think that it is extremely dangerous for our own interests. We have ventured to submit this great disadvantage to you in the hope that with the various arguments you are using to place ocean postage upon a better footing, that our observations may assist you, and point out a very great injustice under which commercial interests in the United Kingdom are suffering.

It seems to us intolerable that if we communicate with our own countrymen in Colombo by printed matter, if our letter goes by Messageries Maritimes steamer *via* Paris, it can go 50 per cent. cheaper than by P. and O. steamer *via* Brindisi, and our double contention is that the British postal authorities are losing traffic on the one side, while France is becoming the possessor of our commercial secrets on the other, and taking the traffic from this country.

Back Numbers of “Imperial Federation.”

WANTED, to complete collections for Binding, copies of Nos. 1 and 2 of this Journal (Jan. and Feb., 1886). Must be in good condition.

Apply, stating terms, to THE SECRETARY, Imperial Federation League, 43, St. Margaret's Offices, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE BRANCH.

THE Terminal Meeting of the Cambridge Branch of the Imperial Federation League was held on Friday evening, November 19th, in the Guildhall. Professor Seeley presided. Mr. F. Kendall, the Secretary, gave a short account of the condition of the Branch Society; and stated that he would be happy to enrol more members. Professor Seeley then briefly introduced MR. H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER, the speaker of the evening, who, on rising, was received with general cheering. He said he was very glad indeed to tell them that since he was there on a previous occasion the cause of the League had made great progress. It was difficult to look at the matter precisely as it presented itself to the Colonies, it was true, and until they did that they could make very little real advancement, but there had been extraordinary progress. In the first place, they had added very largely to the members of their League, there had been meetings held in the Colonies in favour of the movement, and the whole tone and attitude of public men, not only in England, but throughout the world, had been changed in discussing the question of Imperial Federation. A few years ago the presumption was against it; now the presumption was in favour of it. For the first time in the history of the movement, as, indeed, in the history of the country, her Majesty's Government had come forward and definitely inscribed Imperial Federation upon the programme of the national policy, and with regard to that matter he believed the deputation that went from the League to Lord Salisbury was thoroughly well-timed. He should like to say a word or two with regard to some practical suggestions which the League had made. At the present moment they had no panacea, no cut and dried plan, but they had an idea. His hope was that without committing themselves to any vast programme, which might run the risk of rejection and final disappearance, they might in every branch of the administration of this great Empire so harmonise existing institutions that they might produce a condition of things in which a break up of the system would be such a wrench to the ordinary daily life of every one among them, such an impossible breaking of continuity in the ordinary processes by which life was made convenient and possible, that it would be inconceivable for the wildest and most revolutionary of politicians to propose such a thing. He believed that with care there was hardly a branch of civil life in which there had not been, as a matter of course, some organisation taken towards federating the Colonial and Home trade and commerce, such as they now wished to see existing in the political organisation of this country. Reviewing the programme of the League, he said he believed it was generally admitted that there was in the question of defence a common interest, which could be and ought to be dealt with from a common centre. He pointed to the present chaotic state of our naval and military organisation, with our forces dotted all over the world, and our naval stations here and there, and with no harmonious scheme or plan of combined action in the case of war. What they wanted was to have some central scheme by which they could avail themselves of the enormous powers which existed in Home and Colonies. He was glad that the Colonies had shown themselves ready to meet us in the matter of naval defence. It would take him too long to go through the way in which he thought the naval and military organisation might be enlarged and extended, but it seemed to him that was one of the questions they had a right to ask the Royal Commission to discuss, and take evidence of capable officers upon. Everything he learnt made him more ready to believe that the Colonies would give their support if they saw any intention on the part of the Mother Country to get rid of the chaos existing, and substitute a reasonable method in its place. Whilst upon the subject he expressed his opinion that our naval intelligence service ought to be very much enlarged and extended. Proceeding, he said there was another matter in which he thought there was great room for immediate action; that was the matter of postal communication between this country and the Colonies. He had long advocated the introduction of a penny postage throughout the Empire, and it was now two or three years ago since he called upon Mr. Fawcett and suggested the proposition to him. But he confessed at that time he was not inclined to go any further, for Mr. Fawcett, looking at the matter from an economical point of view, said he would prefer to wait until it could be made open to the world at large. He (the speaker) believed that there was a large body of persons in this country who were ready to support what, in his opinion, was the only change worth contending for, and that was the introduction of penny postage for the British Empire alone. He did not wish to deprive the whole world of that privilege, but he asked them to get the penny postage system for the Empire, and when they had got that they might extend it to outsiders, but not until then. He had an interview with Mr. Raikes, who raised three objections to the scheme. He said that it would lead to the forgery of stamps. He did not see why they should be forged then more than now. Another objection was that there would be a difficulty in keeping the accounts of stamps transmitted abroad. The authorities seemed to be under the impression that the stamps would be produced in England and then sent out in bundles, but what he meant was this—that the stamps should also be produced in the Colonies. A third objection was that although it was possible we might have a penny postage between this country and the Colonies, yet perhaps the latter would not be willing to have a similar rate between the various parts of the Empire; as, for instance, between Australia and the Cape, and the Cape and Canada. If we could not induce the Colonies to reduce their rates, then they must simply take things as they found them. Then it had been said that it could not be done without an enormous subsidy, which would be a frightful burden to the Post Office, but that he denied, as the other departments of State who received benefit from the arrangement should be called upon to contribute. Below the question of the postage there was the question of the telegraphs. A suggestion had been made that steps should be taken to defend the telegraphic communication. This, as Sir James Anderson pointed out, was not a very wise suggestion, as it was impossible adequately to protect our telegraph lines in times of war, as the extent over which they lay, and the fact that they could be cut at any depth, made their protection

impossible. It was also projected that the criminal and civil laws should be harmonised, and the existing rules altered. With regard to the question of emigration, he felt that the people who went out now were, for the most part, useless to the Colonists. He suggested that the young should be specially trained for emigration, and that they should be then placed upon the great unoccupied tracts of the Colonies, the money thus spent upon their education and emigration to be treated as a mortgage upon the land to ensure repayment. He asked them to study the programme of the League, and to assist in its realisation. This they might do by laying the question before their fellow-countrymen, and there was no prospect of making real progress until there had been a great deal more education with regard to it. In answer to the assertion that they should wait until the Colonies acted, he asserted that as this country had taken the lead, it was our bounden duty to go forward. Colonial politicians were joining their ranks, and that was solely because they saw the Federationists of England were in earnest. Do not let them be put off, therefore, with the assertion that the Colonists should lead. He concluded by expressing a hope that further support should be extended to the Cambridge University Branch of the League.

MR. LORING, the general secretary, then spoke of the growth of the various branches of the League, and urged upon all the duty of becoming members of one or other of the branches.

A short discussion followed, in which MR. W. F. SHEPPARD (Trinity), MR. FOXWELL (St. John's), MR. RAWLINSON (Pembroke), and COUNT STRICKLAND (Trinity) took part.

MR. LIAS (Emmanuel) then moved, and MR. TANNER (St. John's) seconded, a vote of thanks to MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER, which was carried unanimously. And with a further vote to Professor Seeley, moved by the Master of Jesus, the meeting closed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our Correspondence Columns are open for the discussion of any aspects of Imperial Federation to all who write clearly and courteously. The Editor, however, does not hold himself responsible for the views expressed by correspondents, nor does the League.

A GOOD EXAMPLE.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—A few days ago I sent two copies of the special number of IMPERIAL FEDERATION, entitled "Fifty Years of Progress," to the headmaster of the Thames Nautical Training College, *H.M.S. Worcester*, asking him to lay them in the reading-room of the cadets on board that vessel.

I forward you that gentleman's reply, which I hope you will give space to, as it affords, in my opinion, an example which is worthy of imitation by all who have the care of the rising generation entrusted to them.—I remain, faithfully yours,

FLORENCE DIXIE.

H.M.S. Worcester, off Greenhithe, Kent.

November 8th, 1886.

DEAR MADAM,—Many thanks for the papers, which shall be duly put before the cadets. I propose also to have the diagrams drawn on one sheet and framed to hang up on the deck, that this remarkable proof of British energy shall be constantly before them.

The subject of this grand confederation is one I never fail to bring before them when the lessons give opportunity for it. The young should be brought up as "believers," as *their* opinions will have much to do in deciding this most momentous question.

The "Worcesters" will, I am sure, make very earnest Federationists. Again thanking you, I remain, yours very faithfully,

The Lady F. Dixie.

R. C. BUCK.

MR. KYNOCH, M.P., EXPLAINS.

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Your paper to hand with an extract from a speech I made at Aston as reported in some paper. I certainly did not express my opinions in the manner named in extract.

What I said was, that so long as we were bound by the doctrine of Free Trade Imperial Federation was impossible. Let us give our Colonies some privilege in our market, and let them do the same to us, then Federation was possible and would be useful. But this means an entire change in our fiscal policy, which I believe would lead to great advantage to the workpeople of this country.—Yours faithfully,

GEORGE KYNOCH.

Hamstead Hall, Handsworth, Birmingham.

November 16th, 1886.

CRUISERS OR CABLES, OR BOTH?

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—In your issue of November 1st there is an article entitled "Only Once in Six Years," and much is made of the terrible importance of even a few minutes' interruption of telegraphic communication at a time when war is apprehended or even during a "Russian scare."

This article, in common with many others in the daily press at this time of active Company promotion, deals with the subject as if a remedy could be found, and cables laid somewhere where they could not be cut.

I ask permission to state in your columns that to entertain such an idea is to live in a fools' paradise. All cables can be cut no matter what their length or how deep the ocean may be.

Submarine cables should be looked upon as laid for commercial purposes in the main and only incidentally for war purposes, which is the abnormal condition of great nations possessing fleets.

It is not probable they would be cut prior to a declaration of war, which no doubt would be apprehended in time for the Colonies and merchants to arrange their plans for such a contingency; and our rulers should be trusted to foresee the probable contingencies and be prepared

with such a plan for the concentration or disposition of their land and sea forces as could be supported by cruisers and despatch vessels, or, if need be, act without such support.

I venture to say that cables, Colonies, and commerce, must all take care of themselves as they best can at the commencement of any war in which this country is likely to be involved with any power possessing cruisers until we shall have established supremacy at sea.

Is not this obvious?

Neither cables nor commerce can be guarded without cruisers, and if thousands of miles of cable are laid across broad oceans seldom traversed by our mercantile marine, is it to be expected that a fleet of armed cruisers can be told off to guard cables which can be cut any night at any number of places the enemy may select?

Both cruisers and repairing steamers watching or working in the middle of broad oceans would soon exhaust their coal supply and would always be far away from a coaling station.

If cables are to be of use in time of war for commercial purposes they must be laid along the track where our fleet and cruisers are most likely to be concentrated to guard our transports, store-ships, and communications, as near the track as possible of our coaling stations and arsenals, and the rendezvous of our iron-clads.

Repairing steamers and large supplies of cable must be stored along these routes when war seems imminent.

It is certain that in a great war cable ships will accompany the fleet with cable for strategical purposes. Then with despatch boats and repairing ships communication will be established as soon as possible, and as soon as it is safe for our commercial marine to go freely to and fro it will be equally safe to repair cables.

What is required is more cruisers rather than more cables; but it is not to be expected that a sufficient number of cruisers will ever be available to guard cables laid across great oceans merely because they can be called, in time of peace, alternate lines.

In the interest of Federation and of commerce it is of infinitely greater value to have cheap telegraphy by lines which can be the most easily protected than to multiply lines at the expense of the tax-payers which serve no purpose other than that of ruinous competition.

My conviction is that submarine cables should only be laid in short sections touching at as many points as possible likely to develop commerce and be of use to the world. When war is imminent the necessary provision must be made at any cost. To try and anticipate this is a waste of public money.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES ANDERSON.

50, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.
5th November, 1886.

WHY ARE WE CERTAIN TO GET IT?

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I notice in the introductory article to "Fifty Years' Progress" that there are three queries to be worked out, viz.:

1. What do we want?
2. Why do we want it?
3. How do we mean to get it?

These questions have been answered in a very satisfactory manner, but a fourth question has been suggested to my mind which appears to me the most important of all, viz., Why are we CERTAIN to get it? Because we are *Anglo-Saxons*, are descended from Jacob or Israel, of the TEN TRIBES, and therefore must inherit God's promise to Jacob in Genesis xxxv. 11—"A nation and a company of nations shall be of thee."

This will be fulfilled in our case immediately we Federate with our Colonies. But God makes use of man to carry out his designs; hence the necessity of this work.—Yours truly,
Dane Lodge, Grafton Road, Worthing.

JOSEPH C. PAINE.

WHO SHALL TAKE THE INITIATIVE?

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—Permit me as a Colonist, as an ardent Federationist, and as a Canadian who looks forward to the time when we shall have one united, progressive, and powerful Empire, to outline a few ideas upon the question of whose duty it is to take the first steps in achieving the great results at which we aim.

In the first place, Great Britain is the preponderating power in the Empire now, and must be so in any arrangement that can be entered into in the future. That being the case, it is surely her privilege and her place to pave the way to a satisfactory solution of the question. The enormous trade of the Mother Country depends upon her credit and prestige, and the loss of a great Colony would shatter the whole structure, and destroy the very foundation upon which her commercial greatness rests.

Then this trade is increasing yearly with the Colonies and decreasing with foreign countries, the former being now, in proportion to their population, the greatest consumers of British manufactures and general exports.

The power of the Mother Country to protect her immense trade and commercial interests depends upon the string of naval and coaling stations which she possesses in all parts of the globe, and the retention of these depends largely upon the possession of the great Colonies, to whom many of them belong, or in whose immediate vicinity many are situated.

Then the interests of Britain are involved as much, if not more, in a future consolidation of the existing union as are those of the great self-governing Colonies.

In Australia, many probably look forward to forming ultimately a great independent nation; in Canada, I have reason to know, many have the same idea: others hope for annexation to the United States, and the strong latent feeling of intense loyalty and love to British connection and the historic grandeur of the Mother Land, which is certainly in existence, remains undeveloped, and has not yet been awakened to the

true interests and glorious future which the Dominion of Canada would have in a great and far-reaching Federation.

This, then, is the duty of the League in the first place, and in the second place of the people of Great Britain. To develop the feeling of Imperial as well as local patriotism, to resist all measures tending towards disintegration, to encourage a greater interchange of trade, to promote by every means available a public discussion at home and in the Colonies upon every subject connected with the power and progress of our noble Empire, and of the way in which unity is to be achieved, and, lastly, to take steps of some such nature as the calling of a conference upon the subject by the Imperial Government. A suggestion recently thrown out to the effect that a conference might be arranged to meet in each of the Colonies in turn is one that should be considered.

In conclusion, if Britain desires to maintain her place among the great powers of the world, and as the grandest and most progressive Empire of all times, she must see to it that Colonial connection is cemented.—Yours, &c,
J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

Ingersoll, Canada.

A BRITISH EMPIRE NEWSPAPER!

To the Editor of IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

SIR,—I know not whether the idea for starting a weekly or fortnightly paper, to be published simultaneously in every large town of the British Empire is original, or, at present, practicable; but at any rate it seems worthy of consideration. None but those actually antagonistic to Imperial Federation will dispute the high political value of such a publication.

Great difficulties would, no doubt, attend its establishment, but—to the uninitiated in press work and its expenses—these seem vanquishable. Of course, until the telegraph has connected the various parts of our Empire more thoroughly, any experiments in the above line would necessarily be confined to the five principal divisions. However, let us suppose a paper—the *Imperial News* (?)—established and published simultaneously at London and the chief centres of Canada, Australasia, the Cape, and Hindostan. Surely it would be in itself a bond of Federation.

At the outset the amount of telegraphic matter would, of necessity, have to be much limited owing to the great attendant cost; but a paper containing a few telegrams from each centre, and a short leading article written by the several editors in succession, supplemented by any amount of local news, ought to command everywhere an immense sale, as indeed its social and political interest would be intense.

The expense of such a vast undertaking would naturally be proportionately great, but some reduction might be effected by mutual telegraphic arrangements—codes and the like. British patriots are generous, and if satisfied of the value and practicability of such a scheme, would no doubt render liberal assistance in carrying it out. What more appropriate time for its execution could be desired than the jubilee year of the Queen's reign? and again, what company or association could carry it out more gracefully than the Imperial Federation League?

Having no technical knowledge of my subject, I refrain from entering into any detail, simply desiring to elicit the opinion of those who can call experience to the aid of their judgment—foremost amongst them you, sir, from your position eminently qualified to pronounce on the matter—and to bring the subject before the notice of all others who wish to see the vast dominions of our Sovereign Lady welded into an "Imperial whole."

HENRY H. NEWILL.

70, Blenheim Crescent, Notting Hill, W.

RECENT NOTICES OF THE JOURNAL AND OF "FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS."

NEW ZEALAND HERALD.

A special number of "Imperial Federation" has been issued, entitled "Fifty Years' Progress." The following is the contents table:—"Introductory, the Area of the Empire, by C. E. Howard Vincent, C.B., M.P.; the Population of the United Kingdom and the Self-governing Colonies in 1837 and 1885, by J. Dennistoun Wood, late Attorney-General of Victoria; the Laws of the Empire, by Sir John Gorst, Q.C., M.P., late Solicitor-General of England; Growth of Constitutional Self-government in the Empire, by F. P. Labilliere, barrister-at-law; Administrative Unity, by Sir H. Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., late Governor of Cape Colony; Religious Development, by Canon Dalton, M.A., C.M.G.; the Progress of Popular Education, by Stephen A. Swaine, F.R. Hist. Soc., F.R. Col. Inst.; the Trade of the British Empire, now and Fifty Years Ago, by Stephen Bourne, F.S.S., F.R. Col. Inst.; Naval and Military Progress, by Colonel Sir C. H. Nugent, K.C.B.; the Growth of Responsibility, by Captain J. C. R. Colomb, late R.M.A.; diagrams and maps." This little book is a complete compendium of information respecting the Colonies. The article on the growth of trade, by Mr. Bourne (who is the father of Mr. Bourne, headmaster of the Grammar School), contains much information respecting the rapid growth of Colonial trade and population, which must surprise people at home. This article is also illustrated by a number of striking diagrams.

COLONIAL TRADES JOURNAL, November.

The Journal of the Imperial Federation League.—We are happy to see this Journal pursuing its prosperous way, and disseminating far and wide a knowledge of the deeply important social questions with which it is its mission to deal. We cordially respond to a sentiment expressed by one of its Canadian correspondents, who, writing from Toronto, says, "Your paper grows and becomes more important as it expands. Thousands in this Canada of ours would be glad to know that such a journal exists. I should be glad to see it in every house, not only here, but throughout the whole Empire." There is a rapidly growing and daily increasing desire on the part of tens of thousands to participate in and help to carry forward the objects which the Federation League has in view.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES, AND ENROLMENT OF MEMBERS.

INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE LEAGUE.

BRITISH subjects forming any Association to promote the objects of the Imperial Federation League, and desiring to have such Association affiliated as a Branch of the League, are requested to be good enough to communicate, through their Chairman, or other duly appointed officer, with

THE SECRETARY,

Imperial Federation League,

43, St. Margaret's Offices,

Victoria Street,

London, S.W.

For the information and assistance of all such Associations so formed, and desirous of being affiliated and enrolled as Branches of the League, the following provisional arrangements have been made:—

1. A Branch of the League shall consist of not less than 20 enrolled members.

2. Applications from any Association wishing to be affiliated and enrolled as a Branch of the League must be accompanied by:—

(a) A copy of the resolution of the Association expressing a desire to that effect, and specifying the name by which it wishes to be designated as a distinctive Branch of the Imperial Federation League.

(b) A copy of the rules, if any, by which the Association is governed.

Time and correspondence will be saved if it appears clearly by the rules, or by the terms of the application for affiliation, that the Association invites the support of men of all political parties in the locality in which the Association is formed.

(c) The names and addresses of the members of the Association.

(d) A remittance of *not less* than one shilling for each member of the Association, such being the amount of the "yearly registration fee."

3. On receipt of this necessary information and the remittance, a notice of the enrolment of the Association as a "Branch of the Imperial Federation League" will be forwarded, provided it appears that the Association is in harmony with the objects and general constitution of the League.

4. The General Committee submits for the consideration of Branches established in any Dominion or Colony, the great practical advantages which would accrue should it be found convenient for them to combine with each other, with a view to forming central organisations representing the League in any Dominion or Colony, or in the provinces thereof.

5. It would be advantageous to the general conduct of the business of the League if Branches established in the United Kingdom combine with each other, and thus, as far as may be convenient, form groups of Branches.

Such central organisations, if formed, would be the mediums of communication with the General Committee in London.

6. Counterfoil books containing certificates of individual membership have been provided, in order to facilitate the entry of the names of all members upon the central register. Such books or sample sheets can be had on application. Their use will be found convenient to Branches, and the general adoption of a uniform system would greatly assist the conduct of the business of the League.

7. Branches will be entitled to receive copies of all ordinary publications of the League, and additional copies in proportion to the number of members in the Branch.

8. Individual members may be supplied with all publications of the League on special terms, on application to the Secretary.

9. The General Committee hopes to be furnished with reports of meetings and other proceedings of Branches; or any publications issued by Branches, or contributed by individual members, with a view to giving them as wide a circulation as possible throughout the Empire.

10. It is extremely important that Branches in the Colonies should furnish the General Committee with all

facts and information of such a nature as may tend to enlighten public opinion in the Mother Country, on all matters of Imperial importance.

11. By the aid of the organisation of the League, information can thus be readily obtained and diffused throughout the Empire, and by such means the precise nature of the "common interests" it is necessary to maintain, and the "common rights" it is essential to defend, by the united action of all parts of the Empire, will be better understood, while the necessity for some form of Imperial Federation will become more generally appreciated.

12. It is most desirable by all and every means to encourage the formation of sound public opinion on so important a question. This may be done, for example, by organising public meetings, by lectures, and by discussions in Parliament and in the press, etc. etc. The General Committee will, on application, be happy to assist as far as possible any efforts in these directions made by Branches. When the League is fully organised, and sufficient funds, properly available for the purpose, are at the disposal of the General Committee, arrangements will be made for public meetings when and where desirable, and for securing the services of properly qualified persons to deliver lectures when required.

13. The annual registration fees of members will be payable on the 1st of January in each year.

It is to be observed that the ordinary Annual Subscription by members of the League is One Guinea, but the Annual Registration Fee has been fixed at the small sum of One Shilling, so as to admit of all classes of the community joining the League.

The Imperial Federation League, therefore, relies on voluntary aid. Although the General Committee only require the "annual registration fees" to be sent from Branches, still, considering the heavy expenditure which will have to be incurred in carrying out the objects of the League, they will thankfully receive contributions from the Branches as well as from private individuals.

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NATURE AND OBJECTS OF THE LEAGUE.

AT a Conference held in London on July 29, 1884, the Right Hon. W. E. FORSTER, M.P., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved:—

1. That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of Federation is essential.
2. That for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantages which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organisation, a Society be formed of men of all parties, to advocate and support the principles of Federation.

At the adjourned Conference, held on Tuesday, 18th November, 1884, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

- That a Society be now formed, to be called "The Imperial Federation League."
That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.
That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.
That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.
That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.
That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.
That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.
That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members, and to form and organise Branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the General Committee.

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Imperial federation.
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